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AN

IMPARTIAL REPORT

OF THE

DEBATES

THAT OCCUR IN THE

TWO HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT,

In the Courſe of the Second Seſſion of the Eighteenth Parliament of Great Britain, called to meet at Weſtminſter, on Tueſday the 27th of September, 1796.

WITH

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE RESPECTIVE SPEAKERS,

AND

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

INCLUDING COPIES OF ALL

STATE PAPERS, TREATIES, CONVENTIONS, &c.

By WILLIAM WOODFALL,
AND ASSISTANTS.

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ERATUM.——In line 27, of Sir H. Mann's Speech, Nov. 2, 1767, for "in ſeeing," read "in not ſeeing."

TO THE PUBLIC.

SHORT as the period has been ſince the laſt Seſſion cloſed, it has teemed with events, few in number indeed, but uncommonly intereſting and important to this country. The Navy of England has long acquired, as its moſt rancorous enemies, the French Republic, themſelves now acknowledge, the empire of the ſea, and maintained its marine dominion by a ſucceſſion of exploits the moſt gallant and glorious that ever graced the page of Naval Hiſtory. After having almoſt annihilated the fleet of France, and not only ſtruck a blow againſt that of Spain that has materially weakened her marine force, but blocked up the remainder of her crippled ſhips of war ſo as to render them of no uſe to the power to which they belong; our beſotted neighbours, the Dutch, who have had the honour of ſo cloſe a hug in the fraternal embrace with which the French Republic favoured them, that their political breath may be ſaid to have been nearly ſqueezed out of their bodies, on hearing that Admiral Duncan had taken the chief part of his ſquadron to refit at Yarmouth, at length ventured from their long continued anchorage in the Texel; but by the unexampled exertion of the Britiſh Commander, who put to ſea the moment he heard the Dutch had come out, and under circumſtances which would probably have warranted an officer of leſs courage in declining the riſque of an action, eagerly ſought the enemy, and engaged them in a manner the moſt maſterly, and as the Dutch Admiral, De Winter,

acknowledges, in his account of the battle, altogether unexpected. That very circumſtance proves that our Admiral's gallantry was equalled by his judgment and his ſkill as a ſeaman, and the obſtinate valour manifeſted by the Dutch Admiral, his brave opponent, and the officers and ſailors of his fleet, reflects the higheſt honour upon them, while in an equal proportion it heightens the brilliancy of the exploit, and adds a new luſtre to the glory of the victory.

No ſooner was this illuſtrious proof of the ſuperiority of our navy known in England, than it was followed by an event of a leſs pleaſing nature. Intelligence was received of the Emperor's having ſigned a Definitive Treaty of Peace with France, a circumſtance deeply to be lamented by every friend to the intereſts of Great Britain; but though it increaſes the difficulty of the criſis, it ought not to diſpirit the Britiſh nation, whoſe reſources, whoſe valour, and whoſe patriotiſm, are capable of coping with "fearful odds;" they have no reaſon therefore to feel the ſmalleſt deſpondency, if they will but, on an occaſion ſo momentous, condeſcend to enjoy the dignified gratification of diſmiſſing all ſenſe of political and party differences of opinion from their minds, and unite as one man determined on one purpoſe, the repulſion of every effort of an enemy perpetually profaning the name of Liberty, and trumpet-tongued with freedom, daily affording glaring proofs of their being the moſt ſavage and relentleſs Miniſters of unqualified deſpotiſm that ever ſcourged mankind.

The gaſconade of the French Republic, publiſhed in their late decree, by which their army of the coaſts is denominated *the Army of England*, and the groſs abuſe and illiberal invective with which the Government of Great Britain is loaded in the recent ſpeeches of General Berthier and Citizen Monge to the French Directory, form a curious ſequence to the conduct of the Directory in their late Negotiation with Lord Malmeſbury, the papers relative to which recently laid before

before Parliament prove, beyond all queſtion, that the French Negotiators, acting no doubt agreeably to their inſtructions, manifeſted the greateſt duplicity and inſidiouſneſs, till they thought it a convenient moment to drop the curtain on the farce of Negotiation, which they had choſen to exhibit to Europe by their firſt Comedians, and afterwards by their *doubles*.

Upon the cloſe of ſuch a ſcene, it is correſpondent to follow it up by turning the tables on us, and proclaiming their charge of Britiſh perfidy in the face of the world; when he that runs may read, that it is the French Republic to whom is ſolely to be attributed the continuance of the horrors of War, and that good faith, plain dealing, and an ardent deſire for Peace on honourable terms, were incontrovertibly evinced by this nation in every ſtep that their noble and able Negociator took in the diſcharge of the difficult duty with the execution of which he was honoured.

The reſult of the rupture of the Treaty is, however, ſo important, that he would be an unwiſe and a diſhoneſt man who attempted to conceal from others, and a weak one if he wiſhed to ſhut his own eyes to the very ſerious conſequences that obviouſly may ariſe from the event. France threatens an immediate invaſion; poſſibly an idle and an empty menace. The defeat of the Dutch fleet renders it a threat not eaſily reduced to practice. But with no means of providing for their numerous armies upon the Continent, or at home, what may not a deſperate foe, drunk with ſucceſs, attempt in the hour of wild enthuſiaſm and political phrenzy? To loſe a great part of their army would be an advantage to them. To ſucceed in their effort to land in any part of theſe kingdoms, would be their moſt glorious triumph, and nothing could exceed the tumult of their exultation if, by any unfortunate combination of circumſtances, they ſhould be enabled to exerciſe their wonderful talent at public reform with

regard to the Conſtitution of this country. Theſe, the Writer is aware, are all extravagant ſuppoſitions; but the ſerious and reflecting reader will not deny that they are in poſſibility, and therefore fit to be held in view.

At ſuch an awful criſis it becomes an intelligent and prudent nation to prepare for the worſt, and, without being diſmayed on the one hand, or raſhly confident of ſecurity on the other, to act with a manly firmneſs, and take ſuch meaſures of defence as ſhall appear to be the beſt calculated for repelling any hoſtile attempts of the enemy on theſe kingdoms, and preſerving our Conſtitution, Religion, Laws, and Liberties, ſacred and inviolate.

It was the boaſt of our anceſtors that they were Engliſhmen, and lived under a conſtitution ſo happily framed and tempered, that its ſubjects fully enjoyed the bleſſings of freedom, guarded and ſecured by ſalutary laws, that at once tended to preſerve its continuance, and prevent its abuſe; and that the government poſſeſſed all the energetic power of an abſolute monarchy, without its deſpotiſm. Like faithful ſtewards for poſterity, they took care to hand down this conſtitution unimpaired to their ſucceſſors, from age to age. It would therefore naturally be imagined, that the ſame patriotiſm, the ſame zeal, the ſame dignified ardour would inſpire the breaſt of every man who has the honour of a ſeat in the ſenate, and that in a moment of ſuch unexampled difficulty as the preſent, when there is more occaſion to look up to the collective wiſdom of Parliament, for ſafety from its councils, than was ever experienced ſince Great Britain held her head high among nations, and was conſidered univerſally as one of the greateſt powers of Europe. In what view, then, are we to regard the phænomenon that we now witneſs, the ſeceſſion of the leaders of Oppoſition from their duty in both Houſes of Parliament? A meaſure as unwiſe in policy, as it is falſe

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in principle. A meaſure, which if adopted by halves, as it has been in the preſent inſtance, becomes ridiculous and contemptible; if carried to the full extent, it at once combines the double guilt of breach of truſt and deſertion of duty, and that of the higheſt nature that can be entruſted with any ſubject of the Britiſh crown. Is it neceſſary to remind thoſe Members of the Houſe of Commons who chuſe at preſent to abſent themſelves, that they are ſent to Parliament as the repreſentatives of others; that from the moment they are elected, the intereſts, not merely of their individual conſtituents, but of the whole nation, are delivered over to their care; and in the diſcharge of their legiſlative functions, they are bound to the beſt of their wiſdom, ability, and judgment, to watch over their preſervation? On what principle, then, of integrity, is it, that theſe gentlemen conceive they are entitled, as an act of mere volition, to abandon their poſts in the hour of danger, and leave their conſtituents, in effect, unrepreſented? Qualify their conduct with the moſt plauſible excuſe that human ingenuity can deviſe, and it will ſtill remain impoſſible to prove that it is not a breach of truſt. The only pretence that has hitherto been alledged, is that the Oppoſition feel that, in conſequence of the majority who ſupport the Miniſter's meaſures, they can do little or no good for their conſtituents. The allegation is not founded in fact, and even if it were, it is taking into their own hands what is, properly ſpeaking, the right of their conſtituents, the right of judging and deciding on the conduct of their repreſentatives in Parliament. If they thought their conduct inefficient or uſeleſs, they would doubtleſs manifeſt their opinion, by failing again to ſend them to Parliament, whenever opportunity offered for a new election. As to the fact, that becauſe the Miniſter has a commanding majority, they can do no good, every day's experience, from the Revolution downwards, has proved the high utility

lity of a vigilant and active Oppoſition in Parliament. Acting from the beſt motives, and impelled by the pureſt ardour and love for their country, men of diſtinguiſhed talents may feel mortified that meaſures of great moment, which they recommend in particular inſtances, as more likely to conduce to the national intereſt, than the meaſures of the Miniſter, are not preferred; but is that a ſufficient juſtification of a total dereliction of their public duty? The country has felt, and every conſiderate man will, no doubt, acknowledge with equal readineſs and gratitude, the many eminent ſervices which Oppoſition have at different times rendered by their detection of error, and their ſuggeſtion of improvement, in a vaſt variety of bills and parliamentary proceedings, which if they had paſſed *ſub ſilentio*, and without correction, would have proved, in effect, the heavieſt and moſt afflicting evils that could have befallen the Britiſh nation. The Iriſh Propoſitions, as they were termed, will ſerve as one inſtance out of thouſands, and ſhew the ineſtimable advantage that may in great caſes be derived from the diſcernment, knowledge, and experience of able men in Oppoſition. No legiſlative meaſure that ever was taken, could be imagined to have been more different in phraſe, ſhape, and purport, than thoſe propoſitions when they were firſt introduced by the Miniſter: and when after great and laborious inveſtigation and diſcuſſion, they were tranſmitted, in a modified form, to Dublin. It is ſo eaſy to multiply proofs of the uſe and importance of Oppoſition, that it would fill volumes to detail them, and therefore a ſhort and ſimple Addreſs will not admit of further enlargement upon the ſubject. The evident reſult of all the reaſoning that can be exerciſed upon it, will neceſſarily terminate in the conviction, that thoſe who are choſen to hold a delegated truſt, are bound either faithfully to diſcharge its duties, or by giving up their ſeats altogether, leave

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it to their conſtituents to elect repreſentatives who will be more unremittingly attentive to their intereſts.

The ſame charge of neglect of public duty applies to thoſe noble Lords who formed the Oppoſition in the Houſe of Peers, and who in like manner have abſented themſelves from the Houſe. A proud Patrician of the Britiſh Senate might loftily and loudly, at the firſt view of the argument, be inclined to ſay, "the reaſoning cannot apply to us, we are not choſen to repreſent individuals: who are our conſtituents? We ſit in Parliament in our own right, as hereditary counſellors of the Crown." What would be the anſwer? "True, my good Lord; but with 'bated breath and whiſpering humbleneſs,' let me remind your Lordſhip, that you do hold a delegated truſt, and that of a ſtill higher nature than the Commons. You are delegated by the conſtitution itſelf, under which you are a branch of the legiſlature, of the rank immediately next the Sovereign, of high importance in the ſtate, looked up to by every ſubordinate claſs for that ſuperior wiſdom that may naturally be ſuppoſed to reſult from the moſt enlightened minds, and that immoveable integrity, from which your great ſtake in the country renders it highly improbable for you to deviate. In the capacity of counſellors of the Crown, the people are entitled to expect that your counſels are always directed by an anxious attention to the general intereſts of the empire. Unleſs, therefore, you would conſent to degrade yourſelves, to depart from your elevated ſituation in the ſcale of the three eſtates, by ſinking from your rank, and giving up the conſtitutional character of the moſt auguſt aſſembly in the kingdom, for that of mere pageants, created to exhibit an empty ſhew of gaudy magnificence and idle ſplendour, you are as much bound as any other order of legiſlators, to do your duty, and diligently diſcharge your public functions

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in the Chamber of Parliament, uſually called the Houſe of Peers."

In ſtating this argument all approach to perſonality has been ſtudiouſly avoided, becauſe it is the principle itſelf, and not thoſe who practiſe it, which challenges the obſervations here humbly offered to the Britiſh Public. The reaſoning may be feeble, but it ariſes from a ſincere love of the Conſtitution, which is more likely to fall into gradual decay when its natural guardians abandon its protection, than to be ſuddenly overwhelmed and broken down by the outrages and violence of the ſavage foe, who ſo confidently menace its deſtruction.

November 10, 1797.

WOODFALL'S
PARLIAMENTARY REPORTS.

DURING THE SECOND SESSION OF THE EIGHTEENTH PARLIAMENT OF GREAT BRITAIN.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

THURSDAY, *November* 2, 1797.

AT three o'clock his Majeſty came down in the uſual ſtate to the Houſe, and being ſeated in his royal robes on the Throne, Sir *Francis Molyneux*, Uſher of the Black Rod, was ſent to order the attendance of the Houſe of Commons, who ſoon appeared at the Bar, with their Speaker. His Majeſty was then pleaſed to deliver the following moſt gracious Speech to both Houſes of Parliament:

"*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

"IT is matter of great concern to me, that the earneſt endeavours which I have continued to employ, ſince I laſt met you in Parliament, to reſtore to my ſubjects the bleſſings of Peace, on ſecure and honourable terms, have unhappily been rendered ineffectual.

"The Declaration which I have cauſed to be publiſhed, and the other Papers which I have directed to be laid before you, will, I am confident, abundantly prove to you and to the world, that every ſtep has been taken on my part which could tend to accelerate the concluſion of Peace; and that the long delay and final rupture of the negotiation are ſolely to be aſcribed to the evaſive conduct, the unwarrantable pretenſions, and the inordinate ambition of thoſe with whom we have to contend, and, above all, to their inveterate animoſity againſt theſe kingdoms.

"I have the fulleſt reliance, under the bleſſing of Providence, on the vigour and wiſdom of your counſels, and on the zeal, magnanimity, and courage of a great and free people, ſenſible that they are contending for their deareſt intereſts, and determined to ſhew themſelves worthy of the bleſſings which they are ſtruggling to preſerve.

"Compelled as we are, by the moſt evident neceſſity, to perſevere in the defence of all that is dear to us, till a more juſt

and pacific ſpirit ſhall prevail on the part of the enemy, we have the ſatisfaction of knowing that we poſſeſs means and reſources proportioned to the objects which are at ſtake.

"During the period of hoſtilities, and under the unavoidable preſſure of accumulated burthens, our revenue has continued highly productive, our national induſtry has been extended, and our commerce has ſurpaſſed its former limits.

"The public ſpirit of my people has been eminently diſplayed; my troops, of every deſcription, have acquired freſh claims to the eſteem and admiration of their country; and the repeated ſucceſſes of my navy over all our different enemies, have been recently crowned by the ſignal and deciſive victory with which Providence has rewarded the exertions of my fleet under the command of Admiral Lord Duncan.

"No event could be attended with more important and beneficial conſequences, or form a more brilliant addition to the numerous and heroic exploits which, in the courſe of the preſent war, have raiſed to a pitch hitherto unequalled the naval glory of the country.

"*Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,*

"I have directed the eſtimates for the enſuing year to be laid before you. The ſtate of the war, joined to the happy conſequences of our recent ſucceſs, will, I truſt, admit of ſome diminution of expence, conſiſtently with the vigorous efforts which our ſituation indiſpenſably requires. In conſidering what may be the beſt mode of defraying the heavy expence which will ſtill be unavoidable, you will, I am perſuaded, bear in mind that the preſent criſis preſents every motive to animate you to the moſt effectual and ſpirited exertions, the true value of any temporary ſacrifices, which you may find neceſſary for this purpoſe, can only be eſtimated by comparing them with the importance of ſupporting effectually our public credit, and convincing the enemy that, while we retain an ardent deſire for the concluſion of peace on ſafe and honourable terms, we poſſeſs the means, as well as the determination, to ſupport with vigour this arduous conteſt, as long as it may be neceſſary for maintaining the ſafety, honour, and independance of theſe kingdoms.

"*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

"After the experience I have had of your loyalty and attachment to me, and of your anxious regard for the intereſts of my ſubjects, I have only to recommend to you a perſeverance in the ſame principles and conduct.

"The events of every day muſt more and more impreſs you with a juſt ſenſe of the bleſſings which we derive from our civil

civil and religious eſtabliſhments, and which have ſo long diſtinguiſhed us among all the nations of Europe. Theſe bleſſings can only be preſerved by inculcating and enforcing a due reverence and obedience to the laws, by repreſſing with promptitude every attempt to diſturb our internal tranquillity, and by maintaining inviolate that happy Conſtitution which we inherit from our anceſtors, on which the ſecurity and happineſs of every claſs of my ſubjects eſſentially depend."

Lord *Welleſley* (Earl of Mornington in Ireland) was ſworn in and took his ſeat on the Barons' Bench.

The Lord *Chancellor* then read his Majeſty's Speech from the Woolſack; after which it was, as uſual, read by the Clerk at the table.

The Earl of *Glaſgow* roſe immediately, and began a ſpeech preparatory to moving an Addreſs to thank his Majeſty for his moſt gracious Speech from the Throne. He commenced with lamenting his own inadequate ability to do juſtice to the taſk he had undertaken, conſcious as he was that there were preſent many noble Lords of greater experience, and more in the habit of ſpeaking in Parliament than himſelf, who would have been better qualified to diſcharge the duty he had impoſed on himſelf; but, impreſſed as he was with the ſentiments contained in the Speech their Lordſhips had that day heard from the Throne, and ſatisfied that, from a due conſideration of the critical ſituation and ſingular circumſtances of the country, there could not be a diſſentient voice in the Houſe on the occaſion, but that every one of their Lordſhips would join heart and hand to afford his Majeſty that ſupport which the emergency of the caſe required, he ventured to riſe, and was anxious to embrace the firſt opportunity of declaring his full concurrence in his Majeſty's ſentiments, and his readineſs in the moſt cordial manner to meet his Majeſty's wiſhes, and act up to the magnanimity and patriotiſm that evidently inſpired the Royal breaſt.

If ever there was a mild and beneficent Sovereign ſincerely intereſted for the welfare of his people, it was the Monarch by whom we were at preſent governed, which circumſtance added greatly to the high ſentiment of duty to which he had alluded. In examining his Majeſty's gracious Speech, and the Public Declaration to all Europe by which it was preceded, it was moſt clearly apparent that he had all along been actuated by principles of juſtice and moderation. Thoſe documents pointed out, in a much better way than he could do, the malignant and inſidious conduct of the Enemy throughout the whole of the War, their ambitious views, un-

provoked aggreſſion, and ultimate Declaration of War. This conduct it was on their part which left it no longer in his Majeſty's power to indulge his beneficent inclinations towards Peace. Every part of the enemy's conduct, ſince the Declaration of War, was actuated by the ſame principles and diſpoſitions. His Majeſty had, however, loſt no opportunity in the courſe of this unfortunate conteſt, of proving the pacific intentions by which he had always been actuated. On every occaſion that preſented itſelf, he had with the moſt pure and honourable views renewed attempts to reſtore the bleſſings of Peace. In purſuit of this deſirable object, he had gone as far as was compatible with the ſafety of his People, and the dignity of his Crown.

Much as that auſpicious event was to be deſired, he yet hoped there was ſpirit and reſolution enough in the country not to look for, or accept it at the price of the honour and independance of the Britiſh Empire. His Majeſty had himſelf originally propoſed a Treaty for Peace to the Enemy. After that firſt Treaty was abruptly terminated, his Majeſty took the firſt opportunity of renewing it; and, in the progreſs of this latter negotiation, he had with the moſt earneſt ſolicitude for that event, directed his Miniſter to continue at Liſle as long as it was poſſible, namely, till a poſitive order from the Directory obliged him to return.

From this review of the principal overtures of Peace ſince the commencement of the preſent War, it was obvious, beyond the poſſibility of doubt, that the prolongation of the War was to be attributed ſolely to the open and undiſguiſed ambition of France; a fact generally known and admitted throughout Europe.

What in truth was the avowed ſtate of the negociation ſo lately terminated? The Enemy required a reſtitution of all the conqueſts made by the valour of our arms, and this not as the price of peace, but of negotiation. Such, with their affected candour and love of peace, were the terms they had the hardihood to propoſe; that we, who had every thing to give and nothing to receive, ſhould reſign every thing as a preliminary to treaty. By this procedure we were called on to make a mortifying and uſeleſs ſurrender of our national dignity and conſequence. If theſe, however, were the only terms that the aſpiring pride and dangerous ambition of the enemy would ſubmit to, he was perſuaded that the laſt reſources of the country would be cheerfully exerted, rather than that we ſhould ſo ſhamefully ſubmit to compromiſe our national ſafety, independence, and honour.

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What, however, was the relative ſituation of the contending parties, when this arrogant and unjuſtifiable pretenſion on the part of the enemy was advanced? Was it in a moment of humiliation, defeat, and diſgrace, that the Enemy dared to bring forward their inſolent demands? No; it was in the full career of conqueſt that theſe propoſitions were advanced! Their fleet was perfectly annihilated, which left no doubt on his Lordſhip's mind that they muſt now ſee the impotence of all their ſchemes in any meaſure to injure this country. We never had been ſucceſsful on any occaſion in the commencement of hoſtilities, and this ought to encourage our continuance, eſpecially as the late ſplendid victory of Viſcount Duncan ſhewed what our Navy, under its diſcipline and wiſe management, could accompliſh. And it was at the ſame time a pledge of certain proſperity always accompanying a manly fortitude, and dignified perſeverance in the uſe of the means with which Providence had endowed us. Whilſt we could command ſuch heroic efforts of valour, as our late glorious victory had evinced, and our own proweſs and reſources, we ſhould, under Divine Providence, firmly determine to rely on them, and diſcharge for ever from our minds the thought of mean and inſecure compromiſe with an inſolent and inſidious foe. There could not ſurely exiſt but one ſentiment in the minds, not only of their Lordſhips, but in all the country, on this conduct of the enemy. It clearly left us no alternative but that wiſely and ſpiritedly adopted by his Majeſty's Miniſters; and in ſuch policy he thought the circumſtances of the country fully warranted them. He had none of thoſe gloomy apprehenſions which, he conceived, ſome, but very few in the country, were impreſſed with: its commerce was extenſive, its great financial reſources unimpaired, generally ſpeaking our military operations ſucceſsful, and the triumphs of our navy great and ſignal beyond any former example. A nation thus circumſtanced had no ground for deſpondency: he therefore was decidedly of opinion, that the conduct of Miniſters was politic and proper, and ſuch as eventually would beſt conduce to an honourable and ſecure Peace.

He apologized for having taken up ſo much of their Lordſhips time, and declared that a conſciouſneſs of his own incompetence prevented him from detaining them longer on a ſubject that was ſo clear and obvious in itſelf, as to require the greateſt abilities to ſet it in a novel or more intereſting point of view. He ſhould therefore conclude, with moving, "That an humble Addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, to return him thanks

thanks for his moſt gracious Speech, juſt delivered from the Throne."

Lord *Gwydir* ſaid, after the detailed account your Lordſhips have read, in the Declaration which has been publiſhed; after the gracious Speech you have this day heard delivered from the Throne, and the able manner in which the Addreſs has been moved, it muſt certainly appear preſumptuous in me, to offer myſelf to your Lordſhip's notice; but at a moment like the preſent, I eſteem it a duty I owe to your Lordſhips, to the Public, and to myſelf, to declare the principles which have hitherto governed my public conduct. I have ſupported this war from its commencement, becauſe I thought it juſt and neceſſary. Every event of the war, every conſequence that has followed has ſerved to confirm me in the opinion I firſt formed. 'Tis from this Conviction I now call upon your Lordſhips to ſupport the Addreſs which has juſt been moved.

The powers of language have been ſo often employed to deſcribe the complicated nature of this war, that words have loſt their effect by repetition. But the magnitude and importance of the objects it embraces remain ſtill the ſame.

Three times have his Majeſty's Miniſters gone to the utmoſt verge that prudence and honour would permit, in the hope of being able to put an end to this unexampled conteſt by negotiation and treaty; the reſult is well known, and I am at a loſs to imagine a reaſon for your Ambaſſador's having been received, unleſs it was to afford the Jacobin party in France an opportunity of adding inſult to injury.

I have heard it ſtated from high authority that a point of honour was almoſt the only rational cauſe for war.—A diſpute for trade, or territorial poſſeſſion, might be eaſily compromiſed; might even be given up entirely, and the loſs replaced from other reſources: but the honour of this country once gone, its importance falls with it, and it would ſoon become the deriſion and contempt of mankind.

Has the object of this war altered? Certainly not. The means of carrying it on have varied, but the preſervation of the conſtitution and independence of Great Britain, has from its commencement been our great purſuit.

We have undoubtedly expended immenſe ſums of money, we no longer appear to have the ſame facility of commanding freſh ſupplies.—Granted.—But let it be remembered, that the comparative force of different countries muſt be judged of in its relative as well as real ſenſe. And I firmly believe, that notwithſtanding the ſucceſſes of France on the Continent; her

real

real phyſical reſources and power againſt this country are infinitely more ſunk in proportion than our own. And conſequently, if we make the exertions which are called for, we make them with an increaſed proſpect of ſucceſs.

The ſole aim of the rulers of that country is univerſal dominion, and whether they have purſued it by war, or treaty, that object has never varied.

With the words, juſtice, good faith, and humanity in their mouths, they think no actions too atrocious to be committed. Indulging their minds in ideal victories over this country, they already conſider you as a conquered enemy, and will liſten to no terms, but ſuch as they ſhall dictate.

The laws they have made apply only to themſelves; occaſional poſſeſſion creates of itſelf indefeaſible right, but when this doctrine, as new as it is inadmiſſible, comes under diſcuſſion with their adverſaries, it is exactly reverſed, as applied to them, and they inſtantly demand a previous unconditional reſtitution of every thing that has been taken, either from themſelves or their pretended allies.

Had theſe haughty terms been acceded to, our diſhonour would have been ſealed, but every chance of peace would have been farther removed.

No negotiator could have thought even of propoſing ſuch terms, but with the view of forcing a continuance of the war. So much for the juſtice of their theory and practice.

It would be a waſte of your Lordſhips time, were I to comment on their good faith, either in the treaties they have dictated and broken, or the alliances they have formed and abuſed. But permit me to ſay, it is from theſe treaties, and theſe alliances, the reſt of Europe would do well to take an example of what they have to expect.

Had the allies continued true to their engagements, the war would, long ere this, have been brought to a happy concluſion.

Far different has been the conduct of this country.—The ſtate of funds, the pecuniary difficulties under which we have exerted and maintained our public credit, muſt convince our allies, of the efforts we made to ſupply their wants. We have more than fulfilled every engagement; and in the Negotiation we propoſed, their intereſts were combined with our own.

Perhaps it was wiſe to learn by negotiation, to what extent the unjuſtifiable demands and inſolent ſtipulations of the faction in France would go. Perhaps it was neceſſary to prove to this country, peace was impoſſible; in order to rouze that vigorous exertion which its honour and true intereſt equally demand.

How

How long the reſt of Europe may continue the ſhort ſighted policy of keeping aloof from a conteſt in which all are ſo deeply concerned I know not.

But in this momentous war, in which we are and muſt be embarked, and of which they are the inglorious and paſſive ſpectators: ſhould the event prove deſtructive to this country., All the terms they have obtained, all the alliances they have formed, all the friendſhips they have courted, would in a moment crumble into duſt; and the triumphant Jacobins, freed from the correcting power of Great Britain, would reſume with ſafety, what, with apparent, though falſe moderation, they have hitherto given up.

Engaged as we are in a ſtruggle for exiſtence as a nation, what creates our difficulty but a queſtion of finance? What but a reluctance to contribute a part of that wealth for our defence, the whole of which would ſoon be wreſted from us, after a cowardly ſubmiſſion to an ignominous peace? Are our poſſeſſions ravaged? Are our armies defeated? Is our commerce deſtroyed? Or, are our fleets ſubdued? The anſwers to all theſe queſtions are as conſolatory as they are obvious. On the ſplendour of our naval victories ſeparately and repeatedly gained over the fleets of France, Spain, and Holland, I ſhall not preſume to enlarge. They are above all praiſe, and I truſt, the admiration and gratitude of the nation, will, if poſſible, keep pace with the advantages and honour ſo glorioufly obtained.

The Government of France has at leaſt the merit of proclaiming its intentions. It is determined utterly to overthrow your ſyſtem. It conſiders England, as the great magazine of the riches of the world, which it is determined to plunder and deſtroy.

I contend you have nothing to fear from being conquered, that you have not equally to dread from a baſe ſurrender.

The terms on which they offer to accept your ſurrender, (for in no other ſenſe will they conſent to treat,) muſt lay you completely at their feet—When at their mercy, could the moſt ſanguine friend of their power, expect better treatment than their own ſubjects; and I would aſk your Lordſhips, if death is not preferable to life under ſuch rulers?

An extreme deſire to put an end to the miſeries of war, induced his Majeſty's Miniſters to go every length that prudence and honour permitted, (nay perhaps farther,) to terminate thoſe miſeries by negotiation. But after the reception thoſe advances have met with, the nation would be regardleſs of its dignity, it would be careleſs of the high opinion in which it now ſtands

ſtands with the reſt of Europe, it would be diſgraced in the eyes of the whole world, if it heſitated a moment in reſenting the inſult and accepting the challenge.

It would be a ſtrange return for all the blood that has been ſpilt, and all the valour which has been ſhewn by our fleets and armies, if we were baſely to ſurrender the fruits of ſo many victories, inſtead of ſeconding their efforts by the ſame inflexible ſteadineſs in our councils which they have conſtantly manifeſted on every ſervice they have undertaken.

The wild fury of your old and inveterate enemies has ſpoken in a manner too plain to be misunderſtood. They offer no other alternative but unconditional ſubmiſſion to their will, or fierce and bloody conteſt with their power. When have they by their actions and ſucceſſes againſt this country eſtabliſhed a right to hold ſuch inſolent language?

Here then we are forced to make our ſtand. In retreat there is no ſafety; the moſt mortifying ſubmiſſion, the moſt important ſacrifices, would only ſerve (as baſeneſs and fear always muſt ſerve) to encreaſe the inſolence of your relentleſs foe. Are we then to wage eternal war? In fair argument no man has a right to put this extreme caſe. The events of the war will, I hope, ſoon decide that queſtion. It is ſufficient evil for the day if it be proved that Peace cannot be obtained. With the preſent Directory a wiſh for Peace with this country conſtitutes a crime of the deepeſt dye. Thoſe who in France, ſupported by public opinion, wiſhed for peace on fair and honourable terms, have been ſeized and tranſported like criminals, with a cruelty unrecorded in hiſtory; and with them all appearance of juſtice and liberty have vaniſhed alſo.

The Jacobin deſpotiſm is now at its height; let the powers of Europe, which ſtill retain their independence, look well to its exploſion.

Much as I lament the horrors of war, and no man can more than I do, I am convinced there is no road to peace but that which muſt be opened by the power of the ſword. To ſecure the permanent happineſs and proſperity of this country, all temporary ſacrifices are as nothing. I truſt a plan will be brought forward for raiſing the ſupplies equal to meet all our difficulties.

I am far from endeavouring to keep out of ſight thoſe temporary inconveniences which all muſt feel, more or leſs, and ſome to a very great and ſevere degree, but they are inconveniences which we muſt endure to prevent more ſerious evils, and will, no doubt, be borne with cheerfulneſs by every true lover of his country. Under Providence our ſafety is in our

own hands; I truſt there will be no half meaſures, but by boldly looking at our ſituation we ſhall find our ſpirits and reſources adequate to the wants of the nation and the importance of the criſis.

After the indulgence I have experienced from your Lordſhips goodneſs, I will not treſpaſs farther on your time than once more to call upon you for your ſupport of the motion that you have this day heard ſo ably made.

Earl *Fitzwilliam* ſaid, he fully concurred with the ſentiments of the noble Earl, who moved the Addreſs, and the noble Lord who ſeconded it, as to the danger and difficulty of the criſis, and the neceſſity of purſuing the war with vigour, but there were words in the Addreſs to which he could not agree, becauſe, he conceived they evidently tended to weaken the principle, upon which that Houſe might, as the Addreſs ſtated, wiſh to come forward with their ſupport of his Majeſty; having premiſed this, his Lordſhip ſaid, his concurrence with the Addreſs ſhould not be withheld, provided a trivial alteration in a few words was admitted. In every other reſpect his ſentiments were in uniſon with the noble Lord who had juſt ſit down; and their Lordſhips would do him the juſtice to believe, that his ſentiments had from the commencement of the war, never once varied. The objection on its firſt appearance ſtruck him preciſely as it ever had done ſince. Its aſpect had been uniform. Whatever ſhape it aſſumed, to whatever point it tended, the principle was the ſame, compounded of the ſame ingredients, and in every direction productive of the ſame effects. To every word, therefore, in the Speech, in the Addreſs, and in the Declaration, which aim at the moſt diſtant connection with a ſyſtem thus hoſtile to both happineſs and human comfort, he was determined to give his decided negative. Nor would he ever lend his ſanction to the opening and carrying on negociation with a power ſo anomalous, ſo dangerous to the ſafety of Europe, as the French Republic. What terms can be made with a Government between which and us there are no common principles? They had no medium of acceſs to the views and wiſhes of each other. Nor was it proper they ſhould. He had lamented that any attempts at negotiation with a power, conſtituted as the French Republic was, had ever been made. Every effort to that effect had not only proved nugatory, but productive of greater difficulty and danger. When his Majeſty had unfortunately been adviſed to come down to that Houſe, two ſeſſions ſince, and make a declaration that the French Republic was then in a ſtate capable of maintaining the accuſtomed relations of peace and amity with

with other nations, he had felt no inconſiderable ſhare of pain, conſcious that no ſtate of France but a reſtored monarchy, could render it capable of exiſtence with ſafety to the other powers of Europe. Such had been at one time maintained to be the principle of the war, and ſo declared from the higheſt authority. His Majeſty's declaration therefore, two years ago, appeared to him to have been extremely injudicious, and he verily believed its conſequences had fatally contributed to the continuance of the war, under circumſtances diſadvantageous to Great Britain, as it engendered diſtruſt among the allies, and weakened the energy of the coaleſced powers, and of the grand alliance. He would add, that he verily believed the fruit of that declaration had been the treaty of Udina. Let their Lordſhips for a moment reflect on the different principles of the two countries, and they would ſee how impoſſible it was for Great Britain to make a ſecure peace with the French Republic. What was the object of their Government and ours: The ſame luſt of univerſal empire which poiſoned and debaſed their old eſtabliſhment, ſeems the only principle which diſtinguiſhes the new. Is it neceſſary to trace their revolutionary progreſs, or in what ſtage of it is not this characteriſtic feature moſt prominent? Look at all their views, their conqueſts, their intrigues, and their negociations. Have theſe any other end or aim than the aggrandizement of France? How are the relations of peace and amity to be obtained or eſtabliſhed between nations thus at variance in pretenſions and ſpirit, in views and means, in what they would have and what they would be? The detail of the tranſactions mark their Jacobinical march over all the mounds of good order and political ſubordination. It might have been expected, after they had aboliſhed monarchy in all its parts and branches, and had fenced themſelves in their uſurpation with their decrees, their armies, and their tribunals, that they would have deſiſted from troubling their neighbours. But is it not evident that their original purpoſe is as ſtrong and as extenſive in its operation as ever in their very laſt actions? However they have diſguiſed their intentions to their new friends, a very ſhort time has brought them into light. Only recollect the many fine ſpeeches of liberty and equality with which the Dutch and all its dependencies have been amuſed. Have not all theſe, more or leſs, been falſified? And is there a people this day on earth in greater ſlavery than theſe infatuated States to their new maſters? Have they not found how ill exchanged our connection is for that of theſe Republicans? By what are they gainers? How prepoſterous to think of acquiring independence from

thoſe who, after deſpoiling their own countrymen of their rights, iſſue forth the deſtroyers of whatever belongs to our common nature. And has it not been the ſame with all the allies they have been able to make? With none of them have they ever fairly ſubſtantiated what they held out. Nay, not only to their allies, but to thoſe who were not their enemies, they have manifeſted the moſt oppreſſive tyranny, and the moſt glaring injuſtice. Let their Lordſhips recollect their conduct to Avignon, and Avignon certainly was not their enemy; neither did Geneva ſtand in that ſituation. The ſtrict and cautious neutrality which Venice obſerved, the complaiſance of Genoa for the French Government, were unable to protect them from the rage of Jacobin proſelytiſm. They have fallen victims to the puſillanimity, or to the prudence with which they acted. But it may be ſaid, that here a victorious army interfered, and in the exultation of victory effected changes which might not have ariſen from the general politics of the French Government. The unexampled atrocities, however, the unjuſtifiable interference with the little State of Geneva, were the deliberate effects of their deſolating and revolutionary ſyſtem; for the revolution in Geneva originated from the houſe of the French miniſter. Their treatment of the Italian States alſo, and their conduct to America in particular, proved what their aim and object were. Neutral and friendly powers had been deprived of their rights by Buonoparte, on no other pretence than the convenience and advantage of the French Republic. He would not even condeſcend to colour or diſguiſe his motives under a plauſible or ſpecious pretext. Diſorganization in all its extent, has uniformly ſucceeded every eſtabliſhment they have been able to overthrow. They have indeed but one character, which diſcriminated them at the beginning, and has never ſince changed, and in all probability never will. It is their own incommunicable prerogative, an incompatibility of coaleſcing with any other power whatever. In all their treaties this accordingly is the paramount article. It is for the privilege of regenerating the conſtitutions of other nations, and proſelyting the ſubjects of other States, that they throw away all their old forms of every quality and complexion, for the ſubſtitution of an arrangement perfectly new, unknown, and untried; that they burſt upon all the ſtates in their vicinity, and convulſed them with their enthuſiaſm, and that wherever they penetrated by art or arms, the revolutionary mania followed them in all its effects: from which of the moſt uncultivated wilds, in the moſt barbarous countries, did ever ſwarms of ſuch banditti iſſue as has iſſued from the cultivated

vated empire of France, and overſpread the ſurrounding kingdoms with madneſs and guilt? And is this the people with whom your Lordſhips are ready to make engagements? The character and tempers of their rulers evince what you have to expect from their warmeſt profeſſions. Theſe are probably formed on the ſpirit of the people, and within theſe two months have preſented to every humane and conſiderate mind a moſt dreadful picture of hypocritical affectation and uſurped extravagance, the cant of liberty and the horror of deſpotiſm. Is not their late proſcription of no leſs than ſixty-five deputies, and the poſitive and entire disfranchiſement of fifty-three departments, for whoſe repreſentation they have arbitrarily and openly ſent creatures of their own to the Council of Five Hundred, an inſtance of this predominating lawleſs propenſity? In fact, the councils were not the repreſentatives of the people, but of the Directory, and this falſe and pretended repreſentation of the nation, was even extended to the ſubordinate municipal officers. How much have they expoſed their abſurd conceptions of popular repreſentation? Of this primary principle in modern democracy, how much have they not boaſted, but in what inſtance has it been realized? Is the expulſion of ſuch a number of thoſe, legally choſen by their conſtituents, and authoriſed to repreſent them in the great National Council, meant to exemplify their doctrine or to explain it? Does the equality they originally propoſed conſiſt of ſuch outrages on the rights and feelings of each other? And have we any reaſon whatever to expect better uſage than is mutually adopted among themſelves? Here, therefore, he was pledged to their Lordſhips and the public to make no peace where peace is impracticable, where it can neither be honourable nor laſting, where the party you cloſe with only cloſe the more effectually to break on the firſt occaſion that offers, and either prove perfidious friends or implacable enemies. Their Lordſhips would of courſe have to conſider, whether it is not better to proſecute the war on the original ground of it, or by putting an end to the one baſely relinquiſh the other. No one who ſeriouſly conſiders the matter can be at a loſs to make his election in this alternative. Perſevere in the courſe you have commenced, and your efforts muſt be crowned with ſucceſs. The machinery is in motion which muſt eventually prevail. It is true, the war has coſt the country many millions, but the taxes are paid, our reſources are riſing, trade is increaſed, and commerce flouriſhing. It was alſo true, that the public burthens bore more heavily on ſome ranks of people, than every humane man could wiſh, but that was not to be taken as a proof

that

that our reſources were nearly exhauſted, and he believed the ſpirit of the people to ſupport ſo neceſſary a war, might ſtill be relied on. All the world are ſatisfied of the reſponſibility of our funds, of their competency to all our exigencies, of their readineſs on every emergency. Let our reſources be compared with thoſe of our adverſaries. They are, in fact, without any reſource. All they have yet done, all the armies they have raiſed, all the magazines they have filled, and all the treaſures they have expended have been effected, not by any eſtabliſhed arrangement of finance, any ſyſtem of efficient taxation, or any well-digeſted plan of levying an equal contribution for ſupplying the public expenditure, but by an indiſcriminate application of the power they have uſurped, to make the property of individuals anſwerable to the exigence of the State. This general appropriation of wealth may do for once, or be the expedient of a moment, but it cannot be a permanent reſource. And nothing proves to me their weakneſs more decidedly than their carrying on the public buſineſs by private property. It is blowing up the mine inſtead of working and carrying the ore to be purified, refined, and coined. He built, however, but little on their ruined finances, becauſe, during a convulſion depending ſo much on the effect of temporary coercion, no line could be drawn, while any property remained to be required. France evidently carried on the war by force and requiſition at home, plunder and extortion in all the territories ſo unfortunate as to be over-run by her hoſtile hordes. But now, how is it with our revenue. Let their Lordſhips recollect the valuable reports that the induſtry of their own committees ſupplied them with on the ſubject of finance laſt ſeſſion. Let them hold in mind the facility with which the loans of the year were negotiated. More money was offered to Government than the Miniſter had occaſion for, and any ſum might have been obtained to carry on a war, which the people found and felt to be juſt and neceſſary. In fact, all its ſources have rather improved than diminiſhed ſince the war. Our commerce is actually increaſed and extended beyond all expectation. Where are not our manufactures exported? In what ſea is not the Britiſh navy triumphant? The Spaniſh, the French, and the Dutch fleets have ſucceſſively acknowledged the ſuperiority of our flag. And are all theſe inſtances of our glory to be ſurrendered for the amity of a government incapable of accepting, cementing, or realizing it. What do we gain by this heterogeneous connexion? Are your Lordſhips in hopes of better treatment than any of their other allies? Have they not ſubverted the order pre-eſtabliſhed in all the connections they have

have formed? And will they reverence yours any longer than it is in their power to trample it under their feet? By what means can you deter them from this outrage, or bind them to regard as ſacred among us what they abolished among themſelves. It has always been his Lordſhip's opinion, that had our allies proved true to each other, had they been animated with as much zeal to defend, as the French to attack, the whole fabric of regular ſociety, the war had been happily terminated long ago. But the eccentricities we had to repel have never been fairly met. We have ruined the cauſe we wiſhed to protect by our own miſmanagement, by want of magnanimity, by mutual jealouſy, and inattention to the common ſpirit and principle which ought to have animated and knit us altogether in one heart, and one aim. The deſertion of one led the way to that of another. But though left in the field alone, we occupy ſuch vantage ground as may enable us for a long time to come to hold them in perfect defiance. Is not the Emperor, our greateſt and moſt relied on continental bulwark, a beacon to the people of this country? He whoſe indiſpenſible duty it was to have preſerved the Empire from the dreadful inundation to which it is now expoſed by his new allies; who had ſo many reaſons for reſiſting the torrent that has ſo long threatened to overflow his dominions, inſtead of proving himſelf the father of his people, their hereditary head and protector, is actually, by the aſcendancy of the French in his councils, become a Jacobin, and their tool to jacobiniſe his ſubjects. This is his fate, and the fate of all who have ſuffered themſelves to be the victims of this new policy. The King of Pruſſia may alſo turn Jacobin, and fall in with the extravagant ſchemes of this ambitious Republick, which already calls out for a Tranſrhenane Republick, on the very borders of the dominions of Auſtria and Pruſſia. In proportion as your Lordſhips regard with veneration and patriotiſm our valuable liberties, as tranſmitted in purity to us by our anceſtors, you will reſiſt all terms of coaleſcence with this Regicide Government. Has not the object, as advanced by his Majeſty in a former ſpeech, that we fought for, order, morality, and religion, the ſame value in your eſtimation, and the ſame claim on your deciſion and exertion as ever? Attend only to the words of his Majeſty's Declaration at the period alluded to. [His Lordſhip came to the table, and read an extract, corroborating his aſſertion, and then ſaid]—Your Lordſhips know how ſacred theſe ought to be to us all, and what influence they are calculated

to

to maintain in our individual and relative ſtate; and for what, by preſſing a Negociation, would your Lordſhips exchange them? And will your Lordſhips negotiate, and ally yourſelves with men who have deſtroyed all order, diſregarded all morality, and avowed themſelves Atheiſts? It merits deep and mature conſideration, whether it becomes a great and free people to part with order, morality, and religion, for every ſpecies and degree of confuſion, mutual depredation, and Atheiſm. Theſe are the ſentiments in which it has been my lot to contemplate the progreſs of theſe new-fangled principles. And it is now as much as ever my ſtedfaſt opinion that conſiſtently with our national dignity, with our conſtitution, with the patriotiſm we ſeverally owe our country, our children, and our poſterity, with all our deareſt and beſt regards for the creed and independent ſentiments of our forefathers, we cannot agree to conditions of peace and amity with our enemies until the old Monarchy is reſtored, and an hereditary Sovereign re-inſtated on the Throne of his anceſtors! He concluded with moving, That the words in the Addreſs which implied an approbation of the ſteps which his Majeſty had been adviſed to take to reſtore peace with the French Government, be omitted.

Lord *Grenville* ſaid, In preſenting myſelf to your Lordſhips immediately after the Noble Earl who has thought it right, I am ſure with the beſt intentions on his part, to move for leaving out a part of the Addreſs that has been ſo ably moved and ſeconded, I by no means intend to offer any ſentiments in oppoſition to the well-grounded doctrines he has thrown out, with reſpect to the conduct of the French, and to the efficacy of ther principles on the fate of Europe. On the contrary, ſo far from wiſhing to leſſen the impreſſion which the Noble Earl's able and eloquent deſcription of the conduct of the French to their own ſubjects, to their allies, and even to thoſe who were not their enemies, has made, I am extremely deſirous that the impreſſion may remain in full force on the minds of all who hear me. I concur with the Noble Earl in all that he has ſaid. I agree with the Noble Earl alſo in the idea that there is no ſafety for any people by being at peace with the French, for the dreadful picture which he has drawn of the horrible nature of their friendſhip, is juſtified by the hiſtory of the nations which they have ruined; but I carry my opinion ſo much farther than the Noble Earl, as I think that theſe calamities not merely flowed from their peace with France, but happened to them totally

totally and altogether on that account. It was becauſe they were at peace with France; it was becauſe they ſought for ſafety in a temporizing ſyſtem, as if it were poſſible to find ſafety by a diſhonourable and ignominious acquieſcence in ſuch principles. In my opinion the only ſafety to be obtained under ſuch a ſyſtem, is by an honourable peace or vigorous war. It is not by compromiſes, however humble; it is not by ſacrifices, however extravagant, that ſecurity can be obtained againſt ſuch a ſyſtem. It is only by a vigorous reſiſtance of their principles, a manly diſregard of their threats, and a zealous maintenance of our own principles, that we can ſecure to ourſelves the bleſſings of our eſtabliſhed Government; but acting on theſe ideas, and truſting to our own genuine vigour, I differ from the Noble Earl, as to the inference he has drawn from the detail he has ſo well made, that this country never could with ſafety make peace with the French Republick. At no time have I ever adopted ſuch an opinion, but have ſtudiouſly avoided encouraging the idea, and never once let any words eſcape me that could warrant the ſuppoſition that ſuch was my ſentiment. I ſee the conduct of the French towards other nations with as little ſatisfaction as the Noble Earl; but I believe that even with the French Republic, as now conſtituted, peace may be both practicable and permanent. It may be obtained, in my mind, upon conditions conſiſtent with the honour and ſafety of the empire, and ſuch as no man, whatever may be his feelings, need diſdain to embrace. But I perfectly agree with the Noble Earl that we can look for no ſafety by following the conduct of thoſe powers that have ſought it in ignominious ſubmiſſion. It is not by ſacrifices of principle, not by acquieſcence, not by yielding point after point, but by a regular, temperate, and firm maintenance of our juſt rights and dignity, that we can ſecure ourſelves againſt the peril of the torrent of French inundation. I think, my Lords, that I have ſaid all that is neceſſary in anſwer to the Noble Earl's obſervations on this part of the ſubject; but the Noble Earl choſe to refer to ſome words of a Declaration of the King, made in the commencement of this conteſt, as if his Majeſty's Miniſters had departed from the line of politics pointed out therein. I think the Noble Earl has not been altogether correct in this reference. If he had read the whole of that Declaration, he would have found that care was expreſsly taken to guard againſt the miſtake which the Noble Earl has fallen into. I have in no idea varied, and the reſt of his Majeſty's ſervants have in no idea varied from the words of the Declaration to which the Noble Earl alludes. At no time

ſince the commencement of the war have his Majeſty's Miniſters declared that no peace could or ought to be made with the Republic. All that they aſſerted in that Declaration to which the Noble Earl has alluded, and which is further proved by the whole tenor of the conduct which his Majeſty has been adviſed to hold, is that they thought peace was more likely to be permanent if France ſhould happily return to a regular Government, and that of all other forms, that of a reſtored Monarchy was moſt likely to afford ſecurity and repoſe to the other ſtates of Europe. It was never ſaid, that peace was not practicable under the new order of things, but that certainly it would be better made, and more likely to be durable, under the monarchy. I beg, therefore, that the noble Earl will examine with attention our former declarations, and compare them with the preſent, that he may ſatisfy his fair and honourable mind of the conſiſtency of our conduct; we have been uniform throughout; we are eager only to ſecure to this country peace upon conditions which ſhall be independent of any exiſting order of things in France, and however we may have preferred to treat with one kind of Government to another, we have never made any one kind of Government a *ſine qua non* of negotiation. On the main ſubject of his Majeſty's ſpeech from the throne, it is impoſſible for me to add any thing to what has been ſo eloquently ſaid by the noble peers who moved and ſeconded the addreſs. They have ſo forcibly expreſſed the ſentiments which I feel, and I think have ſo perfectly ſecured the approbation of your Lordſhips to the Addreſs itſelf, that it would be equally vain and impoſſible for me to add any thing to what they have ſaid. I rejoice in the unanimity which is likely to prevail this day, it is the moſt critical and the moſt awful period that the hiſtory of England ever witneſſed, and at no moment was the unanimous declaration of a determined ſpirit to ſupport his Majeſty in the meaſures eſſential to national proſperity, more incumbent upon us than at preſent. If the Addreſs could be made more clear, more deciſive upon this point, by leaving out the words to which the noble Earl objects, I would be the firſt to agree with him in the amendment to that purpoſe; but I muſt object to his amendment, becauſe it goes to omit the very part of the Addreſs, which of all others, I conceive the Houſe would wiſh to ſupport; viz. a declaration that they highly approved of his Majeſty's endeavours to enter into a negotiation with the French Republic, in order to reſtore peace to Great Britain and France, and that it was evident, from the procraſtinating and inſulting conduct of the enemy, the further

ther continuance of all the horrors of war was to be attributed. I truſt it is the object of us all explicitly to declare, that we will never compromiſe nor ſurrender the juſt claims of England, that we will never ſeek for peace by ſacrifices that are inconſiſtent with our true ſafety. But, my Lords, not thinking that the ſpirit of the Declaration is weakened by manifeſting a deſire for peace upon honourable and juſt principles, I muſt object to the motion of the noble Earl, and vote for the Addreſs as it has been ſo ably propoſed.

The Marquis of *Lanſdown* ſaid, my Lords, I do not riſe to offer my feeble oppoſition to the Addreſs that has been propoſed. I know how illuſory and how vain it would be for me to flatter myſelf with the preſumption that any thing which I can offer would avail in this moſt perilous and moſt awful moment! When I ſee that thoſe noble Peers whoſe juſt influence is ſupported by great ability and by powerful eloquence are abſent, I cannot hope that any thing coming from abilities like mine can have weight with you; but, my Lords, though I have long meditated the doing that which others have done, though it would have beſt ſuited by own inclination and temper of mind to have followed their example, and though I have ever borne in mind the ſaying which I once heard from a very wiſe man, viz. that there ought to be an interval between life and death in which men ought to retire from buſtle and buſineſs, reflect upon their paſt life, and enjoy their eaſe and independence, I have wiſhed to retire, but I did not like to take one important ſtep before I knew what ſtep is to follow it; and therefore, conſcious as I am that other noble Lords, who are abſent, would expreſs the ſame idea with more force and greater ability, I think it more manly, and more fair, for every man to offer his opinion at a criſis like the preſent. On this occaſion I have the misfortune, I am afraid, to ſtand ſingle; but, however weak my voice, however feeble my talents, I conceive it be my duty to exert them in the way which I think may the beſt conduce to the object which I have in view, that of arreſting you in a career that leads to death. Brought as we are to the brink of a moſt dreadful precipice, which noble Lords have ſo juſtly deplored, I yet think it right, ſingle as I am, to raiſe my warning voice, and to ſave you, if poſſible, from the abyſs. The abſence of the noble Lords, though it has not ſurpriſed me, afflicts my heart: I am not ſurpriſed, my Lords, becauſe I do not know whether it is not even a wiſe, a ſalutary, and a patriotic meaſure: far be it from me to arraign them; it is a meaſure upon which, as I have already ſaid, I have often contemplated myſelf with ſerioufneſs, and which I have more than

once thought of adopting. For what, my Lords, avails it for a few men, unſupported by public opinion, to ſpend their breath here againſt a ſyſtem which is not to be aſſailed by wiſdom nor moved by patriotiſm; which repoſes itſelf on other baſis than diſcuſſion, experience, and truth? I have no doubt, therefore, but that theſe noble perſons have declined their attendance upon conſiderations, ſtrong and weighty, upon principles of conſcience and rectitude, and that their abſence may do more to awaken you to ſerioufneſs and to reflection, than all they could have done by fine harangues and by declamation, however lofty, and however impreſſive.

My Lords, if I come down thus ſingle, it is not from any motive of ſelf-conceit, it is not, I repeat it, becauſe I think that any thing which I have to ſay will work upon your minds, but becauſe I think the times themſelves demand from every man exertion in every way in which it is poſſible; demand from yourſelves the ſurrender of thoſe prejudices which have hitherto made you deaf to the danger that ſurrounds, and demand from all parties the forgetfulneſs of what is paſt, that we may now come to contemplate with ſerious minds the horror and peril of our ſituation. It is this, my Lords, that induces me yet to trouble you with my faint, perhaps my unavailing voice. The Declaration, and what a declaration! has made a moſt ſerious impreſſion upon me; unaccompanied as it is with the documents, I read it with a perfect confidence in the main facts which it ſtates. If one quarter of thoſe facts be true, and that they are I have not the ſlighteſt inclination to diſbelieve, what do they prove? That the French Directory have no intention to make peace with you, but they are alienated in mind and implacably hoſtilized to the Government of this country! My Lords, this is a moſt ſerious and a moſt important matter, for then comes the great queſtion, What are we to do in ſuch a predicament? I agree with the noble Earl as to the difficulty and danger of the criſis, but the noble Earl ſays, continue the war! I aſk you, how are you to continue it? I leave all that has been ſaid about Geneva and Genoa, and the other States who have ſuffered from the conduct of France, to men better acquainted with the circumſtances. We have nothing to do with theſe details. Our caſe is not parallel. Great Britain is not to be put on a footing with the petty States which the drunkenneſs of the French Revolution has diſturbed, and we ought not to be diverted from the contemplation of our own caſe by ſuch references. I leave them, along with all the books and ſpeeches of prediction about the impoſſibility of the French continuing their ſyſtem, which

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have ſo long and ſo fatally deluded your Lordſhips. We are come now to that point when we are doomed to act by ourſelves, and I need not tell your Lordſhips, that through the whole of this buſineſs it has been the invariable principle of thoſe who have carried on the war, that we could not make any effectual impreſſion on France without a continental ally. If this be true, what ſhall we now do when the French have made a Jacobin of the Emperor? This, my Lords, is not my expreſſion, I would not have preſumed to call his Majeſty a Jacobin Emperor, but I borrow the expreſſion from the noble Earl. Can we go on without an ally for any purpoſe of offence? We cannot hope to recover the King of Pruſſia as an ally, he may become a Jacobin likewiſe; there is little chance of rekindling in his breaſt the flame of romance that has now burned in us for five years; he long ago had wiſdom to quit the ſcene, and now we find that even the Emperor has withdrawn. I hope, however, that we ſhall find him a man of honour in his engagements, and that the money which was advanced in this country, which our Miniſters have conſtantly declared was not a ſubſidy but a ſolemn loan, will be paid with punctuality and honour. The ſurmiſes that I have heard I muſt therefore diſregard. But, my Lords, what I in particular deſire to preſs on your conſideration is, that you are now called upon to perſevere in this conteſt, without the means which have ſo frequently been ſtated as eſſential to its ſucceſs. It is for your Lordſhips to ſtop and enquire with what wiſdom you are now to open this new career? The noble Lord ſays, that our reſources are riſing and means are flouriſhing in conſequence of our increaſed trade. Are they ſo? I deſire to know what and where those means are? Is the noble Lord furniſhed with authentic documents of this fact? I ſhall be really rejoiced to hear that this lofty aſſertion, which I obſerve alſo makes a part of the Speech, can be proved; I have not had opportunity to ſee any papers that can ſatisfy me on the ſubject. What I have ſeen are directly the reverſe. The papers that I have accidentally read reſpecting the ſtate of the trade with Portugal, and the wine trade, give me proofs of a lamentable decay; it is not merely that they are not productive, which is a looſe and unqualified expreſſion, but they are extremely deficient. It is not then, becauſe our ſailors have conquered, and becauſe we have moſt glorioufly demonſtrated to all the world the character of our natural ſtrength, that therefore we are provided with the means of carrying on an offenſive war againſt France without a continental ally. Our ſailors indeed have maintained the glory of our maritime empire, they have ſhewn the

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true *vis animi* of the Britiſh marine, that the heart and ſoul of the country can riſe, in ſpite of the neglect, miſmanagement, and miſtakes of Miniſters, like the natural ſtrength of youth, which, in a caſual ſickneſs, reſiſts all the blunders of his phyſician; but great and glorious as our naval exploits have been, what can they do for us in ſuch a conteſt? They make us maſters of the ſea indeed, but where ſhall we land? We have the ſeas of Europe, and France has its ports. It is neceſſary to the circuit of commerce, that not merely the ſeas ſhould be open but the markets. What then is our relative ſituation? We have ſhips that traverſe and command the ocean, the French have armies that traverſe and command the ſhores. We can ſhip our manufactures, but where ſhall we land them or expoſe them to ſale? What ſea is there between Paris and Hamburgh, or Paris and Hanover, or Paris and Liſbon? The French occupy, and they will occupy, every point of contact with the main land of Europe. A Duncan and a St. Vincent may ſweep them from the ſeas, and atchieve for their country and their own names immortal honour; but what will all this avail us towards offenſive war? Are we to have new revolutions; are we to look to new ſchemes of deſcent; are we ſo little chaſtiſed in the ſchool of adverſity as yet to cheriſh the hopes of invaſion of France? How are we to do it? Is it by balloons? I have heard of no recent invention which is honoured with the approbation of the War Office for the conqueſt of France. But, my Lords, do we yet talk of a counter-revolution after all the experience that we have had; are we yet weak enough to cheriſh this puerile expectation? If you are, I would refer your Lordſhips to a moſt able pamphlet written by a late Comptroller General of France. The authority of this writer, ſpeaking againſt his inclination and contrary to his wiſhes, ought to have weight. He ſtates admirably well the ſituation into which you have driven France, and he expoſes and ridicules the nonſenſe with which we have been ſo long duped and deluded about their inability to continue the ſtruggle. All the nonſenſe about *aſſignats* and *mandats*, with which I have been ſo often bored, and my ears ſtunned in this Houſe, for I profeſs to God, my Lords, that I have frequently gone from this Houſe ſo dumb founded with *aſſignats* and *mandats*, that I have not been able to ſeparate my ideas and return to my repoſe. Monſieur de Calonne ſays, with truth, that all our driving produced the contrary effect to what we intended; that it is quite ridiculous to talk about the property of a nation where all its property is afloat. Its very paper, which we idly looked up to as the pregnant ſource of its ruin, was not merely a genuine

nuine ſource for the time that it laſted, but by our attacks upon it became the principle of ſalvation to France. It worked out its own cure; and France, from having more paper than all the world put together, has now leſs than this country. Such is the declaration of this ingenious man, and ſuch indeed is his confeſſion of former error. My Lords, I am not come here to give my opinion in the ſpirit of a Frenchman. I am no Frenchman! I am no Jacobin! But in this moſt dreadful criſis, if I could ſuggeſt any means that might tend to correct the folly of our ſyſtem and to check the fatality of our career, I feel it my duty to do ſo. I profeſs to God I know but one means and one chance for ſafety. I ſee but one powerful reſource left to the nation, *and it is a change of Miniſters.* I yet have confidence that this reſource will be tried. His Majeſty has now reigned over us thirty-ſeven years; no man has a greater knowledge of the character of the people of England than his Majeſty. In the Chief Magiſtrate of ſuch a Government as ours, it is not great talents that are required ſo much as that plain integrity and humane attention to the good of his people which rejects all conſiderations of a perſonal kind, and ſeeks only for their happineſs and ſafety. In this view I cannot deſpair of the public weal, ſince, if his Majeſty will enter into the ſerious enquiry of the moſt likely means to reſtore to his kingdoms the bleſſings of peace, he muſt ſee, and every honeſt man whom he conſults will tell him, that a change of his Miniſters is the moſt likely means of accompliſhing that deſirable object. Let us ſuppoſe how the Directory of France muſt argue with reſpect to the preſent Miniſters of England. It is a principle with me, and I know that it is fit and prudent for all men to do the ſame, whenever I have a diſpute to ſettle with a perſon, I endeavour to put myſelf into his ſituation, and to argue the caſe as it is likely that he will argue it. By this means I am likely to correct my own views of the ſubject, to ſubdue my own paſſions, and to diſcuſs the queſtion with fairneſs and impartiality. In this manner let us ſuppoſe what muſt be the train of reaſoning in the mind of the Directory of France. Muſt they not ſpeak in ſomething like this ſtrain? "We have ſucceeded in convincing all the powers on the Continent of Europe of the folly of the cruſade they undertook againſt us; we have added more to the empire of France than ever the ambitious mind of Cardinal Richelieu conceived, we have ſent armies into the field, whoſe rapid progreſs, and whoſe ſucceſſive victories have ſurpaſſed thoſe of ancient Rome at its period of greateſt glory; we have magnified the power of our country upon the baſis which gave occaſion to the war; we

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are young in the enjoyment of our liberties, and all the means of a youthful government are in our hands; but what remains? One obſtinate nation only, under hot-headed councils, perſiſts in its attack upon us, and ſends forth declarations againſt us, charging us with every ſpecies of atrocity, and denouncing us to all the world as the authors of the war that has ſo long deluged it in blood. We, who only wanted liberty, have conquered the powers who wanted plunder, and have aggrandized ourſelves at the expence of our aſſailants. One only of the confederacy continues pertinaciouſly bent on our ruin, and though ſhe has failed in ſtirring up others againſt us, ſtill rails at our government in paper declarations. And this power that thus perſeveres againſt us is brought by this very obſtinacy to embarraſſments which it can neither palliate nor conceal. It ſtands on a tottering baſe. The very ſhadow of a deſcent upon Ireland convulſed its bank, and at the very moment that it thus threatens to pour forth its vengeance upon us, it is ready to ſink under the efforts it has already made. What then, after having freed ourſelves from thoſe powers at our door, who could really attack us, ſhall we yield to this inſulated foe that has no armies with which it can wound us? Are we tamely to ſubmit to their repeated imputations, and are their menaces of ſtarvation and extermination to diſturb our march? They mean our overthrow, and this is the true motive of their conduct. Even in aſking for peace, they mean hoſtility. They ſeek only for a peace that ſhall be an armiſtice, in which they are to take breath, and attack us to more advantage again. No! they are inſincere. They are our only enemy, and the preſent is the moment to ſave France from their deſigns!" It is poſſible, my Lords, that a member of the Directory may indulge himſelf in language ſo vehement as this, and which though it cannot be juſtified, has unfortunately too much truth on its ſide. [His Lordſhip put his argument as a member of the preſent Directory into the mouths of a warm and violent, and a cool and conſiderate member of that body, but made the reaſoning of each apply with equal force, though with a different degree of vehemence and paſſion, to the opinion they might, according to his idea, be preſumed to entertain of the conduct of this country.] If his Majeſty ſhould converſe with any plain, ſenſible, and honeſt men upon the ſubject, what muſt be their advice? That to ſay no worſe, his ſervants had been hot-headed and intemperate; that their reſolutions had been unſteady, their conduct equivocal, their meaſures contradictory, their cauſe without principle, their proceeding without plan; that they had never been able to ſatisfy the thinking part

part of the nation as to the wiſdom, the neceſſity, or the juſtice of the war; nor had they been able to ſatisfy even thoſe who approved of the motive of the war, with the vigour, the prudence, or the œconomy of its conduct, they would ſay that the French Directory had too much reaſon for their ſuſpicions of our ſincerity, even in our profeſſions of peace. In all the inſtances where Commiſſioners had been appointed to negociate, a dark underhand game was played, which contradicted the public profeſſion of the Britiſh Cabinet. Thus when a Commiſſioner was ſent to Switzerland, and that Mr. Wickham opened a correſpondence with the French, they diſcovered that it was only for the purpoſe of negociating a loan. Again, when my Lord Malmeſbury was ſent to Paris, they diſcovered that while we were thus making profeſſions of peace in Paris, we were negociating a hoſtile treaty with Ruſſia; for ſuch it was now known was the fact, and thus the treaty was ready for ſigning at the very moment the Empreſs died. And laſt of all, our negociation at Liſle was accompanied by that counter-revolutionary inſurrection in the interior of France, which produced the convulſion of the 4th of September, and in which they affect to ſay, that they diſcovered the inſidious hand of the Engliſh Miniſter. My Lords, I do not preſume to ſpeak from any perſonal knowledge on this ſubject; but, he muſt be wilfully blind who does not ſee that the French charge our Miniſters with the fact, and that our Declaration is ſtudiouſly ſhy of diſproving the charge. Yet you cannot avoid obſerving that up to the 4th of September, the negociation continued; and it is ſtrongly ſuſpected that the Britiſh Government was at the bottom of the conſpiracy; but on the burſting of that vulcano, the conferences broke up. What then would an honeſt adviſer of his Majeſty ſay? But, that Miniſters who had thus conducted themſelves, and who had thus exaſperated the enemy, were leſs likely than other men to procure peace for the country. They would adviſe him at leaſt to try the expedient, they would deprive the enemy of the advantage which they now poſſeſs, of aſſerting with a colour of probability, that the war is continued only becauſe the Miniſters of his Britannic Majeſty are inſidious and inſincere.

If I am aſked upon what line and baſis a peace ought to be concluded, I can only ſay, that provided it is concluded in the ſpirit of peace, and a total abandonment of every idea of promoting internal inſurrection in France, I would not be very anxious to ſpecify the conditions. I do not think that mere colonies, either Eaſt Indian or Weſt Indian, a ſufficient argument for the continuance of war, not even Trincomale itſelf. As

to our Weſt India ſettlements, the events that have recently happened, have materially changed our policy with regard to them. When we enjoyed all their conſumption it was very different; but now that is in a great meaſure transferred to America, who will one day take the Weſt India iſlands to themſelves, and when the enlightened ſpirit of humanity has done ſo much towards the emancipation of the negro ſlaves, and great men in this country, men of high conſideration, have taken up their cauſe; and that the French Revolution has introduced the principles of inſubordination into thoſe iſlands, I would not contend for a ſingle day about any object in the Weſt Indies: the value of theſe colonies is very much leſſened indeed to England, and ſcarcely worth having. As to the Cape of Good Hope, about which ſo many lofty expectations were formed, on that alſo our ideas are corrected; the whole is found to be a dream. I have reaſon to know that the men who are the moſt ardent in their expectations about the Cape, are now convinced that it would be not only uſeleſs but inconvenient to keep it. The whole then is reduced to Trincomale, and though I own that Trincomale is of enormous value to the defence of our Eaſt Indian empire, and that it is a thing which we ought to negociate for, and to get, if we can; yet it ſurely is not worth the continuance of a war. We gained our empire in the Eaſt without Trincomale; we have taken Trincomale before now, and given it up, and I am not for incurring another campaign that will coſt us thirty millions, for the ſake of this ſettlement. This is my opinion, and I throw it out without heſitation. Let us come to our ſenſes. Let us engage ſuch of the other European powers as we can prevail on, in a defenſive league; he begged to be underſtood, a *defenſive* league, for there was an immenſe difference between an offenſive and a defenſive treaty; in fact, our ſyſtem ought to be purely defenſive; a defenſive war is not a great evil to this country, compared with that which we have been doomed to endure. But let us above all, regain the opinion of Europe; we have loſt it by our intemperance, our pride, and our rapacity. Let us proclaim freedom to neutral nations; we ſhall be forced to do it, and that with an ill grace; the preſent is the moment favourable to conciliation. If thus we recognize the commercial freedom of the world, we ſhall be the firſt to profit from the grand and generous ſyſtem. Our means for a defenſive ſyſtem, are indeed large; theſe our nautical ſkill, and our nautical capital, if I may be allowed the phraſe, would maintain to us the true ſovereiguty of the ſeas, for it would ſecure to us the empire of its commerce.

merce. To this I would ſuggeſt the important duty of a thorough examination of our expences through all their details; and of our abuſes through all their gradations: there are other things that muſt alſo enter into this plan, and which will naturally ſuggeſt themſelves to every mind. We have not merely Europe to conciliate, we have alſo to conciliate at home; we muſt ſatisfy the minds of the people. I need not tell you, my Lords, that parts of this empire are convulſed to the heart; you will naturally feel that I turn my eye to the ſtate of Ireland, from which all public information is barred; but you muſt not ſhut your minds againſt it, it preſſes too forcibly upon you for reſiſtance. I have ſeen letters from a noble perſon, worthy of the higheſt conſideration, which give this emphatical deſcription of the preſent ſtate of Ireland:—"Ireland is quiet indeed; but it is the quiet which reigns on board a tender under the management of a preſs-gang." I have ſeen alſo a letter in an evening print, *The Courier*, which loudly calls upon your Lordſhip's attention. It gives ſuch a deſcription of the horrors that reign in Ireland, as, if true, ought inſtantly to call for redreſs. If the repreſentation be falſe, a proſecution ought to be immediately inſtituted againſt the printer, but I am rather inclined to think there is but too much truth in the relation. I am convinced that if this ſubject is not immediately taken up, that we ſhall have but one alternative, a feudal union or a ſeparation. My Lords, the caſe is imminent. I ſpeak as no party man on the ſubject; ſecure to me my property and my quiet. The people who are to be governed have a right to both; and I ſee no means of reſtoring the people to the ſecurity of property, and the ſatisfaction of repoſe, but by making peace with that mighty people, who, to the enthuſiaſm of liberty, have all the reſources of a nation yet before them. They are not exhauſted as we are; they have not run through all the claſſes of taxation; the combat is unequal, and I dread the event. Peace is neceſſary to our deliverance, by that we may leſſen our expences, not, as it is vainly held out in the ſpeech, for ſo long as the war laſts, the enemy is the arbiter of your expence; but by a well-conſtructed and a ſolid peace, you may pave the way for the amelioration of your internal ſtate. You may ſatisfy the people that their repreſentation is ſubſtantial and efficacious to its purpoſe, not by holding out the nonſenſe of univerſal ſuffrage, and giving to them the bubble, a thing which no man that uſes the term has ever been able juſtly to define, much leſs to reconcile with common ſenſe and practice; but to ſatisfy them by gradual reforms, growing out of the conſtitution itſelf. I ſay gradual reforms, for God

forbid that any other but gradual reform ſhould ever be countenanced in England, My Lords, I have done. I had ſome intention of putting ſome words into the ſhape of an amendment, but I knew it was uſeleſs. I ſee no good that can be obtained in that way. I have now, for forty years, ſeen the fate of them in the two Houſes of Parliament. I look to another quarter for our remedy. We have a Prince of experience on the throne; he has friends who are capable of giving him ſound and ſerious advice. It is perhaps come to the critical minute, when acting on their counſel, he may yet reſcue us all from the fate that impends over our heads. May God grant that we ſhall ſtill owe to his paternal care the national ſafety!

Lord *Mulgrave* ſaid, he admitted the danger and the difficulty of the criſis to be as great as the noble Marquis had deſcribed it to be, but he felt none of thoſe gloomy apprehenſions and deſponding ſentiments as to the ſafety of the country, that the noble Marquis had taken ſuch pains to impreſs on the minds of their Lordſhips. The noble Marquis had informed the Houſe, that he ſtood ſingle that day; he hoped and believed that he did ſtand ſingle in the opinions which he delivered, and that no individual, either within or without thoſe doors, thought with him on the ſubject. The noble Marquis had ſaid, if noble Lords who were abſent had been in the Houſe, they would have delivered the ſame ſentiments with better ability and greater effect; the plain inference from which aſſertion was, that thoſe noble Peers who were abſent entertained the ſame opinions, a fact which, with great deference to the noble Marquis, he muſt beg leave to doubt. Having been abſent from thoſe walls for ſome time, he could not ſay what had paſſed in the interval, but he never had heard, nor did he think it probable, that any noble Lord could have ventured an aſſertion, ſo queſtionable, as that Great Britain could not make a powerful ſtruggle againſt France without an ally. He had often heard it ſtated, and he believed, that allies were frequently very uſeful to us; that in ſome caſes they can hardly be purchaſed too dearly; but it did not thence follow, that this country could in no caſe go on with the war without an ally. He ſhould be ſorry, indeed, if the fact were ſo; ſorry that their Lordſhips ſhould think it ſo. Had they changed their opionion of Britiſh courage; had they changed their opinion of Britiſh reſources of all kind? They muſt do ſo before they could reaſonably come to a concluſion, that we cannot carry on a

war

war without an ally. If there was any one power without whoſe alliance we cannot carry on this war, then indeed, we were to be conſidered as the vaſſals of that power, whoſe alliance, it ſeemed, we could not have, and could not proceed without it. He was glad, however, that this was not the caſe; nor could it appear to be ſo to any perſon who would conſider with attention the extent of our commerce, and the ſtrength of our navy, which were the pride and glory of our country. This pride and glory would be ſtill more manifeſt if we turned our eyes towards the reſources of the enemy, and in that view of the caſe counter queſtions might be put to the noble Marquis with as much confidence as he had been pleaſed to put his. The noble Marquis had aſked, where we were to carry on our commerce? He would aſk the noble Marquis, is there an internal navigation from France to the Weſt Indies? Is there an high road through France to the Eaſt Indies? Cannot we go to South America without the aſſiſtance of an ally? He believed, indeed, that the real diſtreſſes of the French were ſuch as would ſoon compel them to liſten to us very attentively, notwithſtanding he admitted their great power and force. But the noble Marquis had brought forward what he ſtated as a reſource, and the only probable reſource, of this country; doubtleſs he thought it ſo. That reſource, however, did not appear to him in the ſame light as it did to the noble Marquis; the reſource he alluded to was a change of Miniſters. He admitted that if peace could be obtained by changing Miniſters they ought to be changed immediately, whatever merits they poſſeſſed; he was ſo fully perſuaded of his, that highly as he thought of them, and attached as he perſonally was to many of them, he would himſelf move for an addreſs praying his Majeſty to diſmiſs them, if he thought that ſuch an event would procure a peace. He truſted, indeed, that Miniſters themſelves would not remain in their ſituation an hour, if they thought that by ſo remaining they retarded peace. That deſirable conſequence, he was aſſured, would not follow that change. Suppoſing it to take place to-morrow, who was to ſucceed them? The noble Marquis undoubtedly had abilities, talents, and experience as a ſtateſman, that well qualified him for the ſituation of a Miniſter, but who would place confidence in him, as a negociator for peace, after his ſpeech of that evening? In his moderate manifeſto, ſpeaking as a member of the French Directory, he had inſinuated every thing that was degrading to the honour, the good faith, and the dignity of this country; in his more

more violent manifeſto given in his ſecond character of a hot and paſſionate member of the French Directory, he had gone ſtill further, and with all the fury of the moſt frantic Jacobin, levelled the Britiſh character to the ground, and triumphed in its degradation. Was the noble Marquis then the man alone this country would chooſe to ſelect as their guardian and protector, and confidently rely on for preſervation in the hour of difficulty and danger? He was afraid not. He was under the neceſſity of diſſenting from the opinion which the noble Marquis had delivered that night, reſpecting the means we had of retaining our conqueſts in the Weſt Indies, as well of their value, as alſo of the Cape of Good Hope, and of Trincomale. The noble Marquis ſeemed to ſpeak with the concurrence of others who were not preſent, although he ſeemed to wiſh it not to be ſo underſtood. He could not help thinking there was ſome little concurrence between them, for although diſpoſed to retire, from his advanced age, yet he aſſigned as a reaſon for his wiſhing to retire, that others more able than himſelf did not chuſe to come forward: were they to attend, he ſhould have no objection to take an active part; but they ſtaid away.

The Marquis of *Lanſdown* ſaid he did not ſay they ſtaid away.

Lord *Mulgrave* begged pardon, and ſaid, he ſpoke of the noble Marquis's argument, merely as he had conceived it. But what did the noble Marquis recommend to their Lordſhips as their beſt policy? A defenſive alliance with all the other powers of Europe; But againſt the powers of France, and there the noble Marquis had taken care not to be miſunderſtood, by ſaying, "I ſay a defenſive, not an offenſive alliance againſt this active and enterprifing foe." It was an axiom, his Lordſhip ſaid, in the profeſſion to which he had the honour to belong, that defenſive war inevitably led to offenſive conduct, and conſequently provoked all the difficulty and danger of offenſive war without its obvious advantages. He did not agree with the noble Marquis upon this ſubject, becauſe it was a plan by which all ſecurity was to be given up before we could be ſecure of peace. He thought that we muſt carry on the war, and he thought there was no utility in removing the Miniſters. He thought alſo much too highly of the courage, energy and various reſources which we poſſeſſed, and without which we could not exiſt as a nation,

tion, to ſuppoſe we ſhould ſink under our preſent danger; however deſperate to ſome perſons it might appear to be.

The queſtion being put, Lord *Fitzwilliam's* amendment was negatived.

The Duke of *Norfolk* roſe to declare, that he entirely approved of the conduct of thoſe noble Lords, who had abſented themſelves from the Houſe, and ſhould have followed their example had not official duty rendered his preſence indiſpenſible. He called the attention of their Lordſhips to the Declaration of his Majeſty of Saturday laſt, and obſerved that of late Parliament had been much neglected by his Majeſty's Miniſters, and little attention paid to its dignity; but on the preſent occaſion ſtill leſs regard had been ſhewn than ordinary to what was due to their Lordſhips, and that it had been agreed upon by the beſt and moſt able perſons, that in all conteſts it is not ſufficient that one party ſhould prove the other to be in the wrong, it was eſſential alſo that itſelf was in the right. This was true, and neceſſary to be done in diſputes between individuals, but it became infinitely more neceſſary, becauſe more important, where the caſe involved the fate of multitudes. The Declaration of his Majeſty ſtated among other things that

'The principle of mutual compenſation, before expreſsly admitted by 'common conſent as the juſt and equitable baſis of negociation, was now 'diſclaimed; every idea of moderation or reaſon, every appearance of 'juſtice was diſregarded; and a conceſſion was required from his Majeſty's 'Plenipotentiary, as a preliminary and indiſpenſible condition of negoci-'ation, which muſt at once have ſuperſeded all the objects, and precluded 'all the means of treating. France, after incorporating with her own 'dominions ſo large a portion of her conqueſts, and affecting to have de-'prived herſelf, by her own internal regulations, of the power of alienating 'theſe valuable additions of territory, did not ſcruple to demand from his 'Majeſty the abſolute and unconditional ſurrender of all that the energy of 'his people, and the valour of his fleets and armies have conquered in the 'preſent war, either from France, or from her Allies.—She required that 'the power of Great-Britain ſhould be confined within its former limits, 'at the very moment when her own dominion was extended to a degree 'almoſt unparalleled in hiſtory. She inſiſted that in proportion to the 'increaſe of danger, the means of reſiſtance ſhould be diminiſhed; and 'that his Majeſty ſhould give up, without compenſation, and into the 'hands of his enemies, the neceſſary defences of his poſſeſſions, and the 'future ſafeguard of his empire. Nor was even this demand brought 'forward as conſtituting the terms of Peace, but the price of negociation, 'as the condition on which alone his Majeſty was to be allowed to learn 'what further unexplained demands were ſtill reſerved, and to what 'greater ſacrifices theſe unprecedented conceſſions of honour and ſafety 'were to lead.'

This certainly ſhewed that the enemy was in the wrong, but

but not that his Majeſty's Miniſter were in the right. The Declaration ſtated alſo that the communication made by our negociator was

'at once an explicit and detailed propoſal and plan of Peace, reduced into 'the ſhape of a regular Treaty, juſt and moderate in its principles, em- 'bracing all the intereſts concerned, and extending to every ſubject con- 'nected with the reſtoration of public tranquillity. The communication 'of this paper, delivered in the very firſt conference, was accompanied 'by ſuch explanations as fully ſtated and detailed the utmoſt extent of his 'Majeſty's views, and at the ſame time gave ample room for the examin- 'ation of every diſputed point, for mutual arrangement and conceſſion, 'and for reciprocal facilities ariſing out of the progreſs of fair diſcuſſion.'

This was well enough, as far as it went, but it was defective, for the papers to which this referred ſhould have been ſtated at full length; the more eſpecially as his Majeſty's ſpeech, upon which their Lordſhips were now deliberating, referred to that very paper. For his Majeſty ſaid:

'The Declaration which I have cauſed to be publiſhed, and the other 'papers which I have directed to be laid before you, will, I am confident, 'abundantly prove to you, and to the world, that every ſtep has been 'taken on my part which could tend to accelerate the concluſion of Peace; 'and that the long delay, and final rupture of the Negociation, are ſolely 'to be aſcribed to the evaſive conduct, the unwarrantable pretenſions, and 'the inordinate ambition of thoſe with whom we have to contend, and 'above all, to their inveterate animoſity againſt theſe kingdoms."

No ſuch papers appeared before their Lordſhips. The Addreſs being an anſwer to the Speech, would imply as if that paper was ſatisfactory to the Houſe, whereas they had not ſeen it. This was a mode of voting approbation of the conduct of Miniſters before their Lordſhips knew what that conduct was; and therefore he moved an amendment, the ſubſtance of which was, That after thanking his Majeſty for his gracious communications, and after the words *laid before us*, be added, "That when their Lordſhips were ſatisfied with the contents of theſe papers, no co-operation of theirs ſhould be wanting to carry into effect his Majeſty's intentions." Whatever their Lordſhips might think of the merits or demerits of Miniſters, it was too much to agree to the unlimited confidence expreſſed in the Addreſs, before that conduct was examined. The noble Duke concluded with moving the amendment, as the ſlighteſt poſſible cenſure on Miniſters for their neglect.

Lord *Grenville* ſaid, before the noble Duke talked of cenſuring Miniſters, he ought to be certain, that he did not incur cenſure himſelf. His motion was moſt irregular. He had no objection to diſcuſs the ſubject of this motion, but was highly

highly irregular to diſcuſs it in the preſent form and ſtage of the proceeding. There was not the ſmalleſt pledge in the Addreſs ſuch as the noble Duke had alluded to. It was the uſual cuſtom of Parliament to come to a vote upon the Speech from the Throne, as its firſt buſineſs, and to lay the documents to which it referred before the Houſe afterwards. The documents referred to in the preſent caſe he ſhould have the honour of laying before their Lordſhips the next day; and he would venture to predict that their Lordſhips would be clearly ſatisfied that every thing was done on the part of his Majeſty, that had been ſtated in his Declaration, and alſo in the gracious Speech that day delivered from the Throne. When the documents were before the Houſe, it would of courſe be competent to the noble Duke to bring forward whatever objection he pleaſed againſt his Majeſty's Miniſters.

The queſtion was then put upon the original Addreſs, and carried.

ADMIRAL DUNCAN.

Earl *Spencer* ſaid, that were he to follow the impulſe of his own feelings, he ſhould move inſtantly the thanks of the Houſe to Admiral Lord Duncan, and the officers and men under his command, for the glorious victory obtained over the enemy; but as it was more agreeable with the uſage of Parliament, would have more weight and was more conſonant to the dignity of the ſubject to appoint a day for its diſcuſſion, he therefore gave notice that the next day, he ſhould move the thanks of the Houſe as he had ſtated. He then moved that the Lords be ſummoned for the next day.—Ordered. Adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

THURSDAY, NOV. 2.

About a quarter before three o'clock, Sir *Francis Molyneux*, Gentleman Uſher of the Black Rod, entered, and, addreſſing the Chair, ſaid,

"*Mr. Speaker*,

"The King commands this honourable Houſe to attend him immediately in the Houſe of Lords."

The *Speaker*, followed by a number of Members, attended accordingly; and having returned, he ſtated, that by virtue of the authority given him by Act of Parliament, he had directed

his warrant to the Clerk of the Crown to iſſue writs for the election of Members to ſerve in Parliament for the following places;

The borough of Newton, in the county palatine of Lancaſter, in the room of Thomas Leigh, Eſq. deceaſed; for the borough of Leiceſter, in the room of P. Aſhton Curzon, Eſq. deceaſed; and for the borough of Leſkeard, county of Cornwall, in the room of the Hon. James Elliot deceaſed.

Several new Members were introduced, and took the oaths and their ſeats.

The Bill for the more effectual preventing of clandeſtine Outlawries was read, *pro formâ*, the firſt time.

The *Speaker* then acquainted the Houſe, that he had been in the Houſe of Peers, where his Majeſty had delivered a moſt gracious Speech to both Houſes of Parliament, a copy of which he had obtained, and would read to the Houſe. [*For which ſee the Report of what paſſed in the Houſe of Lords.*]

The Speech being read,

Mr. *William Bootle* roſe to move the Addreſs. He ſaid, that he did it with the more ſatisfaction, becauſe he flattered himſelf that, though Gentlemen might entertain ſome difference of opinion on the conduct of Adminiſtration reſpecting the original cauſe and ſubſequent management of the war, yet there could be but one opinion as to the neceſſity of continuing it at a time when unfortunately our enemies have left us no alternative.

The reſtoration of tranquillity and of uninterrupted commerce, are objects of as much importance to the Sovereign as to the ſubjects of a commercial country, and we cannot therefore doubt the pleaſure with which his Majeſty would have come to Parliament, and have ſaid, that he had delayed meeting them, from time to time, under the well-founded hope of being able to lay before them a permanent and honourable Treaty of Peace, as the fruits of a negociation into which he had for a ſecond time entered with the moſt ſerious and earneſt hope of bringing about that deſirable object; that he had met with an enemy equally diſpoſed to conciliation, equally deſirous to act up to the loud profeſſions of Peace which they had made, and to make thoſe mutual ſacrifices and compenſations which the law and cuſtom of negotiation required; or, at leaſt, to enter upon that negotiation in ſuch a manner, and with ſuch a diſpoſition, as to make the diſcuſſion of terms a poſſible thing.

Very different is the preſent caſe. His Majeſty may, indeed, tell us with truth, that animated with the deſire of conducing

ducing towards the quiet of Europe, he had again ſtepped forward in a manner which would have ſatisfied a reaſonable enemy; that he had even run the riſk of committing the dignity of theſe kingdoms by the renewal of his advances; that he had ſought the opportunity to make ſacrifices which the relative ſituations of the powers at war did not warrant; but that all his offers had been received with contempt—his terms not liſtened to nor anſwered; and, after a long and fruitleſs attempt to bring the enemy to negotiation, his Ambaſſador had been diſmiſſed with inſult. To all this he has ſubmitted, with a view of proving to his ſubjects and Parliament the ſincerity of his wiſhes for Peace.

Mr. B. ſaid, that in ſtating this, he felt that he did not do juſtice to the caſe which the Government has to ſtate, nor deſcribe with half the indignation it deſerves, the perverſe conduct of the enemy. It does not appear to have been any queſtion of terms, any reſiſtance of aggrandizement on our part, nor a wiſh of it on theirs, but an inveterate and unqualified reſolution to preclude all negotiation whatever.

That an enemy ſhould have called for ſuch ſacrifices on our part, as at no time one country had ever yielded to another as the price of Peace, would at moſt times have been a ſufficient reaſon for a King to come forward and throw himſelf upon the ſupport and affections of his ſubjects. There may poſſibly be occaſions when weightier conſiderations, ſuch as the immediate neceſſity of Peace, would have made ſacrifices of this ſort excuſable, and would juſtify the ſurrendering much more than the relative ſituation of two countries would make fair or reaſonable, provided by ſuch ſacrifices, and ſuch ſurrenders, Peace were indeed to be purchaſed. But that which it would be moſt difficult for the Sovereign of a free people to avow to his ſubjects; that which would argue him inſenſible to the duty which he owed them; to have abandoned at once their intereſt and his own dignity, would be the telling them, that in yielding to every exorbitant demand, in ſacrificing all that had been acquired by their valour; in giving up their commercial and political intereſts, he had made all theſe ſacrifices in vain, and exhauſted the means of negociation without attaining the ends of peace.—He truſted that a Britiſh King, in applying to a Britiſh Parliament, has not to apologize for having avoided unprofitable conceſſions, and fruitleſs diſgrace.

That whatever conceſſions he had made would have been unprofitable, that whatever diſgrace he had ſubmitted to would have failed to produce the reſult which is moſt to be deſired—that in ſacrificing the nation's honour he would equally have

failed in ſecuring its tranquillity, no man of the commoneſt underſtanding can doubt, who looks, not at the King's Speech, nor at the Declaration of his motives, in which he has ſo ſolemnly appealed to his ſubjects and to the world; but who has looked at the conduct of the French government, and who has obſerved the tone which they have taken. If (added he) we beſtow a little attention on their ſuppoſed and declared views, we ſhall ſee that ſince the revolution of laſt September, the Executive Directory have taken no pains to conceal their intention of continuing hoſtilities—that the arbitrary removal and expulſion of thoſe who oppoſed their meaſures, has enabled them to take off the maſk, and to avow publicly that war with England is their ſyſtem.—In order to remove the poſſibility of doubt upon this ſubject, the revolution had no ſooner taken place, than they took the negotiation out of the hands to which it had been entruſted, and ſent creatures of their own to Liſle, with pacific profeſſions in their mouths, but charged expreſsly to break off the negotiation, or at leaſt to advance propoſitions which had been before rejected by us and abandoned by them, and which they well knew could never be accepted. It is evident from this conduct that their object was not to treat more advantageouſly for themſelves—that would have been excuſable; but to render all treaty impoſſible, to retract whatever the the former ſituation of affairs in France had induced them to concede; to obliterate whatever hopes of reconciliation had been before entertained; and to ſhew that it was not this or that mode of peace, but peace itſelf that they deteſted and diſclaimed.

Satisfied as he muſt be, that no line of conduct on our part, however moderate and conciliating (he might almoſt had ſaid humiliating), can bring about the deſired object, let us not, ſaid he, ſhew an inability or want of inclination to carry on the war; and to declare to his Majeſty our intention of ſupporting him in the meaſures which he may think neceſſary, towards the good of this kingdom and the preſervation of its Conſtitution. Let us, by a manly and reſolute declaration of our own ſentiments, give our enemies to underſtand, that whatever diviſions may have exiſted before, they have now united all Engliſhmen in one general feeling. They have now taken from their partizans the poſſibility of throwing upon this country the odium of wiſhing to continue the war, or of impoſing upon the meaneſt underſtanding the pretence that the French government ever had the ſlighteſt idea of carrying their pacific profeſſions into effect.—We have to thank them for having removed all ſhadow of doubt as to their true intentions in regard to this Country,—

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we have to thank them for having united its inhabitants in one common cauſe. Let us then not give them any reaſon to hope that that they may deſtroy this their Carthage, againſt which they have ſo repeatedly denounced vengeance.—If we want any additional incitement to ſtand on our defence, we might add to the certainty of their hatred againſt us, the conſideration of the mode in which that hatred would operate towards us. We may be convinced that it would not be to wreſt from us our foreign poſſeſſions, to cripple our commerce, or to reduce our power—that this alone would not fill up the meaſure of their envy and deteſtation, but that their object would be to carry into execution their iniquitous and abſurd plan of revolutionizing this country, and of forcing upon us the example of the defenceleſs ſtates of Germany and Italy.

The choice is now before us;—we may diſband our armies, and our victorious navy, and oppoſe no reſiſtance to the progreſs of an invading and inſolent foe;—we may give up to the abſolute diſpoſal of France our lives and properties, and be content to rank ourſelves in the number of her dependants;—we may own our ſubmiſſion to her ambitious projects—projects incompatible with our exiſtence as a free and independent ſtate;—we may expect to ſee the throne, and the eſtabliſhed laws of the realm, overturned, and trampled under foot; and we may prepare the contributions which will be levied upon us to defray the expences of our own ruin. All this we muſt be prepared to ſubmit to, or we muſt reſolve to continue the war.

As it muſt be evident that the reſtoration of peace cannot be attained by any relaxation of efforts on our part, and as the continuance of the calamities of war ſeem to be for a time unavoidable, let us conſider the ſituation in which we ſtand at preſent, with reſpect to the means of carrying it on. Every thing reſts upon our own exertions. We are engaged in no Continental war, nor depend upon the faith of other powers. But we fight upon our own element—on a field of battle where we have been long uſed to conquer, and to conſider ourſelves with reaſon, as ſole and excluſive maſters. Nor are our claims ill-founded. We have only to conſult the annals of all the maritime wars in which we have been engaged; we ſhall there find, that a long and uniform habit of victory has naturally given us ideas of our own ſuperiority, which we have had no defeat to teach us to forego: we ſhall find, that Britiſh ſailors fight with a ſpirit ariſing from a conſciouſneſs of this ſuperiority, unknown to, and unfelt by, other nations. Look only to the events of the laſt three years, and you will find ample materials for triumph and exultation. We have ſwelled the liſt of

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prizes to a degree unheard of in former wars. We have ruined the commerce, and crippled the navies of our enemies. We have kept poſſeſſion of the ſea againſt three formidable and allied powers. We have blocked up their ports, while ſuperior fleets lay mouldering in inaction within; and when at laſt the menaces and reproaches of their indignant countrymen have forced them reluctantly to battle, the reſult has invariably been what we had expected, and they had dreaded.

The glorious victories gained over the French and Spaniſh Fleets have long been the ſubject of public rejoicing and public gratitude. We have now added to theſe triumphs another moſt ſignal and glorious victory—one of, perhaps, more real importance and more incalculable advantage than any by which our arms have hitherto been ſignalized. We have humbled the pride, and baffled the hoſtile deſigns of our enemies, and if they were mad enough to entertain a ſerious thought of invaſion, we have taught them the folly and impracticability of ſuch projects.

Among the innumerable good effects ariſing from this victory, it has tended to reſtore the confidence of the nation to a quarter from which it has been of late withheld. It has ſhewn to the world, that though the ſpirit of Britiſh ſeamen may have been for a time directed to improper objects, and miſled by the artifices of deſigning men; yet, when neceſſity requires, and their duty call upon them for their exertions, that it will fall with tenfold vengeance on the enemies of their country.

Mr. Bootle concluded, with moving an Addreſs of Thanks, which was, as uſual, the echo of his Majeſty's Speech.

Mr. *Drummond*, of Logie, roſe to ſecond the motion for the Addreſs, and obſerved, that there had been no period ſince the commencement of the war in which the Houſe was called upon for an Addreſs that ſo demanded unanimity, or was ſo well calculated to reconcile political differences and unite all parties; for when they conſidered the conciliatory advances made by our Executive Government on the one hand, and on the other the extravagant demands of the enemy, they could not heſitate to determine that a continuation of the war was inevitable, and that the co-operation and united ſtrength of all parties was neceſſary to the ſalvation of the country. He was truly ſorry, that he had not now to congratulate the country on the ceſſation of the ſtorm which had ſo long convulſed Europe. The evils of war were ſo dreadful that no man poſſeſſing the ordinary feelings of humanity could think of them without a pang; and he, for one, lamented them heartily: but there were evils ſtill greater than thoſe of war, and thoſe evils were in ſtore for

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England if ſhe did not call forth all her energy in reſiſtance of a ferocious and implacable enemy, who had unequivocally profeſſed a determination to her extinction, and uniformly ſpurned from her every propoſition, however reaſonable, for peace. It was impoſſible any member of that Houſe could have been ſo inattentive to the progreſs of the war as to be ignorant of the inveterate objection to pacification diſplayed by France, even while ſhe plauſibly affected to receive overtures for negociation: ever ſince we profeſſed the ſemblance of a diſpoſition to treat, the tone of the enemy might be obſerved to grow more high, and to increaſe in arrogance in proportion to our ſolicitude to conciliate, from the firſt refuſal at Baſle up to the late diſmiſſal of Lord Malmeſbury at Liſle; uſing, even while bleeding with a thouſand wounds, the moſt contumelious language: on the other hand, when the enemy condeſcended to liſten to propoſals for accommodation, the Houſe would ſee from the documents before them that the Miniſter did deliver a project the moſt moderate that could be conceived. (he need not recite the contents, as every member had acceſs to them) and although we had made conſiderable conqueſts, and the enemy none, ſo unreaſonable and extravagant were they in their demands, that they inſiſted we ſhould give up all our poſſeſſions belonging to their allies, and yield up all claim to thoſe of our allies, taken by them, and all this as only preliminary to negociation; leaving us nothing to offer in the progreſs of the treaty, making no proviſion for mutual compenſation, as if diſdaining to return to the ordinary modes of cultivating national proſperity, ſpurning from them peace, and its attendant, commerce, and chuſing rather to draw their means from the diſhonourable ſource, plunder. In the fulneſs of this ſpirit, when their Legiſlature ſhewed a diſpoſition to promote a general pacification, they had recourſe to ſtrong meaſures, and not only arreſted their citizens and legiſlators, but without trial, proof, or allowing them means of defence, condemned them to baniſhment. No ſooner was the ruling party perfectly ſecure, than commiſſioners, their own creatures, were ſent to Liſle, who ſoon developed their intention by breaking off the negociation, and making ſuch propoſitions as they knew it was impoſſible for us to accept. Not ſatisfied with extending their dominions to the extravagant bounds they had at the commencement of the war aſſigned for the limits of their empire, they ſubjected Flanders, organized Holland, Venice, Genoa, and many ſtates of Italy and on the Rhine, and pillaged Germany, adding two new principalities to their Republic, and at laſt have concluded with deſiring to be permitted to deſtroy England,

England, to unbind and tear the laurels from her brows, and to ſtrip her of her commerce, her conſequence, her means, and her honour. "If (ſaid he) the enemy, obſtinately and "inveterately determined on refuſing to grant us peace on a "fair footing, and to agree to mutual compenſation for mu-"tual wrongs, will put us to the neceſſity of repelling force "by force, let us in God's name meet them with one hand "and one heart, and with all the energy the love of liberty "and of country can inſpire.'

Mr. *Bryan Edwards* then roſe and ſpoke nearly as follows:

Mr. Speaker, however preſumptuous it may appear in me, a member undiſtinguiſhed and little known, I cannot refrain from riſing to deliver my ſentiments on this very important and momentous occaſion. I hope that you and the Houſe will accept it as a ſufficient apology for my forwardneſs, that I am urged to deliver my opinion by motives which it would be criminal for me to reſiſt, and which, if I would reſiſt, I could not. But if any further apology be neceſſary for encroaching on the patience of the Houſe, let me plead this, that the ſentiments I offer are thoſe of an honeſt unbiaſſed mind, uninfluenced by prejudice or partiality, independent of party, and regardleſs of men only as their meaſures deſerve regard; for, Sir, I am not connected with any party, neither with Miniſtry nor Minority; on the one hand, owing nothing to Power, and on the other, being averſe to unqualified oppoſition. With thoſe claims to your attention, I venture to riſe, and even to hope that my ſentiments, how feebly ſoever they may be expreſſed, will yet be borne through by the ſupport of truth and ſincerity.

Sir, I am ſure no man more cordially aſſents than I do to that part of the Addreſs which relates to the late glorious victory, obtained by our fleet under the command of the gallant Admiral Lord Duncan over that of Holland. It was indeed a proud day for England, not only as it added one to the many diſtinguiſhed proofs which this war has afforded of the ſuperiority of our navy, and of the ſkill and valour of our officers and ſeamen, but has diſappointed the guilty intentions of thoſe traitors who endeavoured to promote mutiny in that bulwark of our defence, and evinced that our wooden walls are yet ſound, and that the great bulk of our Britiſh ſeamen remain untainted, and are ſtill, and will long, I hope, remain capable to carry the Britiſh flag triumphant over the face of the globe.

But, Sir, though I entirely coincide in thoſe ſentiments of the

the honourable Mover, and conſequently am willing to agree to that part of the Addreſs, I muſt, in ſtrict regard to truth, declare it to be my opinion that, notwithſtanding that brilliant victory, Parliament never aſſembled at a more critical, awful, and perilous period, than that at which I have now the honour to addreſs you. Yes, Sir, the period muſt be perilous, when, on looking round, we ſee ſo much to menace, and ſo little to conſole; engaged in a war, expenſive and bloody beyond all example, with an enemy who ſeems determined to wage war more for our ruin than her own advantage; our people diſtracted, galled under the weight of exceſſive burthens, divided among themſelves, unanimous only in their diſapprobation and diſtruſt of Parliament; our ſtrongeſt ſupport, Ireland, in rebellion, or only kept down by military force. With no better proſpect in our view, turn our eyes which way we will, how dreary and afflicting is the ſcene! How feeble the conſolation that a ſingle victory can ſupply! In ſuch a ſituation the victory of Lord Duncan, though ſo far as the operation of victory can be felt, brilliant and deciſive, is, after all, but the triumph of an hour—a triumph dearly bought—a triumph, which, perhaps may have diſconcerted a hoſtile expedition, but has certainly thinned the ranks of our gallant defenders. Amidſt the rejoicing for ſuch a diſplay of our naval ſuperiority, what ſort of heart muſt that be which could reflect without ſorrow upon the havoc of that day; which could meditate upon its advantages without feeling ſeverely for the men that fell; which could, without regret and horror, read the bloody detail in the Gazette—that regiſter of a ſlaughter-houſe—that muſter roll of death.

Sir, I have ſaid that this war has been attended with a waſte of wealth, and a prodigality of blood, not to be paralleled in the hiſtory of human depravity. This, Sir, is no vague or idle aſſertion, it is borne up by facts, facts too obvious to admit of concealment, too ſtubborn to yield to the feeble aſſaults of ſophiſtry, or to the boaſtful attacks of declamation. Two hundred millions of money have been the waſte of four years, and two hundred thouſand the number of lives loſt. And now, Sir, at the end of this frightful, irreparable loſs, what does the King's ſpeech hold out to us?—Does it hold out the effectual relief of our burthens? No! Does it hold out the proſpect of reconciliation and harmony in Ireland? No!—Does it hold out the proſpect of *indemnity for the paſt, and ſecurity for the future?* No!—Does it hold out peace? No, no ſuch thing, but the reverſe; it promiſes us the renewal of that waſte and devaſtation we all lament, or at leaſt have cauſe to lament; it

menaces us with more carnage and ſlaughter, with new ſcenes of blood, with more tears, more ſighs, more, and perhaps deeper, groans of widows and orphans.—But probably ſome gentlemen will ſay, "Why this mournful recital? What uſe-"ful end can it anſwer to draw this gloomy, melancholy pic-"ture? Have not efforts been made to obtain a peace?" To this, Sir, I ſhall only anſwer that I am ſure efforts ſuitable to the occaſion have not been made; I ſay efforts, founded in ſincerity, and breathing the true ſpirit of peace, have not been made. If we recur to Lord Malmeſbury's firſt miſſion to Paris, we ſhall, without difficulty or the poſſibility of controverſy, be able to decide that the Miniſter was not ſincere. I remember, Sir, that the firſt day I had the honour of ſitting in this Houſe the Miniſter declared it to be his intention to take every practicable means to procure for us the bleſſings of peace. I did then indeed believe he was ſincere, for I was then but a new member; ſoon, however, I had cauſe to retract my opinion, and to condemn my own credulity; ſoon I was convinced that the Miniſter was not ſincere. The terms which the French would then have granted, and which he refuſed, were ſuch as he would now gladly accept, and they now decline to give. The French would have granted peace on condition of holding what they then had, but the Miniſter would be contented with nothing ſhort of the reſtitution of Belgium, and the ſafety of England was ſacrificed to the intereſt of the Emperor. But, Sir, I will, for ſake of the argument, ſuppoſe that the failure of that attempt was owing not to the unreaſonable demands of our Miniſter, but to the extravagant expectations and arrogance of the French, and that Lord Malmeſbury was, as has been aſſerted, diſmiſſed from Paris with diſgrace. And I will aſk any man of candour in the Houſe, whether in the long catalogues of miniſterial errors and diplomatic abſurdities there can be found any thing to equal that of ſending back, in the ſame character, that very man who was ſo diſgracefully treated, and whether ſo ſending him back was not accumulating and aggravating the diſgrace and contumely it brought on this country. On his Lordſhip's going the ſecond time, it was mere matter of courſe, and naturally enſued as a conſequence of his going, covered with the former diſgrace, that they ſhould treat him with contempt. This cannot now be recalled, but it ſurely ought to weigh with the Houſe againſt the profeſſions of the Miniſter, and to be taken as ſome qualification of the inference he would wiſh us to draw from the return of Lord Malmeſbury. I, for my part, am perſuaded that it would have been a happy circumſtance if that noble Lord had been im-

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powerful at the outſet to make the offer of reſtitution deſired by France.

I wiſh you now, Sir, to examine the queſtion in another way, and to conſider whether the conqueſts which we have made, and the reſtitution of which conſtitutes the great impediment to pacification. Whether they, I ſay, are of ſufficient value to juſtify the incalculable hazard, and the certain loſs we muſt ſuſtain by a farther proſecution of the war? and here, Sir, I hope I may be allowed to ſpeak with more confidence than before; my inquiries, my private information, and my local knowledge affording me means of judging denied to many other gentlemen of ſuperior ability. From this knowledge I am competent to aver, that all the conqueſts we have made are not only not worth the loſs and horrors of one campaign, but in fact not worth the holding. An honourable Baronet (Sir Francis Baring), whoſe intimate acquaintance with the Britiſh intereſts in the Eaſt cannot be called in queſtion, did once ſtate to you that the Cape of Good Hope, inſtead of being an advantage would be a burthen, grievous in itſelf and unproductive of any good in return: he alſo did ſtate to you, and I am ſure he ſtated no more than the fact, that Trincomale, in Ceylon, cannot be kept in our poſſeſſion unleſs we can be maſters of the whole of that iſland; an acquiſition utterly hopeleſs: and that the fortifying of that port would coſt more, after all, than the whole would be worth—ſo much for the Eaſt. Now, Sir, as to the Weſt-Indies, I do venture to affirm, without fear of contradiction, that if it was tomorrow in your power to take the whole of the French iſlands, ſo far from being productive or advantageous, they would either be untenable or ruinous in the holding. There is not a Gentleman in the Houſe who cannot readily comprehend that if he only looks back to the conduct of the French in that quarter, he will ſee that no hope can be entertained from them as good ſubjects. Some of thoſe iſlands were ceded to us by treaty in 176:, and were thirty years in our poſſeſſion and under our protection, yet at the end of that time the French inhabitants ſeized the firſt opportunity to revolt, and what is worſe, inſtigated the negroes to riſe and murder their maſters in obedience to their inſtigation; and urged by the incitements of that monſter, Victor Hugues, they committed the moſt barbarous maſſacres, and by them the Governor was, together with ſeveral planters, led out to a cruel death. In ſuch circumſtances we might poſſibly have a barren depopulated territory, but we could have no more; and I think it a ſubject of moſt ſerious conſideration for the Houſe, and of awful caution to Miniſters, to beware how they incur the dreadful reſponſibility of laviſhing human blood upon ſuch unprofitable conqueſts. Sir, it is fighting and ſacrificiug the lives of men for air—for words. Beſides all thoſe, there is another, and a worſe enemy,

we have to combat, whose stroke no human means can resist or evade, the hand of Omnipotence itself, armed with plague and pestilence to scourge our cupidity and ambition. And is this, Sir, is St. Domingo a place to which we may, without guilt, send our gallant fellow subjects; send them, knowing, as we must, that it is as impossible to make a conquest of it as it would be to scale the moon; to make conquest of an island, Sir, 400 miles in length and 165 in breadth, filled with hosts of enemies, and guarded against us by pestilence? There was, indeed, a man, but he is now, alas, no more, who, if human courage and human wisdom could have accomplished it, would have reduced that Island —I mean Monsieur Montalambert. If there were ten such Frenchmen in that quarter, there might be some hope of securing our interests there, if they were worth the securing, for who would not fight by the side of such a man. And here, Sir, it comes in point to mention a fact of some authority: General Simcoe, a very able and distinguished officer, once said, that he could conquer St. Domingo with 7000 men; but when the question was put to him, how, having once gained, he could keep it, the French inhabitants being hostile to the government and the laws, he gave up the point. Sir, I have thought it my duty to make this statement, in order to obviate future disappointments, and to prepare the minds of the House and the people at large for that which will appear when all contest about these conquests will be over, viz. that they are not of the least value to England.

Upon the whole, Sir, when we review the full scope of our circumstances, when we consider the astonishing waste of two hundred millions of money, and the alarming drain of more than two hundred thousand men of the flower of England sacrificed to this contest, when we see Ireland ripe for universal revolt, and kept only by the terrors of the sword. When we see ourselves, (I mean the whole people) divided against ourselves, unanimous only in complaint of grievances and taxes, and, above all, when we see the Peerage disgraced by the introduction of men without abilities or praiseworthy services to entitle them to that distinction, it is impossible not to think that there is a combination of evils hanging over our heads, from which nothing can rescue us but death.

Sir, I have thought fit thus to express myself, having no motive but an honest wish that the people at large may be awakened to a thorough sense of their perilous situation. The last resource of the wretched is the hope that, when things are at the worst they will mend; but even this consolation seems to be denied to us—for the right hon. Gentleman, who has so long and with such distinguished ability influenced the opinions of this side of the House, I am sorry to perceive, has retired from the contest.

conteſt. Sir, if the advice of that right hon. Gentleman, whoſe tranſcendent talents are his ſmalleſt praiſe, had been attended to, we ſhould not at this day have to mourn over the calamities of our country. He has retired, I fear, wearied and hopeleſs, in prophetic and ſilent anguiſh; and when *he* deſpairs, when talents, eloquence, and firmneſs like his, which once, in ſpite of Parliamentary majorities, ſaved the kingdom from a ruinous war with Ruſſia, are withdrawn in the preſent conjuncture, what remains for men of inferior endowments, but like him, to retire from the ſcene, to mourn in ſecret over thoſe evils which they cannot prevent, and ſilently expect the certain diſſolution which awaits this unhappy kingdom.

Mr. *Wilberforce* ſaid, that he was far from being able to prevail on himſelf to participate in that poignant grief which the hon. Gentleman who ſpoke laſt, had expreſſed for the abſence of a right hon. member (Mr. Fox). If, indeed the preſence of that right hon. Gentleman, and the exertion of his very able and univerſally acknowledged abilities could have ſucceeded in extricating the country from the dangers and difficulties in which it is involved, then the abſence of ſuch a member, and the want of ſuch enlightened advice, might be ſeverely felt, and ſhould be bitterly deplored. But what reaſon had the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Edwards) to ſuppoſe that the right hon. member, whoſe abſence he ſo much lamented, would not attend in his place that night? Might he not very likely walk in while the Houſe was called upon to account for his abſence, and to regret the light that it might derive from his long experience and tried abilities? Beſides, to diſcuſs the reaſons of his abſence, was a ſubject wholly irrelevant to the buſineſs now before the Houſe, nor ſhould it be touched upon, unleſs it was brought diſtinctly and formally under diſcuſſion. Why did not the honourable Gentleman favour the Houſe with the reaſons that induced that right honourable Gentleman to withdraw himſelf from the diſcharge of his public duty? If he was acquainted with them, in his opinion, he ought to have ſtated them, and if ever an opportunity was offered of enquiring into thoſe reaſons, he (Mr. Wilberforce), for one, would deliver his opinion on them; though he could not derive his knowledge of them from any other ſource than that from which the honourable Gentleman had moſt probably derived his, namely, a newſpaper, the Morning Chronicle, through the medium of which the public had been informed that this right honourable Gentleman intended to deprive Parliament of his preſence, and conſequently of all the great aids which the Houſe is ſaid to have ſo long and ſo uniformly drawn from the wiſdom of his councils. But however deep and ſincere was

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the ſorrow with which the patriotic company at the Shakeſpeare Tavern might have been impreſſed by this melancholy intelligence, the public however had the good fortune and conſolation to be informed through the ſame channel (the Morning Chronicle), that this annual dinner terminated, as ſuch dinners uſually do, in chearful ſongs and patriotic toaſts. But was this the moment, when the country, as they paint it, is reduced to the loweſt ebb of miſery and diſtreſs, was ſuch the moment to be choſen to indulge in gaiety and feſtivity, by way of expreſſing that concern and ſolicitude which they ſo boaſtfully expreſs for the ſufferings of their country? Or was their grief, their ſorrows, and their ſolicitude of a nature ſo ſuperficial and unimpreſſive, as that the memory of them, and the memory of the nation's difficulties and diſtreſs, could thus be drowned in a bottle and charmed away by a ſong! This indeed would be a new and ſomewhat ſtrange proof of the anxiety of their regard for the country, and the ſincerity of their ſorrow for its diſtreſs! We all know, and we are all willing to confeſs that the country is in a bad ſtate, and in a critical condition; but is this condition to be retrieved, or theſe dangers to be warded off by a dereliction of public duty? Such an opinion Mr. Wilberforce would not adopt; he was as abhorrent from it as he was diſinclined to imitate the conduct of thoſe who held out an example ſo unwarrantable. So far from being inclined to an imitation of it, he would endeavour to purſue a very different line of conduct; he would punctually attend to the diſcharge of his public duty, and however diſcouraging the proſpect it held out, he would exert his beſt abilities to perform it with patience and attention; and to the adoption of this conduct he was induced by an inward ſenſe of the propriety of performing his duty, not by the influence of perſonal ambition. His love for his country, which he truſted was real, diſintereſted, and ſincere, would ſtill prompt him to relieve, by every means in his power, the difficulties under which it laboured, and reſcue it from the ruin with which it is ſaid to be threatened.

Now, notwithſtanding all the fervour with which he had juſt heard the abſence of the right hon. Gentleman, and the privation of his talents deplored, he for one felt compelled to ſay, that he did not in the leaſt regret them: he ſcarcely recollected an occaſion in which his opinion and advice were worth accepting, except, perhaps, *one* (his opinions, probably, on the Slave Trade); and in ſpite of all his paſſionate declarations of tender and anxious regard for the welfare and happineſs of the people, he could not be wrong to believe that by any one of the opinions and devices which that right hon. Gentleman had for ſome years paſt been preſſing on the Houſe, the condition of the country would

would now be mended, or the dangers that impend over it leſſened or removed. That the right hon. Member, of whom ſo much was ſaid, poſſeſſed abilities powerful and tranſcendent he never was diſpoſed to deny, and what he had now advanced reſpecting the tendency of his meaſures and the apparent motive of his conduct, was extorted from him by the high and glowing language in which they had been mentioned by the hon. Gentleman (Mr. B. Edwards) who ſpoke laſt.

As to the Addreſs now propoſed, in his opinion it preſented ſuch general aſſurances, as all deſcriptions of Gentlemen might unreluctantly conſent to, conſcious, as they muſt be, of the bleſſings they derive from the Conſtitution, and of the deſire and determination they feel of tranſmitting it unimpaired to poſterity. He was again ready to confeſs that great difficulties preſſed on the preſent poſture of public affairs, and that he was fully ſatisfied that Miniſters alſo were ſincerely ſolicitous for the reſtoration of peace and tranquillity. Indeed, the only charge which he had heard againſt them was, that they proceeded in a poſture too humiliating, and in too forward an attitude in order to accompliſh that deſirable end. But this forwardneſs and this humiliation he could eaſily bring himſelf to pardon; not ſo, however, any that could look like a real humiliation; that could only tend to enflame the rancorous animoſities of the enemy, whoſe hoſtile mind was glaringly apparent, and could only encourage them to view a conduct thus ſubmiſſive, as a ſymptom of weakneſs, which would naturally provoke the return of hoſtilities. After what we have recently experienced of their temper and diſpoſition, we ought to watch and guard againſt that hoſtile mind with a more cautious vigilance; it is it that ſtimulates them to unremitted efforts to wreſt from our hands thoſe poſſeſſions which are the reſources of our trade, and of which ſhould he be induced to ſurrender any as the price of Peace, he would ſurrender them, not to Holland, not to Spain, not to France, but to his country. The reſtoration of Peace is the object we ardently purſue; but, perhaps, too ardently, and not with due attention and a ſufficiently exact conſideration of the relative ſituation of the two countries. Without having theſe objects ſtrictly in view, we may go too far, and only fruſtrate the object we are ſo anxious to attain. Of this we ſhould warn the country, while we declare ourſelves willing to perſevere either in endeavours to procure peace, even at moment when the moſt brilliant and ſignal ſucceſs has crowned our arms, or vigorouſly to proſecute the war, if ſuch the neceſſity to which the obſtinacy and ambition of the enemy ſeem diſpoſed to reduce us. Theſe are the ſentiments that ſhould be propagated and diffuſed through the country, together with a conſciouſneſs of the reſources and benefits we ſtill enjoy. This ſhould be our conduct, whether we conſider ourſelves as Engliſhmen,

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or as members of the Conſtitution; and we ſhould feel it be our duty to ſtand at our poſt to the laſt, and never to quit the ſhip however it may appear battered or endangered, and ſhrink from imitating the example of thoſe who, under circumſtances of difficulty and danger, would puſillanimouſly deſert it.

Sir *Horace Mann* cordially coincided in all that had fallen from the honourable Gentleman who ſpoſe laſt, and did not imagine he could well add any thing to the ſpirited reply that Mr. Wilberforce had made to an honourable Gentleman (Mr. B. Edwards.) He was prepared to go as far as any man in the cauſe of humanity. But when he attended to the nature of the enemy with whom we had to contend, he ſaw we had no alternative left, but manfully to counteract and defeat the black deſigns which the enemy meditated againſt this country. They were ſanguine in their hopes that thoſe deſigns would prove ſucceſsful, the object of which was no leſs than to deſtroy our commerce, to revolutionize the country, to aboliſh our laws, and to annihilate the Conſtitution. But in theſe black attempts they would, he truſted, be baffled and confounded. He was not diſpoſed to follow the honourable Gentleman (Mr. Edwards) through the whole of what he advanced; he would, however, agree with him in lamenting the abſence of a right honourable Gentleman, whoſe political knowledge and abilities he had ever highly reſpected. He hoped to have ſeen him and thoſe who acted with him in their places, and to have heard them come chearfully forward to congratulate the country on the ſignal and glorious victory which had recently crowned our naval arms. And eſpecially after the inſolent and contumelious manner in which the rulers of France had treated our Ambaſſador; after they had evidently betrayed a fixed deſign to overturn our Conſtitution, and deprive us of all the bleſſings we enjoyed under it; ſorely was he diſappointed in ſeeing that right hon Gentleman (Mr. Fox) join heart and hand with the Houſe, and harmoniſe it into unanimity, and approve himſelf anxious and ready to ſupport, not Miniſters, but the country, and prevent it from being laid at the feet of a cruel, ſanguinary, and unrelenting enemy. He declared he was aſtoniſhed to hear the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Edwards) accuſe Lord Malmeſbury of want of ſincerity in the former and late negotiation. [Here Mr. B. Edwards denied the charge, which he intended, he ſaid, only for Miniſters.] Sir Horace ſaid, he preteded only to a plain underſtanding, and he thought the accuſing Miniſters was nearly the ſame with accuſing his Lordſhip of inſincerity. For his part, he thought them both ſincere; and if gentlemen would but look at the late Declaration, the fineſt piece of compoſition he had ever ſeen, they would ſoon be convinced both of the ſincerity of Miniſters and of the inſincerity and ambition of the enemy they had to treat with. If the conduct of the French was duly attended to, it would clearly appear how averſe they were to Peace.—

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Did they not baniſh the two Directors who had betrayed pacific diſpoſitions? While our inſolent and ambitious foe perſeveres in his preſent temper, we have no alternative left but manfully to perſevere in the conteſt. The evincing of a proud and unbroken ſpirit can alone uphold our cauſe, and ultimately prove favourable to the attainment of peace. May this ſpirit animate and guide us, unleſs we are prepared tamely to ſurrender whatever is valuable and dear to us as a nation. The enemy, we have ſeen, would accede to no preliminaries, but ſuch as could not be looked at without a bluſh. When, therefore, no alternative is left us, ought not ſuch a ſituation to arouſe the energies, and call forth the unanimity of the Britiſh heart.

Sir Horace next proceeded to vindicate the character of the new peers from the aſperſions thrown on them by Mr. B. Edwards. They were ſtigmatized by that Honourable Gentleman as unworthy of the honours that had lately been conferred upon them. But he felt ſafe in making an aſſertion in which he was ſatisfied a reſpectable majority of the Houſe would concur, that the gentlemen ſo contumelioufly alluded to, had uniformly ſerved their country with ardour and fidelity. That the pureſt and moſt diſintereſted ſpirit guided their votes, and this he could exemplify in one of them, (Mr. Powys) a relation of his, to whoſe acknowledged merit he would paſs the tribute it deſerved, without fearing to be accuſed of any partiality being dictated by that relationſhip. As to the Addreſs, he perfectly agreed with the honourable Gentlemen by whom it had been moved and ſeconded.

Major *Ellford* ſaid he could not help expreſſing his diſapprobation of the conduct of thoſe Gentlemen who endeavoured to mar and to cloud the ſplendour of the late naval victory, by unſeaſonably enumerating the loſs of the brave men who had fallen on that glorious occaſion. It was neither juſt nor fair, and could only tend to damp the ſpirit of the country, and embitter the joy which ſo proud a triumph muſt have naturally inſpired.

Mr. *Nichols* declared he was heartily diſpoſed to join with thoſe who lamented the abſence of Mr. Fox, however he might be expoſed to cenſure for expreſſing ſuch a regret. He could not help recollecting the number of years which that right honourable Gentleman had toiled in oppoſing a majority of that Houſe, which ſupported the continuance of the American war, the termination of which was principally to be aſcribed to the unwearied perſeverance of that accompliſhed ſtateſman. By that war the houſe of Brunſwick was deprived of a large and

and valuable portion of its dominion, and God forbid it ſhould now ſuſtain an additional privation, by continuing to hearken to the ſiniſter counſels by which the nation has for a long time been governed. What was the recompence that Mr. Fox's indefatigable exertions have ſince met with? Cenſure and obloquy. Of this unmerited cenſure, he inſtanced the conduct of Parliament reſpecting the India Bill, brought forward by that right honourable Gentleman in 1783; though that bill contained a true ſtatement of the Company's affairs, and ſhewed them to be four millions in arrears. Mr. Nichols was proceeding to the hiſtory of Mr. Fox's parliamentary conduct, when he was called to order by the Speaker, who obſerved that the whole Houſe muſt be ſenſible that the honourable Gentleman ſeemed entirely to loſe ſight of the queſtion under diſcuſſion; upon which Mr. Nichols apologiſed to the Houſe, and then proceeded to ſtate, that if the ſituation of the country was ſuch as it had been this night deſcribed, nothing was left us but to purſue a *bellum internecinum*; under ſuch tremendous circumſtances, we all ſhould join heart and hand, and rally round the country. It was his ſincere wiſh to ſupport Royalty, the Nobility, and the rights of the Commons; the whole of which he ſaw with pain, were in extreme danger. But while he ſaw it was neceſſary thus to wage a war *pro aris et focis*, he could not ſtifle the reſentment that roſe up in his breaſt againſt a Miniſter by whoſe ill-adviſed raſhneſs it was begun, and through whoſe incapacity its conduct and progreſs had been diſgraced by diſaſter and defeat. We were now without allies, our very exiſtence was threatened, and he could not but concur with an Hon. Gentleman (Mr. Edwards), that Miniſters were not ſincere in their endeavours at negotiation, not even in their late attempt. What are ſaid to be the obſtacles that defeat theſe endeavours? Our refuſal to ſurrender the Cape of Good Hope, Ceylon, and Trincomale. But what are our reaſons for wiſhing to retain them? Is it their value? Surely not; neither are we forced in honour ſo to do. The ſame reaſons might equally be urged for our retaining Martinique, Demerary, &c. which we would not heſitate to give up. Is it therefore our intereſt to continue the war for the ſake of keeping the Cape of Good Hope, and Ceylon, &c. which muſt ſo ſoon coſt us much more than they are worth? If ſuch be the intention, let us look to the ſtate of our finances. From the 5th July, 1796, to the 5th July, 1797, an addition of two million ſix hundred thouſand pounds appear in the dividends, which is a ſum equal to eighty-ſeven million and a half in the 3 per cents, and thus there will be four million addition to the dividends,

dividends, if the war be continued but for another year. How this can be borne by the landed or any other property, it was impoſſible for him to ſee. The funds muſt give way, and the middling claſs of the people muſt inevitably be ruined, and the whole country be oppreſſed and overwhelmed with burthens, and all theſe accumulated calamities be riſked and endured, merely to ſecure the poſſeſſion of the Cape of Good Hope. The Miniſter is a man of ſenſe; he muſt know and feel the truth of what is here advanced. But the alarmiſts who ſupport him are determined on a *bellum internecinum*. For his part, he harboured no averſion againſt the Miniſter or his friends. But let him and them make peace: peace is neceſſary; it is neceſſary to the ſalvation of the country.—*(much laughter.)* Mr. Nichols profeſſed his diſregard of laughter and ridicule; he was ſerious and ſincere, and the ſubject he touched on ſhould not be treated with levity. He would again repeat it, peace was neceſſary, for without it there was no ſalvation for the country; it muſt be loſt; nor can the dividends in the funds be paid if the war be protracted for three years more; and indeed how could they be paid? Our ears were ſtunned with nothing but praiſe and rejoicings for victories that will avail us little. Our finances are our main object. To theſe we muſt attend. Even ſhould ten ſhillings additional be laid on land, we ſhould not be able to continue the war for three years. The queſtion was ſerious and momentous; it was not one to be carried by acclamation. We owe it as a duty to his Majeſty to recommend to him a change of his ſervants; they have been long tried, and tried to no purpoſe. Unleſs the people ſee every thing done that can poſſibly be attempted, they will never think of joining cordially in the cauſe. Ireland at leaſt cannot be expected to join it. The cruel treatment which ſhe experiences muſt altogether alienate her affections; but if any, or every deſcription of men are ready to join and unite in ſupport of Royalty, Nobility, and the Commons, not forgetting Epiſcopacy, (for the Church eſtabliſhment is neceſſarily connected with our political exiſtence), he was ready to join and unite with them. But, again, they muſt be warned and intreated to promote the attainment of peace; upon which the fate of the nation ſolely depends.

Sir *W. Young* regretted that ſuch language as he had heard that night, ſhould ever have been heard in a Britiſh Houſe of Parliament. The true point had been overlooked. What was the leading feature in the late negotiation? That we ſhould ſurrender all our conqueſts, and then treat, perhaps, for our

the juncture, have ſurrendered more or leſs of their actual conqueſts, for the purpoſe of reſtoring the general balance of power, for the general ſafety. In ſuch a peace, we ſhould have had ſome apparent ſecurity, though ſlender indeed, againſt the ambition and principles of Republican France. But our laſt propoſed ſacrifices were offered merely to obtain peace. For that, and for that alone, we were prepared to give up poſſeſſions, which, under the laws of war, had become our own, whilſt the enemy had invariably inſiſted on keeping almoſt every thing which his arms had conquered from the other great powers of Europe. Every thing that may be neceſſary to give rational ſecurity to an enemy, ſhewing a true pacific diſpoſition, would be well ſurrendered without any compenſation; but a propoſal to purchaſe peace, as a valuable conſideration in itſelf, is a diſtinct admiſſion of inferiority, or a proof of puſillanimity, never honourable, and therefore never ſafe to a great nation, eſpecially in the face of an enemy who meaſures all right by power and audacity; and againſt whom, it was admitted in debate by his Majeſty's Miniſters, "That no ſecurity could be found in peace, without uncommon caution, and an uncommon degree of warlike preparation." A treaty formed on ſuch a principle may be complimented with the name of peace, but it will be in effect, only a ſuſpenſion of active hoſtility, without any of the advantages of peace, and ſubject to all the expence and dangers of war.

4thly.—Becauſe the whole conduct, as well as declarations of the enemy, ſince the opening of the laſt ſeſſion, had been particularly pointed againſt this country, ſo as to leave no rational ground of expecting any event from negotiation but that which has followed, of unavailing humiliation. The original treaty of France with America was moſt unjuſtly infringed, and avowedly, becauſe the latter country would not inſiſt on our granting, nominally to her, but really to France, exceptions and immunities derogating from the general maritime law reſpecting neutral nations, while no one word of conciliation was ever uſed towards us; our ally the Emperor was by turns menaced and careſſed, to induce him to liſten to a ſeparate peace. And in the very outſet of our late negociation, his Majeſty has declared, that "Modes were inſiſted upon the moſt inconſiſtent with the enemy's own conduct in every other inſtance." What has never yet been demanded by that inſolent Government from any other great ſtate of Europe, was exacted from us, that we ſhould become acceſſaries in violating all the ancient uſages invented and received to guard the independence and dignity even of the weakeſt powers. No tolerably ſecure and honourable peace could have come, or ever can come, from a negotiation commenced and continued in that ſpirit.

5thly.—Becauſe, while his Majeſty perſiſted in a diſpoſition to treat, and when he again offered in his public Declaration to ratify the terms before propoſed by him, the whole ground had failed on which alone his Majeſty had been induced, on the 8th of December, 1795, to declare for the firſt time, a deſire of meeting any diſpoſition which the enemy might manifeſt to negotiate a general Peace on juſt and ſuitable terms. That ground, as it was previouſly explained to us by his Majeſty's Speech on the opening of that Seſſion, and as all his Majeſty's Miniſters conſtantly argued in debate, was the eſtabliſhment in France "of an order of things compatible with the tranquillity of other countries, and affording a reaſonable expectation of ſecurity and permanence in any Treaty which might be concluded." Such an order of things was benevolently hoped by his Majeſty to have been eſtabliſhed in the Third New Conſtitution made in the fourth year of the French Republic. In the interim, between our two negotiations at Paris and at Liſle, the firſt election, not immediately

ately controlled by an armed force, came on under that Conſtitution. The true voice of the majority of France was, for the firſt time heard, and heard againſt the actual Government of that wretched country. The armies were called in to ſtifle that voice. The principal leaders of the two Legiſlative Councils were ſeized and tranſported without any form of trial —a new and unheard of thing even in the hiſtory of their injuſtice: nearly two thirds of France were diſfranchiſed; the preſs ſilenced; the clergy again proſcribed, and the moſt arbitrary and ferocious meaſures threatened, as well as ſome abſolutely taken, againſt all that remains of the Nobility, Gentry, and Magiſtracy of the ancient Monarchy. The power now eſtabliſhed is notoriouſly the very ſame in character, in maxims, and in conduct, as well as for the moſt part exerciſed or ſupported by the ſame men, with the Government which exiſted at and ſoon after the commencement of the War, and which was truly deſcribed in his Majeſty's Declaration of the 29th of October, 1793, as a "ſtate of things that could not exiſt in France without involving all the ſurrounding powers in one common danger, without giving them the right, without impoſing it upon them as a duty, to ſtop the progreſs of an evil which exiſted only by the ſucceſſive violation of all law, and all property, and which attacked the fundamental principles by which mankind are united in the bonds of civil ſociety." It was againſt that Government "that his Majeſty then called upon the people of France to join the ſtandard of an Hereditary Monarchy, in order to unite themſelves once more under the empire of law, of morality, and religion." The continuance of the ſame ſort of government, changing never as to its fundamental principles, though fluctuating perpetually as to the perſons of the uſurpers, who occaſionally tyrannize over the enſlaved people, has confirmed me more than ever in my full aſſent to the wiſdom of his Majeſty's Declaration then made.

6thly.—Becauſe, though the moſt abſolute and overruling neceſſity could hardly palliate, much leſs juſtify, the ſacrifices which the late Negotiation would have made of our dignity, honour, and independence, together with our acquiſitions, yet we have the ſatisfaction of knowing how and when his Majeſty's Miniſters adviſed him in his Declaration to repeat his offers of Peace. They alſo know, that nothing in any degree approaching to ſuch neceſſity exiſts. The relative ſituation of this kingdom with regard to France is much improved ſince laſt year. We have loſt nothing. We have gained ſomething. The extenſion of the enemy's dominion, under the name of protection, in the interior of Italy, gives him little additional means of immediately annoying us. The marine of thoſe Allies, through whom alone he hoped to act againſt us, has been crippled by our glorious victories. We are ſecure from him, and he is left open by the indiſputed ſuperiority of our navy, to our attack, if his Majeſty ſhall be adviſed to call forth the ſpirit and energy of his people, and carry ſuccour and aſſiſtance to the majority of that nation groaning under the tyranny of the uſurpation, and manifeſting, on every occaſion, ſentiments of diſaffection and hoſtility towards the eſtabliſhment deceitfully and cruelly impoſed on them as a mild and beneficent Conſtitution. This is a ſtate of things not the reſult of my ſpeculation, but derived from the admiſſion of the uſurpers themſelves. It is by them brought forward in their late declarations as their juſtification, and as the imperious and irreſiſtible motive for violently diſfranchiſing ſo large a majority of the nation of thoſe rights and privileges upon which, as upon an unalterable baſis, the pretended liberties of their Republic were built and eſtabliſhed. The pecuniary diſtreſs and embarraſſments of the enemy have increaſed ſo as to have been a pretence for ſome of the late violent proceedings in France, while, on the contrary, the enquiries of our Committees have long ſince

ſince prepared the Houſe to anticipate the pleaſing aſſurance of his Majeſty, "That we poſſeſs means and reſources proportionate to the objects which are at ſtake; that our revenue has continued highly productive, our national induſtry has been extended, and our commerce has ſurpaſſed its former limits."

NOTE.—*The paragraph in the Addreſs, which was propoſed by Lord* Fitzwilliam's *Amendment to be left out, was not in the Addreſs of the Houſe of Commons.*

HOUSE OF LORDS.

FRIDAY, NOV. 3.

Their Lordſhips met at one o'clock that day, when the firſt proceeding that took place, was to introduce, with the uſual formalities, the following

NEW PEERS.

Lord *Carrington* (Lord *Carrington* of the kingdom of Ireland), between Lords *Boringdon* and *Braybrooke.*

Lord *Glaſtonbury* (late the Right Hon. James Grenville), between Lords *Grenville* and *Braybrooke.*

Lord *Bolton* (late the Right Hon. Thomas Orde Powlett,) between Lords *Walſingham* and *Braybrooke.*

Lord *Wodehouſe* (late Sir John Wodehouſe, Bart.) between Lords *Boſton* and *Walſingham.*

Lord *Northwick* (late Sir John Ruſhout, Bart.) between Lords *Boſton* and *Gwydir.*

The Duke of *Norfolk* acted as Earl Marſhal on the above introductions.

The Duke of *Buccleugh* took the oaths and his ſeat.

The Marquis of *Saliſbury* ſtated, that his Majeſty had been pleaſed to appoint the hour of two o'clock that day to receive their Lordſhips Addreſs.

ADMIRAL LORD DUNCAN.

Earl *Spencer* roſe, purſuant to his notice of the preceding night, to fulfil his duty in bringing forward a motion, reſpecting the propriety of which there could not exiſt two opinions, not only in that Houſe but in the country at large. It was to move for the honour of their Lordſhips thanks to a noble Admiral, Lord Viſcount Duncan, for his moſt able, gallant, and meritorious conduct on the occaſion of the ſignal and deciſive victory obtained by the fleet under his Lordſhip's command, over that of the Dutch, on the 11th of October laſt. Reſpecting this great event, it was unneceſſary that he ſhould take

take up their Lordſhips time in expatiating; the brilliant and ſplendid circumſtances that attended it were ſuch as ſpoke moſt forcibly for themſelves: no eloquence could enhance its value, no panegyric increaſe its importance. Some particular circumſtances, however, he could not avoid mentioning: the uncommon ſkill and bravery diſplayed on the occaſion by the noble Admiral, the zeal and alacrity with which he ſeized the tranſient opportunity of attacking the enemy, the peculiar ſituation of the contending fleets on the verge of the enemy's coaſt, the compleatneſs of the victory, the proportion of ſhips captured, and the ſalutary and deciſive conſequences which it involved. All theſe were circumſtances which pointed out the atchievement of Lord Duncan as incomparable; and this great and ſignal ſtroke, being preceded by a long ſeries of arduous and painful watchings of the enemy's motions, certainly enhanced the merit, and redounded to the immortal honour of the noble Admiral.

His Lordſhip then moved, that the thanks of this Houſe be given to Admiral Lord Viſcount Duncan for his very able and gallant conduct in the occaſion of the brilliant and deciſive victory over the Dutch fleet, on the 11th of October laſt, &c.

The latter part of the Vote of Thanks went to allude generally to the ſituation of circumſtances of the Britiſh fleet under Lord Duncan's command at the time of the action, and alſo to the long ſervices performed by it previous to that period, all which the Earl conceived as increaſing the *eclat* of the victory.

Lord Viſcount *Hood*, in ſeconding the motion, paid ſome profeſſional compliments to the noble Admiral. He ſtated one or two points in which great ſkill and activity were diſplayed. As to Lord Duncan's general merit on the occaſion, no panegyric of his could illuſtrate it. After what had been ſo ably ſtated by the noble Earl at the head of the Admiralty, he thought the conduct of the officers and men under the noble Admiral's command on that memorable day, was deſerving of the higheſt applauſe.

The Duke of Clarence obſerved, that he ſhould not take up the time of their Lordſhips on the preſent occaſion, when they were juſt about to fulfil an important duty; indeed, did time allow, it would be unneceſſary that he ſhould deliver his ſentiments—they exactly coincided with thoſe expreſſed by the noble Earl.—What fell from him perfectly coincided with his own ideas of the affair; he ſhould not then have riſen, were it not that a profeſſional peer had thought it neceſſary to ſay a few words; he alſo as a profeſſional man, was happy to expreſs his

his entire approbation of the conduct, bravery, and ſkill diſplayed by the noble Admiral, by the ſignal and glorious event in queſtion.

The motion was then put, and the thanks of the Houſe were voted to Lord Duncan, who contributed to the ſucceſs on the 11th ult. *nem. diss.*

Earl Spencer ſaid he need not preface his motion for the thanks of their Lordſhips to Vice Admiral Sir Richard Onſlow, Bart, and to the other Officers acting under the command of Lord Duncan, with obſervations on their very meritorious conduct, which was well known.

The motion was agreed to *nemine diſſentiente*.

Their Lordſhips thanks were then voted to the ſeamen and marines on board the fleet, for their very deſerving conduct on the above occaſion; and the Lord Chancellor was ordered to communicate their Lordſhips ſeveral votes of Thanks to the above perſons in the uſual manner, and to requeſt, that the officers do communicate their Lordſhips thanks to the ſeamen and marines on board their reſpective ſhips.

Earl *Spencer* added, that as he underſtood, from private communication, that Admiral Lord Duncan intended to be introduced into the Houſe on Wedneſday next, it had been ſuggeſted to him by a noble Lord, (the Duke of Clarence) that it would be a mark of reſpect to the noble Admiral to have the Lords ſummoned to attend his reception, and therefore, he would move that their Lordſhips be ſummoned for Wedneſday.

The *Duke of Norfolk* aſked, if it would not be right to enter on what account the Lords were ſummoned, by way of greater compliment to Lord Duncan.

His grace was told, that it was not regular to do ſo.

He then moved, That the Houſe be ſummoned for Wedneſday; which was ordered accordingly.

Their Lordſhips then adjourned until four o'clock; and in the interval, they proceeded to St. James's, and preſented the following Addreſs, in anſwer to his Majeſty's moſt gracious Speech from the throne.

MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN,

"We, your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in parliament aſſembled, beg leave leave to return your Majeſty our humble thanks for your Majeſty's moſt gracious Speech from the throne; and to expreſs to your Majeſty the juſt ſenſe which we entertain of your Majeſty's paternal anxiety for the welfare of your ſubjects, manifeſted in the earneſt deſire expreſſed by your Majeſty for the reſtoration of peace on ſecure and honourable terms.

"We return your Majeſty our humble thanks for the communications which you have directed to be laid before us; and we aſſure your Majeſty that we ſhall proceed, without delay, to the conſideration of thoſe meaſures which

which the circumſtances of the preſent criſis require; and that, while we participate with your Majeſty in the concern which your Majeſty feels at the failure of your earneſt endeavours to procure for your people the bleſſings of peace, we are fully confident, from the uniform tenor of your Majeſty's conduct, that every ſtep has been taken by your Majeſty which could tend to accelerate that object; and that it is to the unwarrantable pretenſions and inordinate ambition of the enemy, and, above all, to their inveterate animoſity againſt theſe kingdoms, that the long delay and final rupture of the negotiation are to be aſcribed.

"We entreat your Majeſty to believe that, impreſſed as we are with the neceſſity and the magnitude of the conteſt in which we are engaged, as well as of the value of the intereſts which we have at ſtake, no exertions will be wanting on our part to enable your Majeſty to proſecute the war with vigour, until a more juſt and pacific ſpirit ſhall prevail on the part of the enemy; and to employ, in the defence of every thing that is deareſt to us, thoſe means and reſources which the preſent ſituation of our country holds out.

"We aſſure your Majeſty that we reflect with peculiar ſatisfaction on the public ſpirit which has been diſplayed by your Majeſty's ſubjects, and on the conduct by which your Majeſty's troops, of every deſcription, have acquired freſh claims to our eſteem and admiration.

"We are particularly deſirous of embracing the earlieſt opportunity to offer to your Majeſty our warm and heartfelt congratulations on that ſignal and deciſive victory which has crowned the ſeries of ſplendid ſucceſſes obtained by your Majeſty's fleets over all our different enemies in the courſe of the preſent war; a victory no leſs important in its conſequences, than glorious in the circumſtances by which it is diſtinguiſhed.

"We are deeply ſenſible of the manner in which your Majeſty is pleaſed to expreſs your gracious acceptance of our beſt endeavours to teſtify by our conduct our anxious regard for the intereſts of our country, and our invariable attachment to your Majeſty's perſon and government.

"Senſible of the bleſſings which, under your Majeſty's paternal care, are derived to us from our civil and religious eſtabliſhments, and which diſtinguiſh us from among all the nations of Europe; and perſuaded that theſe bleſſings can only be preſerved by inculcating and enforcing a due reverence and obedience to the laws, and by repreſſing with promptitude every attempt to diſturb our internal tranquility,—it ſhall be the firſt object of our attention to contribute, by every means in our power, to the maintenance of that happy conſtitution which we inherit from our anceſtors, and on which the ſecurity and happineſs of every claſs of your Majeſty's ſubjects eſſentially depend."

TO WHICH HIS MAJESTY WAS PLEASED TO MAKE THE FOLLOWING MOST GRACIOUS ANSWER.

"MY LORDS,

"I thank you for this loyal, dutiful, and affectionate Addreſs.

"In a criſis of ſo much importance to the ſecurity and happineſs of every claſs of my ſubjects, it is a great ſatisfaction to me to know that you entertain a juſt ſenſe of the nature, magnitude and neceſſity of the conteſt in which we are engaged; and that I may rely with confidence on your ſupport in my fixed and unalterable determination to maintain to the utmoſt the laws, liberties, and religion of my people, and the dignity, honour, and independence of my kingdom."

STATE PAPERS.

When their Lordſhips had returned from St. James's, Prayers were read; after which,

Lord *Grenville* ſtated, that he had it in command from his Majeſty to lay before their Lordſhips a copy of his royal Declaration; and alſo a variety of papers relative to the negotiation with France.

His Lordſhip then preſented the papers, and after their titles had been read by the clerk, moved that they be printed for the uſe of their Lordſhips, and taken into conſideration on Wedneſday next; and that the Houſe be ſummoned on that day —Ordered accordingly.

Several arrangements were made relative to private buſineſs. —The hearing of the Appeal, Fullerton v. Sir Hugh Dalrymple, was fixed for the 5th of December.—The hon. Henry Erſkine, of the Scots Bar, is retained on this occaſion.

Adjourned till Wedneſday next.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

FRIDAY, NOV. 3,

The four grand Committees of Religion, Courts of Juſtice, Courts of Grievances, and Courts of Equity, were appointed.

The ſtanding orders were then voted, as is uſual at the commencement of every Seſſion.

Mr. *Hobhouſe* moved, that there be laid before the Houſe an account of the net produce of the taxes ending on the 10th of Oct, 1797, diſtinguiſhing each quarter, and diſtinguiſhing alſo the taxes laid on in the years 1793, 1794, 1795, 1796, and 1797.—Agreed to.

Mr. *Hobhouſe* then moved, than an account be laid before the Houſe, of the income and charges on the Conſolidated Fund, ending 10th October, 1797.

Mr. *Wilbraham Bootle* brought up the report of the Committee appointed to prepare the Addreſs in anſwer to his Majeſty's Speech.—The Addreſs was then read a firſt and ſecond time, and agreed to.

When the *Speaker* ſaid that the queſtion was carried, *nem. con.* ſome members ſaid, "No."

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* ſaid, that from the unanimity that prevailed the preceding night he hoped that no oppoſition would be made to the Addreſs of Thanks, which, as uſual, was couched in general terms. The motion was then agreed to.

Ordered that the Addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, and that ſuch members as are of his Majeſty's Privy Council do wait upon his Majeſty, to known when he will be pleaſed to receive

receive the ſame.—His Majeſty's Speech was ordered to be taken into conſideration the next day.

Mr. *Tierney* ſaid, he roſe to give a right honourable Gentleman notice of a motion which he intended to make. Upon a former occaſion, when it was ſtated, that that right honourable Gentleman, (Mr. Dundas), ought to vacate his ſeat, in conſequence of being appointed third Secretary of State; it was ſaid in anſwer, that the Duke of Portland held that office. It, however, now appeared, from the report of the Secret Committee, that the right honourable Gentleman held the office of third Secretary of State himſelf. He felt himſelf bound in candour to give the right honourable Gentleman notice of his intended motion, before he had done any legiſlative act; he therefore deſired to give notice, that on Monday next he ſhould ſubmit a motion upon this ſubject to the Houſe.

Mr. Secretary *Dundas* ſaid, he was commanded to lay before the Houſe the Declaration, and the papers referred to in his Majeſty's moſt gracious Speech from Throne.

The papers where then brought up, and ordered to lie on the table, and to be taken into conſideration this day ſe'nnight.

ADMIRAL LORD DUNCAN'S VICTORY.

Mr. *Dundas* moved the thanks of the Houſe to Admiral Lord Viſcount Duncan for his able and gallant conduct on the 11th of October, on which day he obtained a glorious and deciſive victory over the Dutch fleet, as well as for the great zeal, courage, and perſeverance which he manifeſted while he commanded the fleet in the north ſeas.

The motion was ſeconded by the *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, and agreed to *nem. con.*

Mr. *Dundas* then moved, that the thanks of the Houſe be given to Vice Admiral Sir Richard Onſlow, and to the ſeveral captains in the fleet under the command of Admiral Lord Viſcount Duncan, on the 11th October, who by their brave and gallant conduct, contributed to the ſucceſs of that day; and that Admiral Lord Viſcount Duncan do communicate the ſame.—Agreed to *nem. con.*

Mr. *Dundas* then moved, That the Houſe does highly approve of, and acknowledge the good conduct and bravery of the ſeamen and marines in the ſeveral ſhips; and that Admiral Lord Viſcount Duncan do communicate the ſame.—Agreed to *nem. con.*

Mr. *Dundas* then moved, that the Speaker do communicate the thanks of the Houſe to Admiral Lord Duncan and Vice Admiral Onſlow, as uſual.—Agreed to.

Mr.

Mr. *Dundas* ſaid, that while the Houſe were employed in doing juſtice to the bravery of thoſe by whom the late victory was obtained, he felt himſelf bound to call to their recollection the death of that gallant officer, Captain Burgeſs. He had no perſonal acquaintance with him; but he was well acquainted with his character, and to this he could ſpeak upon the authority of the gallant Admiral under whoſe command he fought, and who from private and public motives, conſidered his death as a moſt heavy loſs to his country. He had given the ſtrongeſt pledges from his paſt of his future ſervices; and, from his period of life, there was every reaſon to expect that he would have arrived to that high command in the ſervice, that would have enabled him ſtill more to diſtinguiſh himſelf. Under theſe circumſtances he was ſure the Houſe would think, that while they were doing juſtice to the living, they ſhould alſo do juſtice to the memory of the dead. In order to prove their ſenſe of the ſervices of that gallant officer, he moved that they ſhould addreſs his Majeſty, praying that his Majeſty would be pleaſed to give directions for erecting a monument in the cathedral of St. Paul's, London, to the memory of Captain Richard Rundel Burgeſs who fell on the 11th of October, in the victory obtained by Admiral Lord Viſcount Duncan, over the Dutch fleet, and that the Houſe would make good the expence attending the ſame.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer ſeconded the motion.

Agreed to *nem. con.*

Mr. *Dundas* moved, that the Addreſs be preſented by ſuch members of that Houſe as are of his Majeſty's privy council. Agreed to.

Adjourned till next day.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

SATURDAY, *Nov.* 4.

At three o'clock the Speaker was enabled to take the chair, there being then 40 members preſent.

Lord *Charles Somerſet* reported at the bar, that his Majeſty having been waited upon to learn when he would be pleaſed to receive the Addreſs of the Houſe, had appointed that day at three o'clock.

Alſo that his Majeſty had been waited upon with the Addreſs of the Houſe praying that he would be graciouſly pleaſed to give directions that a monument be erected to the memory of the late Captain Burgeſs, when his Majeſty was pleaſed to declare that he would give directions accordingly.

The

The order of the day was then read for taking into conſideration his Majeſty's ſpeech—That part of it which relates to a ſupply being read *pro formâ*, the Houſe paſſed a reſolution, "That a Supply be granted to his Majeſty."

Agreed to go into a Committee of Supply on Monday.—Adjourned.

The Speaker and ſeveral members then went in proceſſion with the addreſs to the King.

MONDAY, *Nov.* 6.

The Speaker acquainted the Houſe that he had waited on the King with their unanimous addreſs on his Majeſty's moſt gracious ſpeech from the Throne, to which his Majeſty was pleaſed to return a moſt gracious anſwer.

The Speaker alſo informed the Houſe that he had tranſmitted to Admiral Lord Duncan the unanimous vote of thanks of that Houſe, for his late glorious victory over the Dutch fleet, to which the noble admiral had returned an anſwer, expreſſing the high ſenſe of that honour, and the ſatisfaction it afforded him that he had been fortunate enough to render a ſervice to his country, and to obtain the approbation of Parliament.

The Houſe reſolved itſelf into a Committee to conſider of a motion for granting ſupplies; Mr. Hobart in the chair.

Mr. *Roſe* moved a reſolution, That a ſupply be granted to his Majeſty.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* roſe, and ſaid he hoped he ſhould be able, on that day fortnight, to lay before the Committee ſome important propoſitions as the foundation of a plan for raiſing the ſupplies of the year.

The reſolution then paſſed, the Speaker took the chair, and the report of the Committee was ordered to be brought up next day.—Adjourned.

TUESDAY, *Nov.* 7.

Mr. *Hobart* brought up the report of the Committee of Supply, which was read a firſt and ſecond time, and on the Speaker putting the queſtion—That the reſolution contained in it be agreed to,

Mr. *Long* propoſed that it ſhould be expreſſed *nemine contradicente*.

Mr. *Tierney* objected to it, and ſaid that while he had a voice

voice it ſhould not be allowed to paſs ſo. Were it a matter of mere form, and that the uſual way of paſſing the reſolution, he perhaps would not object to it; but he was determined to give his negative not only to this, but to every other act of the preſent adminiſtration. He aſſured the Houſe, that he had a general retainer for the whole Seſſion.

The reſolution then paſſed, and Wedneſday next was appointed for conſidering of a Supply.

A variety of eſtimates for the enſuing year were laid before the Houſe by Miniſters.

Mr. *Hobhouſe* moved to have laid before the Houſe a variety of papers and documents; ſome reſpecting the regiſtering of Navy and Tranſport bills; and ſome reſpecting the Loan granted to his Imperial Majeſty, and guaranteed by this country, which were ordered accordingly.

Mr. *Tierney* being called upon by the Speaker, roſe, and ſaid—Sir, I riſe purſuant to the notice which I gave laſt Friday, to ſtate why I think the right honourable Secretary (*Dundas*) holding a ſeat in this Houſe, is a moſt indecent, unlawful and offenſive proceeding. Sir, it is impoſſible but the Houſe muſt recollect that the charge which I hope to be able this day to bring home to the right honourable Secretary was once before made againſt him, and was baffled by the defence then ſet up; but, if my memory ſerves me right, I may with ſecurity predict that the defence ſet up by the right hon. Gentleman on that day will not be the defence he will ſtand upon now. The reaſon, Sir, why I ſpeak upon this occaſion in a ſtyle of apparent aſperity, is not, I aſſure you, that I feel any perſonal diſlike or private animoſity to the right honourable Gentleman, but that I think the whole tranſaction of which I complain a mere corrupt job, a job not avowed but detected, a job that never would have been brought to light if it could have been kept in concealment, and which was brought to light at laſt only by the labours of the Committee, to whoſe reports I mean to refer for evidence of the facts on which I ground my charge. In that report the tranſaction to which I allude is completely decyphered, and when that ſhall be ſubſtantiated, it will become matter of deliberation and opinion for you, whether it is not an aggravation of the offence that the right honourable Gentleman, after having been, in the manner I have already ſtated, reminded of the doubts that aroſe, and thereby ſupplied with materials to judge of the law and to correct his error, if it was in error he offended, has yet preſumed, after ſuch

ſuch a warning, and with the letter of the law as it were placed under his eyes, to hold his ſeat in this Houſe, in direct violation of that law?

Sir, many of the gentlemen who now hold ſeats in this Houſe, were members of it in the year 1782, when a ſpeech was made by a right honourable Gentleman, now no more; for whoſe talents when living, and for whoſe memory, now he is dead, I feel, as every one muſt feel, great reſpect and admiration—I mean Mr. Burke. In that ſpeech, which deſerved much praiſe, and which he made when he brought in a bill for introducing a ſyſtem of œconomy in the public adminiſtration, and for aboliſhing all uſeleſs places, that great man declared that the meaſure he propoſed was not merely intended by him to diminiſh the public expenditure, but had a more extenſive view for the public benefit; namely, that of preſerving as much as poſſible the independence of Parliament. I ſtate this circumſtance, Sir, for the purpoſe of ſhewing, what I hope the Houſe and the right hon. Gentleman would without my ſtating it, give me credit for, that there is nothing perſonal in this motion, and of apprizing the Houſe what the proviſions are which the law has in this inſtance made for the independence of Parliament.

Sir, if you refer to that ſpeech (and as it has been ſince publiſhed I may with greater freedom allude to it here), you will find that Mr. Burke has treated in it the office of third Secretary of State as an office perfectly unneceſſary, and inſtituted for no other purpoſe than that of creating new patronage for the Crown. Taking this, then, as the principle upon which the abolition of that office was then grounded, nothing can be pleaded in juſtification of its revival but the moſt urgent neceſſity.—Now, Sir, if I ſhew you that this very office of third Secretary of State has been revived, will it not be incumbent on his Majeſty's Miniſters to ſhew the Houſe ſome circumſtances that made its revival neceſſary, and to prove that it was not, as I contend, a job. Reverting to that ſpeech, you will find Mr. Burke ſtates that Lord Suffolk and Lord Weymouth, being the two principal Secretaries of State, and the former being, to uſe Mr. Burke's own words, "though not dead to nature, dead to the public," the whole buſineſs devolved upon the latter, and for more than a year after no new Secretary was appointed, from whence he argues, and in my opinion unanſwerably, that if Lord Weymouth was able to do the buſineſs of himſelf and of Lord Suffolk, two Secretaries could do the buſineſs of three

three. In the year 1783 the object of Mr. Burke was effected. Now ſee what has happened ſince.—A third Secretary of State, with a new eſtabliſhment of not leſs than 13,000l. a year. When in the year 1768 the office of third Secretary, aboliſhed by Mr. Burke's bill, was eſtabliſhed, the pretext was the increaſe of buſineſs on the continent of America—at that time, however, three Secretaries were at leaſt ſufficient, but having contrived to loſe the American Colonies which furniſhed the pretext, Miniſters could not very well inſiſt on the continuance of the office, nor deny that there was no occaſion for more than two, who went under the name of Secretaries for the Northern and Southern departments. In the year 1786 a Committee was appointed to report the nature of the offices of government, and amount of their ſalaries; the Committee made an ample report, with a view to further retrenchment, but nothing further was done in it. In that report the two Secretaries were ſtated at ſalaries of ſix thouſand pounds each. Now, Sir, if the labour became ſo extremely arduous to Miniſters as to juſtify an additional office, would they not call for more rather than leſs than the ſtated ſalary? but ſo far was the right hon. Gentleman from feeling that he had any claim in that way, that he, on the contrary, diminiſhed, and fell ſhort of that which was allowed by the report of 1786, fixing his ſalary at four thouſand five hundred pounds a year, inſtead of ſix thouſand. Nay, Sir, did not the right hon. Gentleman in that very year evince, that ſo far from ſinking under the weight of his office of Secretary, he was able to carry a little more, with his uſual purity and diſintereſtedneſs, taking upon himſelf the office of Secretary to the Board of Controul without fee or reward, and deprecating the idea of refuſing to ſerve *gratis*. And yet, Sir, with this additional labour the buſineſs of all the offices went on, and we heard no complaint of their being too laborious. Sir, the Committee which, as I have already ſtated, was appointed in 1786 reported, that one Secretary in each office was fully ſufficient, and that the clerks already employed were too many—but that as there might one day or other be occaſion for them, it would be adviſable to keep them idle in the offices in order to be ready, if circumſtances ſhould occur to render their aſſiſtance neceſſary. Nothing however was done touching the objects of the report till 1795, when Miniſters thought proper to adviſe his Majeſty to counteract all that was promiſed; and when the new eſtabliſhment was propoſed, thoſe who were called upon for advice were the

the ſecretaries; an odd quarter indeed from which to take advice on ſuch an occaſion.

Sir, the right honourable Gentleman has been heard to complain, in a moſt lamentable ſtile, that the weight of buſineſs which fell to his ſhare was more than he could bear, and that he had no reſt or reſpite, night or day; and yet, Sir, in his appointment in 1791, ſo far from taking even 4500l. (for I really wiſh to give the right honourable Gentleman all the credit he deſerves) he only took 3600l. Then, Sir, came the war in 1793; and although the quantity of buſineſs was conſiderably increaſed by that event, the right honourable Gentleman never looked for a third ſecretary, but did the whole with much credit to himſelf for a year and a half; and ſo far from not being able to diſcharge the duties of that office, he, in bringing in his India Bill, took 2000l. a year as Preſident of the Board of Controul, aſſuming to himſelf, deliberately, the whole additional weight of that arduous employment; and I am not willing to ſuppoſe that the right honourable Gentleman would aſk for ſalary, if he did not intend to perform all the duties to the ſatisfaction and advantage of the country. But this is not all, Sir: with the whole weight of the home department, he took upon him alſo that of war; ſo far was he from thinking a third ſecretary neceſſary. Under theſe circumſtances then, I wiſh to know what it is that creates the neceſſity? It cannot be that which was made the pretext for it in 1768, for the Colonies are loſt. Neither can it be inability, becauſe it appears that the buſineſs has been done with diſpatch, facility and effect, by two. Hence, Sir, I am at a loſs to gueſs why in 1794 there ſhould be a new diviſion of the buſineſs, and inſtead of the old eſtabliſhment of two ſecretaries and offices, at an expence of 29,000l. there ſhould be three, at an expence of 40,000l. I know, Sir, that in the report before us, the gentlemen have ſtated (what probably appeared to them to be the truth) that the accumulation of the affairs of war with thoſe of the other departments of ſtate, rendered an enlargement neceſſary, and pointed out the expediency of a ſeparate eſtabliſhment for war. This would be ſomewhat odd, but when we look into the evidence upon which that aſſumption is grounded, we find that the firſt clerk of that office was the only perſon examined touching that point before the committee, and ſo far from ſaying any thing to juſtify that concluſion, he has ſaid nothing but what leads to a belief that with the help of four additional clerks, they might go on as well as ever; and the Houſe will find on examination, that there is

nothing in the appendix to bear out the aſſertions of the committee in the body of the report.

Sir, I think that I can hardly have failed to ſatisfy the Houſe that the office of Third Secretary of State is unneceſſary, and that the additional buſineſs occaſioned by the war, which is made the pretext for creating it, might be with equal effect and advantage diſcharged by three clerks, ſupplemental to thoſe already employed; but this mode would not anſwer the purpoſe of Miniſters. No, Sir, an increaſe of the patronage of the Crown was their object, and a new eſtabliſhment, with enormous additional ſalaries, was the only thing that would ſerve their turn.

When this diſcovery was made of the neceſſity of making a new eſtabliſhment, many difficulties occurred in making the arrangement; and it might be an amuſing ſubject of ſpeculation to conjecture how they were at laſt ſurmounted, as nothing can be conceived more difficult than to reconcile the jarring intereſts and ſanguine expectations of the ſeveral candidates for emolument. The right honourable Gentleman (Mr. Pitt) who is ſo fond of *mutual compenſation* in negotiation, probably interfered, and made mutual compenſation the baſis of the treaty, and hence may have ariſen "reciprocal facilities," which ended in "an arrangement convenient and comfortable to all." It was only ſaying, "I am ſecretary at war, and you are war ſecratary," and ſo the difficulty was at an end; and on that day out ſtarts an arrangement, giving to the right honourable Gentleman the office of ſecretary of the war department, with a moſt enormous eſtabliſhment. Now, Sir, ſhall I not be juſtified in ſaying that this is a job? Is not the diſtinction warranted by the fact? I am at at a loſs to comprehend how ſuch a palpable job can be defended, or how Miniſters will be able to juſtify the creating ſuch an office as that of War Secretary. The preſent Commander in chief, I am happy to ſay, is allowed, without contradiction, to be moſt accurate, active and induſtrious, and I am ſure I mean no diſreſpect to Lord Amherſt when I attribute wholly to age his inſufficiency. And Lord Cornwallis has made no leſs improvement in the Ordnance department; and yet with theſe advantages, the office of Secretary of the War department was thought neceſſary for the right honourable Gentleman. Sir, I do not find it ſo much as ſtated that the Duke of Portland could not do the duty of both, and the Duke's department, inſtead of being reduced, has had four clerks added to it; one a Precis, as it is called, that is to ſay an abridger; another a

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law clerk, which was aboliſhed in 1774, and now revived; a third a clerk for felons and convicts; and the fourth a gentleman (Mr. Baldwin), who left his profeſſion, and is ſo good as to give his opinion when a caſe is ſent with the uſual compliment (the fee) marked on the back of it. Beſides which there is an active magiſtrate employed, who tranſacts the office buſineſs with the various magiſtrates, and takes the whole weight of that trouble off his Grace's ſhoulders. Sir, my knowledge of the Duke of Portland enables me to ſtate that he is a man of buſineſs, and he being ſo, it is extremely wrong to proclaim him thus to the world as a man not fit for the management and diſcharge of the duties of his office.

So far, Sir, I have confined myſelf to the ground of neceſſity: I will now, Sir, apply to the other point I aſſume on this occaſion, I mean the illegality of the office. Mr. Burke's bill provided, that the office of "Third Secretary of State, or Secretary for the Colonies, as it was then called, ſhould be ſuppreſſed, aboliſhed, and taken away; and that two only ſhould remain, thoſe for the Northern and Southern departments; and that if any office of the ſame name, nature, or deſcription ſhould thereafter be eſtabliſhed, the ſame ſhould be taken as a new office." Sir, I aſk any gentleman of the law now preſent, whether words could be found to comprehend a more large, diſtinct, and plain explanation of the intention of that proviſion? Lord George Germaine, who held the office of Third Secretary, was more cautious than the right honourable Gentleman, for he never gave any ſpecific name to the office he held, but held it generally by the title of "one of his Majeſty's principal Secretaries of State;" and Mr. Burke was driven thereby to ſtate it ſo ſpecially as he had done: that is to ſay, that there ſhall be only two Secretaries; and that if a third be made of the ſame name, nature, and deſcription, with that aboliſhed, the perſon who receives the ſame ſhall be incapable to ſit in the Houſe of Commons. Now, Sir, I will demonſtrate beyond the poſſibility of refutation, that the office held by the right honourable Gentleman is of that nature and deſcription; that it is of the ſame name I cannot ſay, but it is for the ſame purpoſes, and I defy any one to get over it; it is for tranſacting the ſame ſort of buſineſs as that which was called Secretary for the Colonies; it is not only new, but by the deſcription of it in the report, may be ſaid to grow out of that of Lord George Germaine, and like it is created upon the pretence that the Home department is too heavy. Let gentlemen only look to the report, and they will find the three diſtinct offices diſtinctly recogniſed by the authenticated ſignatures of

the reſpective Secretaries: in Appendix B. 1, they will find the ſignature Portland as Principal Secretary; in B. 2, they will find Lord Grenville Principal Secretary for the Foreign department; and then they will come to the ſtrayed ſheep, Henry Dundas, Principal War Secretary! For my part, I cannot comprehend where a doubt upon the ſubject can ariſe. It evidently appears there are three Secretaries, one of them is in the War department, and that is the right honourable Gentleman. Perhaps gentlemen will endeavour to ſhelter him, by ſaying that it is the Duke of Portland that is the new Secretary; for certainly they cannot ſay it is Lord Grenville. But the Houſe muſt ſee it cannot be ſhuffled off in that manner: if it can, the report of the Committee is but a farce, from one end of it to the other; for it ſtates the neceſſity of a ſeparate eſtabliſhment of an additional office of Secretary of the War department, and that office the right honourable Gentleman is avowed to hold. No doubt, then, can poſſibly ariſe on the ſubject. Gentlemen may ſay that the right honourable Secretary has the ſame ſeal he had before, but that will make no difference; and here it occurs to me to mention a circumſtance of the ſtrangeſt featured delicacy I ever noticed: Lord Grenville accepts only 3200l. a year; what an odd fancy his Lordſhip diſplays in the choice of his ſum; he is offered 6000l.—"No," ſays he, "I will not take ſo much, I will give back 2800 of it." Not 2500l. or 3000l. the ſums that would naturally occur to another, but 3200l. what a whimſical inexplicable way of acting! what a wretched ſponge for popularity! But, Sir, the right honourable Gentleman has not only a diſtinct office, but for that office a diſtinct houſe in Parliament-ſtreet, the leaſe of which he has bought for the purpoſe. Perhaps it will be ſaid that this is only a new diviſion of the Secretary's office, but even that Mr. Burke's bill is againſt; or it may be ſaid, that the right honourable Gentleman, being a commoner, poſſeſſed the office, and cutting it into two parts, gave half of it to a peer, and doing ſo has not forfeited his ſeal; as if the Maſter of the Mint was to give generally the office to a peer, and reſerve to himſelf, being a commoner, only the coining of ſixpences.

Sir, I have only one word more. In the ſtatement I have delivered it is ſatisfactorily made out that no neceſſity for creating this office has been proved, and that if the neceſſity was proved, ſtill, under the law, it is impoſſible the right honourable Gentleman can retain his ſeal. Sir, I aſſure you, in making this motion, I am not actuated by a deſire to interfere with his Majeſty's ſervice, or to throw difficulties in the way of

of the public proceedings; but by an anxious deſire to vindicate the honour and character of the Houſe, by prevailing on them to ſhew that they wiſh to preſerve inviolate the law, the more ſo, as the King's ſpeech recommends ſo ſtrongly to them to enforce obedience to the laws. And I recommend it to the right honourable Gentleman, if he wants a new arrangement, to look to his friend on the right, (Mr. Windham) who is at the head of an eſtabliſhment of no leſs than 42,000l. a year, and to divide with him, rather than lay new exactions on the public—[*a laugh from the other ſide.*] Sir, I cannot ſee that it is a reaſonable provocation to laughter to be told, and truly told, that one man poſſeſſes an eſtabliſhment of 42,000l. a year, or that another ſits in this Houſe, who by law has no right to ſit in it, and is called upon to ſhew cauſe for his doing ſo.—Gentlemen ſhould not chuſe this night for laughter; diſcretion ſhould point out to them a conduct more becoming the time and their own ſituations. A gentleman on the oppoſite ſide the other night lamented that there was not a fuller attendance on this ſide of the Houſe, and it would be well if before they indulge in unſeemly ill-timed levity, gentlemen would conſider whether laughter is the mode that ſhould be taken to induce the attendance of abſent members. Sir, I have done, I ſhall now make my motion, firſt begging that the act I allude to, (Mr. Burke's bill) may be read.

The act being read,

He moved the following reſolution, "That it is the opinion of this Houſe that the office of Secretary of State for the War department, was in addition to the office of Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and for the Home department; and that the right honourable Henry Dundas having accepted of the office of Secretary for the War department, is diſqualified to ſit in Parliament, &c."

Mr. Secretary *Dundas* ſaid, the honourable Gentleman, in the manner in which he introduced the preſent motion, ſo particularly alluded to me, that it may be expected that I ſhould ſay ſomething in reply, and I conceive that I cannot better refute the objections he has ſtated, or better demonſtrate the impropriety of the meaſure he has propoſed, than by giving an accurate ſtatement of the circumſtances to which he has directed the attention of the Houſe. In the year 1791 his Majeſty was pleaſed to call upon me to undertake the office of Secretary of State for the Home department. At that period the duty attached to the ſituation comprehended the internal correſpondence with the different parts of the country, with Ireland, the Colonies, and in general every thing relative to the executive

executive adminiſtration. When the war broke out, the military correſpondence was likewiſe conducted by this department, and there continued till it was thought proper to form a new arrangement. I ſhall not enter into the conſideration whether the place of Third Secretary of State was rightly aboliſhed, or whether it was rightly reſtored. I ſhall not now diſcuſs whether the extenſive concerns which come under the adminiſtration of the offices alluded to, can beſt be conducted by two perſons or by three. This ſubject forms no part of the preſent conſideration, and as to the perſonal topics which the hon. Gentleman urged ſo variouſly and ſo often, I ſhall paſs them over without particular notice. Still, however, I ſhould deem it unmanly were I not to embrace this opportunity to ſtate diſtinctly, as a mere matter of opinion be it underſtood, that the buſineſs of that office which is the ſubject of conſideration, is more than would be proper to commit to any individual, be his talents and his aſſiduity what they may. The increaſe of buſineſs ariſing out of the war, the new and ſtrange ſcenes which were acted in various parts of the country, the frantic and dangerous deſigns which were proſecuted with ſuch perſeverance and activity, to diſturb the public tranquillity, and to overthrow our happy conſtitution, called for an additional portion of induſtry, and additional means of carrying on the buſineſs of the ſtate with new vigilance and undivided attention. On this point, however, I merely throw out my perſonal opinion; it does not belong to the preſent diſcuſſion. The queſtion for the deliberation of the Houſe, and the only ſubject on which they have to decide, is, whether I am a Third Secretary of State in the terms of Mr. Burke's act? In reply to the arguments which the Honourable Gentleman has urged in ſupport of the affirmative, I ſhall boldly ſtate the fact.

In the year 1791 I received from his Majeſty the ſeals of the Home department, and at the ſame time I was cuſtodier of thoſe which had belonged to Lord George Germaine. A new arrangement having taken place, I carried the ſeals of which I had been the cuſtodier to his Majeſty, who delivered them to the Duke of Portland. I was then ordered by his Majeſty to continue the military correſpondence, and to conduct the buſineſs of Secretary of State ſo far as related to that object. How then can I, in any reſpect, be conſidered the Third Secretary of State? I continued to perform a conſiderable part of the duty which had devolved upon me when I accepted the appointment in 1791. If two known and eſtabliſhed Secretaries of State exiſted, and another is added, by what kind of argument is it to be proved that the perſon who diſcharged one of

of theſe offices is to be conſidered either as the new, or the third Secretary of State? It ſo happens, however, that none of the buſineſs which belonged to the office of third Secretary, aboliſhed by Mr. Burke's bill, is attached to the office which I now hold. The buſineſs which it comprehends is quite diſtinct from that for which a third Secretary of State was deemed unneceſſary, and is poſterior to Mr. Burke's bill. In the ſituation which I received in 1791 I have ſtood ſince, and now only am in poſſeſſion of a part of that buſineſs which was then wholly under my care. The evidence upon which the report of the Select Committee is made does not prove who is or who is not third Secretary of State. The perſons examined by that Committee explain the nature of the buſineſs tranſacted in the different offices, but do not attempt to diſtinguiſh who is firſt, ſecond, or third Secretary of State. The military branch and the matters connected with it are carried on in my department; but I cannot conceive how this at all ſerves to eſtabliſh that I, who performed that duty before muſt be the new Secretary of State, or that I come under the incapacities which Mr. Burke's bill enacts. The name by which the office may be diſtinguiſhed is of no conſequence; it does not in any manner ſupport the point which the hon. Gentleman endeavours to prove. Does the fact juſtify the concluſions which he draws? Did I receive any new patent from his Majeſty for the office which I hold? did I receive any new ſalary?—Certainly not. In no reſpect were the emoluments I enjoyed either increaſed or diminiſhed; they ſtand preciſely as they did before the new arrangement took place. I was then and ſtill am one of the principal Secretaries of State, while there are three to whom this character belongs, without its being at all ſpecified with what particular department they are entruſted.

But with regard to the operation of the bill upon which this motion is founded, it likewiſe ought to be conſidered what is its ſpirit and object. It was intended to guard againſt the increaſe of public offices, in ſo far as thoſe who occupied them were or were not to be members of this Houſe. But becauſe it ſuited the ſtate of the Civil Liſt at the period when it was paſſed, does it follow that it muſt be applicable to the preſent times? it does not enact that a third Secretary of State ſhall not be appointed; but its effect is, that this third Secretary of State ſhall not be a member of the Houſe of Commons. Before any change took place I ſat in this Houſe;

Houſe; and now claim the right, both on my own account and from a regard for the privileges of my conſtituents, to exerciſe my legiſlative capacity. No change has taken place in my ſituation ſince I was firſt choſen after being appointed in 1791, but that part of the duty which I performed, is now executed by the Duke of Portland. Upon what ground then is the honourable Gentleman to ſatisfy the Houſe that I have forfeited my right to a ſeat here? The friends of the honourable Gentleman have likewiſe ſome reaſon to complain of him, that he ſeems deſirous to effect what their ingenuity and talents had diſcovered to be unattainable. Although the honourable Gentleman's abilities may be very conſpicuous, yet the queſtion was agitated by an honourable Friend of his with no leſs ingenuity, and with no leſs ſkill, but it was admitted that no incapacity to ſit in this Houſe aroſe from the circumſtances to which the attention of the Houſe was called. After the diſcuſſion which the ſubject had already undergone, I cannot but think too, that my conſtituents would not be fairly dealt with were they to ſee their repreſentative declared to have incurred an incapacity by an act, on which diſcuſſion had already taken place, and the opinion of the Houſe had been pronounced. Having thus ſtated the facts upon which the deciſion of the preſent queſtion muſt proceed, I ſhall trouble the Houſe no longer, and ſhall therefore give my negative to the motion.

Mr. *Martin* ſaid, that whether the right honourable Gentleman by holding his preſent office of Secretary of State, had violated the letter of Mr. Burke's bill, in his opinion, the ſpirit of it had been diſregarded; its object was to guard againſt the influence of the Crown, and to ſecure the independence of Parliament, which by the proceeding in queſtion would be defeated.

Mr. *Tierney*. The preſent is a ſubject upon which I ſhould have expected that the Crown lawyers would have favoured the Houſe with their lights, and that a queſtion which turns upon the interpretation of an act of Parliament would have called forth ſome legal knowledge. On ſuch a queſtion, it certainly is unpleaſant to me to find the diſcuſſion wholly devolved upon myſelf. I could have wiſhed that ſome of the learned gentlemen, and a learned judge, whom I now ſee in his place, who are generally ready to aſſiſt their friends upon the other ſide with their legal abilities, would have now come forward. I was deſirous to have exerciſed the right which I have to cloſe the debate. (The Speaker

Speaker informed Mr. Tierney, that it was matter of indulgence, not of right, for the opener of a queſtion to cloſe the debate.) If not a matter of right, it certainly is an indulgence which in few inſtances has been refuſed; of this indulgence then, I was deſirous to avail myſelf, as the laſt Speaker, to reply to ſuch arguments as might have been urged. Perhaps it is in vain to preſs theſe learned gentlemen to enter the field; they have ſo repeatedly failed in the legal arguments which they were called upon to maintain, that they are cautious of expoſing themſelves to a ſecond failure. In this ſituation then I am compelled to ſupport the arguments I have advanced with no other countenance, but that of the Houſe; even of this indeed, I ſeem to be deprived, if I can judge from the merriment with which the propoſition was received. Even the right honourable Gentleman (Mr. Pitt) who is not backward to ſpeak, ſeems to decline: if, however, he does come forward, I hope he will confine himſelf to matter of fact. He too is implicated in one of the moſt wanton, unneceſſary and inſulting jobs by which this country was ever diſgraced! The right honourable Gentleman, however, ſays that he is not third Secretary of State, becauſe he was Secretary of State before: Thus he argues, that having once been in that capacity, he muſt ever retain the character as long as he is employed in public affairs, and lingers about any of the offices of State. If it is true that the right honourable Gentleman only has a part of the duty, is he not, in fact, no more than an officer of the Duke of Portland's, and diſqualified equally to ſit in Parliament, as coming under the exceptions of the 15th of Geo. II. By that act, one Under Secretary in each department, and no more, is allowed to ſit in Parliament. The right honourable Gentleman certainly does not act in the character of Under Secretary for the Home Department; what difference then does there exiſt between him and any other perſon out of the Duke of Portland's office? In adopting this mode of defence, the right honourable Gentleman ſeems to have been off his guard, and had he adviſed with his learned friends, they probably would have diſſuaded him from committing himſelf by ſuch a mode of argument. But, it is ſaid, the ſubject was formerly diſcuſſed—now, however, circumſtances are altered, and the queſtion comes forward in a different point of view; here the job, which formerly was imperfectly known, is *detected*. It was not then known, that the right hon. Gentleman held the office which is now diſtinguiſh-

ed by the title of the War Department, hitherto unknown. In anſwer to the charge of thus holding the office of Third Secretary of State, a poor joke is again repeated, and we are aſked whether thoſe who were in, or he who joins, is to be juſtly deemed the *new* Secretary? But what does this prove? When the new arrangement was adopted, a break took place ſomewhere, when the Duke of Portland was introduced into the ſituation which the right honourable Gentleman held, and was entruſted at leaſt with part of the buſineſs which he previouſly performed. The Duke of Portland now occupies the Home Department: the deſcription given of that department in the Report of the Committee in 1786, is preciſely that which is given by Mr. King, the Under Secretary of State of that department at the preſent moment, excepting the buſineſs of the Eaſt Indies. A new diviſion, however, it ſeems has taken place; doubtleſs his Majeſty may divide the office into as many parts as he pleaſes, if he does not call upon this Houſe for the payment of thoſe who are employed. I call upon the Houſe, however, to ſay, what controul they are to exerciſe upon this prerogative; the Houſe can ſay to his Majeſty, "you can make Placemen, but not Members of Parliament." His Majeſty cannot, by extending the number of Principal Secretaries, encreaſe the number of Under Secretaries qualified to ſit in the Houſe of Commons. By the new arrangement, however, two Members are made. It is ſaid, indeed, that the Under Secretary takes no ſalary. Without any diſreſpect for that Gentleman, however, he might change his mind, or others in his ſituation might differ from him. The ſtatute of Queen Anne, and Mr. Burke's Bill, both create an incapacity; and this point I ſhould be glad to argue with any lawyer, from the Lord Chancellor to the youngeſt ſtudent, were the point to be denied. No matter by what motive the honourable Gentleman may be actuated, the incapacity is legally declared. Whether he is pleaſed to perform for nothing the buſineſs of the right honourable Gentleman in the morning, to have the pleaſure of hearing his eloquence in the evening, or whether he follows virtue for its own ſake, is all one, it is againſt law, and that is enough. It is againſt the admiſſion of the principle that I now contend; it is not from perſonal motives to attack the ſeats of any honourable Gentleman, but it is to have an opportunity to bring to proof what is meant by the Conſtitution; what is meant by enforcing *obedience* to the laws, that I urge the preſent queſtion. I call on the Houſe to do what they pledge themſelves to do in the Addreſs on the King's Speech, and how is the propoſition received? With a horſe laugh!

laugh! Do Gentlemen really think that the people of this country are ſo ſunk in apathy that they can endure this mockery? Do you think that the people without doors will be ſatisfied when this debate goes abroad, with the juggle with which the ſerious charge I have advanced has been anſwered? When it is aſſerted and proved by the evidence of a Select Committee, and when it is demonſtrated by an Act of Parliament, that an honourable Gentleman ſits in this Houſe who is diſqualified by law, do you think it will do to ſay that it is not proved whether he be the Firſt, Second, or Third Secretary? The right honourable Gentleman ſays he will enquire whether the arrangement be neceſſary or not; but does he think the country will be ſatisfied with this? Will they not ſee the groſs inſult which they have received in the juggle with which it is attempted to impoſe upon their underſtandings? Such a defence as this will never convince the public that new offices have not been created to extend the influence of the Crown, and to corrupt the independence of Parliament; it will not convince them that men are not thus introduced into Parliament who by law are diſqualified. At a moment ſo perilous as the preſent it ought to be our buſineſs not to outrage but to conciliate the public opinion. We ought not to endeavour by a quibble to evade the execution of law. The people are entitled to ſomething on their ſide, ſome liberality ought to be ſhewn to their claims. I am not very apt to deſpond. I believe that the energy of the country is great, that its reſources are extenſive, but they are not the reſources of abundance; they can only be called forth by a Houſe of Commons poſſeſſing the confidence and good opinion of the people. If you ſhew them that you are more diſpoſed to curry favour with the King, if you ſhew yourſelves more diſpoſed to employ a vigour beyond the law againſt the people, and a vigour leſs than the law in the vindication of their rights, you may vote grants, but they will be barren, you may impoſe taxes, but they will be unproductive. If indeed you ſhew a determination to enforce the laws equally againſt high and againſt low, then you will find in the people energies inexhauſtible, and reſources without end. The right honourable Gentleman, however, ſays, "prove me to be Third Secretary of State. I went with the Seals and delivered them to the Duke of Portland." Thus he endeavours to eſcape by a juggle. He ſhews himſelf and his Grace ſo cloſe together, hand to fiſt, that, which is the juſtice and which is the thief, it is impoſſible to diſcover. The facts on which I reſt this charge, however, are founded upon no quibble. The two de-

partments for home and foreign affairs are known. Since 1794 there has been a Secretary for the War Department. The whole matter then is reduced to a quibble, whether Mr. Dundas or the Duke of Portland be the new Secretary? and becauſe the Duke came laſt into office it muſt be inferred, forſooth, that he is the new Secretary. But the law does not aſk who is the officer, it looks at the office, and if the new officer is found in the old department, and the former Secretary in an office hitherto unknown, it cannot be difficult to decide which of them is to be held as the *new Secretary of State*. That the point is one which admits at leaſt of doubt againſt them, Miniſters cannot but admit. If it be an object of diſcuſſion, why not get the matter decided and explained by an Act of Parliament? This was done in regard to bounty-money when a doubt aroſe on Mr. Burke's Bill. This at leaſt would ſhield the Houſe from the diſgrace of ſanctioning a groſs violation of law. The defence which is now attempted is at once injurious to the rights, and inſulting to the underſtandings of the people; a miſerable juggle to defeat an Act of Parliament intended to controul the influence of the Crown, and to ſecure the independence of the Houſe of Commons.

Whatever may be the fate of this motion, I have done my duty. Gentlemen may vote as they think proper. I have exculpated myſelf from the conſequences. If it ſhall be carried, I ſhall have the ſatisfaction of having contributed ſomething to defend the rights of the people, and to ſecure the purity of this Houſe. If it be rejected, I ſhall have the conſolation of knowing that I have exerted myſelf to ſhew to the people what is really meant by the Conſtitution of which Gentlemen boaſt ſo much, and thoſe laws which they pledge themſelves to enforce. At leaſt it will ſhew to the Conſtituents of the right honourable Gentleman, to the people of Scotland, to the ſurvivors of thoſe who fell at Tranent, the conſequences which attach to the ſame conduct in different circumſtances. It will ſhew them that while one ſet of men, for their oppoſition to the law, are doomed to the horrors of military execution, others can protect themſelves, by a pitiful juggle, from the penalties of the violation of which they have been guilty.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, ſaid, whenever the honourable Gentleman ſhall think fit again to allude to the affair of Tranent, I hope he will do ſo in a manner that ſhall appear to connect it a little better with the ſubject in diſcuſſion. The honourable Gentleman maintains that he has a right to ſpeak laſt, becauſe he is the mover of the queſtion before the Houſe. That indeed has been uſual and cuſtomary, from the indulgence

dulgence of the Houſe, but I know of no right that any member has to inſiſt upon it; ſo far is it from being ſo underſtood, that I have known many inſtances in which the mover has made what is generally termed a reply, and others have ſpoken after him. The honourable Gentleman has already made two ſpeeches, and perhaps he may make a third, but I deny the right he has to demand a third hearing upon one queſtion. He complains, however, that nobody has choſen to anſwer him, but my right honourable friend. It does not ſeem to me difficult to account for the ſilence of which the honourable Gentleman complains: thoſe who might at firſt think that the honourable Gentleman's ſpeech required an anſwer, thought the ſtatement aftewards made by my right honourable friend was ſufficiently convincing to the Houſe without another word being uttered on the ſubject; for little indeed need be ſaid, as the honourable Gentleman, although he indulged himſelf conſiderably in the diſplay of a digreſſive eloquence, it applied to any thing but the ſubject in debate, eſpecially in his laſt ſpeech; he called in a preſſing taunting manner for a reply, although he claimed the right of ſpeaking laſt. He ſeemed alſo to lay it down as a rule that members of parliament ought to wait for the opinion of lawyers upon the preſent queſtion, and ſeemed to be pretty confident of his own legal knowledge, although he is not a lawyer; true it is indeed that he paſſed part of his early days in one of the inns of court, but I do not know that ſuch of us who are not lawyers ſhould be ſilent in his preſence upon ſuch a point as this; nor do I underſtand by what rule or principle it is that a member of parliament, who is not a lawyer, is not to judge, and if he pleaſes, to deliver his opinion upon the ſtatutes of this realm, becauſe we have among us a learned judge, and many gentlemen of the long robe, and great and eminent crown lawyers. I ſhould be happy to hear any of thoſe profeſſional gentlemen upon any legal queſtion. I have as ſincere a reſpect for their authority as the honourable Gentleman who now wiſhes to hear no other; but as a member of parliament, I am not bound by their authority. I muſt judge for myſelf. Why then, having ſettled the queſtion of right to judge and ſpeak for myſelf, I am come to the conſtruction of the ſtatute to which the honourable Gentleman refers; and here let me obſerve, by the way, to the honourable Gentleman who ſpeaks ſo vauntingly that we have not the opinion of any lawyer in our favour, there is not the opinion of any lawyer againſt us. I, therefore, an unlearned man, am left to form my opinion as well as I can. Indeed the honourable Gentleman's conſiſtency is a little doubtful, for by one part of his

his ſpeech he calls upon us to give opinions, and in another he directs us to wait for the opinion of lawyers. He talks a good deal too of a laugh, which ſeemed to be very offenſive to him, and which I did not perceive; to be diſconcerted by ſuch a trifle, does not ſeem to me to be very conſiſtent with that ſtate of nerves which the honourable Gentleman ſeemed to be in while he was making pretty bold aſſertions. He ſeemed alſo to inſinuate that this practice of laughter will keep other members of this Houſe from coming among us to do their duty; to which I can only anſwer, that I hope they have a better reaſon for ſtaying away than the fear of being laughed at if they return.

The ſtatement of my right honourable friend is not fairly liable to the obſervation which the honourable Gentleman was pleaſed to make, by way of anticipation upon it. My right honourable friend ſays, "Here are three ſecretaries of ſtate, two of them exiſted before; another is added.—Who is the third, either of the former two, or the one who is added to them?". This is preciſely the caſe which we are now debating; nor is it poſſible fairly to ſtate it otherwiſe, unleſs it could be proved that each office of Secretary of State has, not by cuſtom and convenience for practical purpoſes, but by law, a particular deſignation, department and diviſion. I ſay the office of Secretary of State has no ſuch department, deſignation, or diviſion by law, but is in the legal ſenſe, independent of any ſuch diſtinction. The office of Secretary of State, in the legal ſenſe, depends upon the grant and the delivery of the ſeals; the title of the office is, "One of his Majeſty's principal Secretaries of State." By that grant and the delivery of the ſeals, every one of theſe perſons becomes a legal organ to counterſign any act of ſtate, and he is placed afterwards in that department of buſineſs, which his Majeſty in his wiſdom thinks fit to allot for him. This is the real ſtate of the caſe, and has been uniformly the practice, nor is there any limitation of the number of Secretaries of State; they have frequently been of different numbers, as may be ſeen in different periods of our hiſtory. In that caſe we ſtand now as we originally ſtood. But the honourable Gentleman has made one conceſſion in his ſpeech for which I am obliged to him. He ſaid it would be arrogant in him to bring this matter forward after what had been ſo ably ſaid upon it when it was before the Houſe a conſiderable time ago, unleſs he could prove that ſomething had appeared ſince to add to and caſt new light upon it; and then he refers to the report of the committee, and upon it he repeats the old witticiſm, if ſo it can be called, "That now we have a Secretary at War and a War Secretary." Perhaps I ought to be aſhamed of having now in my

my ear theſe words which were uttered three years ago; I cannot, however, help obſerving that they were uttered by gentlemen who were, at leaſt, as much maſters of pleaſantry as the honourable Gentleman; and yet theſe gentlemen, it ſeems, with all their faculties to provoke laughter, are now themſelves afraid of returning to their duty for fear of being laughed at. The honourable Gentleman relies much upon the language of the laſt report of the committee upon offices, and triumphantly concludes from thence that my right honourable friend is a third Secretary of State. To which I anſwer, the language of the report and that of the clerks who gave their evidence before the committee, is taken merely from popular acceptation in the common ſtyle of buſineſs, and has no reference whatever to the real and legal definition of the office. How is this office of Secretary conſtituted? By the grant by his Majeſty and the delivery of the ſeals. Has my right honourable friend, Mr. Dundas, any new grant as Secretary of State ſince the year 1791? No. Have any new ſeals been delivered to him? No. He has now the old ſeals and the old grant. I ſay then that according to the ſpirit of the act of the 6th of Anne, my right honourable friend has not forfeited his right to ſit in this Houſe, and if the honourable Gentleman had a right to ſpeak a third time, he would hardly be able to perſuade this Houſe, that holding the old grant and the old ſeals conſtitute a new Secretary of State, merely becauſe he happens to have leſs duty now in the office than he had in the year 1791; and I leave, after this, the queſtion to be decided on which ſide the quibbling lies in this caſe. Indeed the honourable Gentleman had one more reaſon to ſupport his propoſition. The act of parliament, brought forward by Mr. Burke, ſtated that the office of third Secretary of State, or of Secretary to the Colonies, ſhould be deemed a new office. My right honourable friend has nothing whatever to do with the Colonies, and therefore the honourable Gentleman might conclude that he ſhould be deemed Secretary to the colonies. But after all, what is the ſpirit of Mr. Burke's bill? I am not arguing with gentlemen what in their opinion the ſpirit of that bill ought to be, but what it actually is. It is not a bill to reſtrain the creation of offices generally.—Not to prevent his Majeſty even from having a third Secretary of State by name. But it ſtates that if a third Secretary of State, or Secretary of the Plantations be added; what is the reſult, that ſuch an appointment is againſt law? Nothing like it, for it only provides that ſuch a Secretary ſhall not ſit in the Houſe of Commons. Now who is the perſon who is the third Secretary of State? A member of the Houſe of Lords.

Gentlemen

Gentlemen may ſay, that the act of parliament to which I am alluding was paſſed with a view to prevent his Majeſty's influence being extended in the council of the nation, and that the third Secretary of State ought to have no ſeat in the Houſe of Lords any more than in the Houſe of Commons. To which I anſwer again, that we muſt look at what the law is, not what ſome gentlemen may think it ought to be.

The other part of the honourable Gentleman's ſpeech was a mixture of liberality and pleaſantneſs. He takes great merit to himſelf for not moving againſt thoſe members of this Houſe who hold employments in the office of my right honourable Friend. I do not know how much they feel themſelves obliged to him, and I leave it to himſelf to ſhew how that is conſiſtent in a gentleman who aſſures us he is actuated only by a ſenſe of public duty. As to the idea thrown out by the honourable Gentleman, that Mr. Dundas may be conſidered as a ſort of Secretary to the Duke of Portland, I muſt obſerve again, that he cannot be ſo conſidered; that the whole is matter of arrangement to tranſact the public buſineſs more conveniently than it was tranſacted before, and that my right honourable Friend holds the ſame office as he did formerly, but tranſacts now only part of what he did before the new arrangement. In a word, I think this a caſe in which there is no doubt; and if the honourable Gentleman thinks it would have been arrogant in him to have brought this ſubject forward without ſome new ground to ſupport it, the ſentence is one which he has pronounced on himſelf, and which otherwiſe I ſhould not have thought of pronouncing on him.

Mr. *Tierney*. If any language of mine has appeared to be harſh in this diſcuſſion, the fault is not mine, it aroſe out of the ſubject. I ſaid this was a job, I ſay ſo ſtill, becauſe I think ſo. I ſaid alſo, that I ſhould have been arrogant if I brought this matter forward without ſome new ground to ſupport me. That new ground I had, and I have laid it before this Houſe. It is in the diſcloſure made by the report of the Committee to which I have referred. That report ſtates, that the office of Secretary of the War Department exiſted ſince the 11th of July, 1794. I ſay this juſtifies me in the ſtatement I made. I know I have no right to reply; but I am contented to let my arguments, poor as they are, go out to the public, and oppoſed to the arguments of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and his right hon. Friend. The right hon. Gentleman ſays, that I ſaid, I thought my friends

friends would be afraid of being laughed at if they returned to this Houſe. I ſaid no ſuch thing; and now that I am upon this ſubject, I think it right that I ſhould declare, that I have acted in concert with no body of men whatever in what I have this day ſubmitted to this Houſe, I ſay this in order that the whole diſgrace and abſurdity, if any, ſhould fall upon myſelf, and that no other perſon ſhould have any ſhare of it. I believe my friends to whom the right hon. Gentleman alluded, have quitted this Houſe, becauſe they deſpaired of being able to do any good in it, and they thought they incurred no ſmall degree of blame by the majority for the part they were taking, and taking without proſpect of ſucceſs, which gave them great uneaſineſs. When they will return, how they will return, or whether they will return at all, I do not pretend to ſay. Why indeed they are gone, I ſay; but whether they will come back, I ſhall deliver no opinion whatever. I certainly never was authoriſed to deliver any opinion upon the ſubject.

Lord *Hawkeſbury* roſe, he ſaid, in conſequence of what had fallen from the hon. Gentleman, Mr. Tierney, reſpecting the melancholy affair of Tranent, and with a view to caution the Houſe againſt the groſs calumnies and malevolent miſrepreſentations which had been induſtriouſly circulated with regard to that buſineſs. Should an enquiry be ever made into it by the Houſe, he pledged himſelf to prove to the fulleſt ſatisfaction of the Houſe, that the troops employed on that unfortunate occaſion, ſo far from deſerving to be branded with any epithets of reproach, would; on the contrary, he truſted, have the ſatisfaction of hearing that their conduct had received its unanimous approbation, and indeed their behaviour on the affair in queſtion was ſo far from being marked with wantonneſs and cruelty, that he had in poſſeſſion abundant evidence to ſhew that they evinced the greateſt patience and forbearance, and that it was in every reſpect very little calculated to draw on them the abuſe and condemnation which, from certain quarters, they had ſo liberally received.

Mr. *Tierney* begged that he might not be underſtood to have delivered any opinion on the conduct of the military, or to have pronounced that, on the occaſion alluded to, it was juſt or otherwiſe.—He had only obſerved generally that the laws which were favourable to the views of government were executed with alacrity and vigour, and even backed, if neceſſary, by military execution, while thoſe that protected

the liberties and conveniencies of the people ſeemed to be enforced with reluctance or entirely overlooked. But this was not the part of the tranſaction which principally arreſted his attention, but a ſubſequent proceeding, when men were known to be bribed and brought forward to give evidence, and if the Lord Advocate allowed them to give evidence under ſuch circumſtances, the Houſe would know what opinion to entertain of his conduct. However diſcouraged he might feel to attempt delivering his ſentiments, he would not, however, ſhrink from expreſſing them relative to this buſineſs, if ever it was brought before the Houſe by the noble Lord (Hawkeſbury.)

Mr. *Burdon* ſaid, he always felt anxious that the Houſe ſhould know the grounds upon which he gave his vote on this, as well as on every other occaſion. He roſe, however, at preſent, merely to juſtify the proceedings of the Committee of Finance, of which he had the honour to be a member, and on which the honourable Gentleman (Mr. Tierney) had built the principal arguments of his ſpeech. Theſe arguments were principally taken from the appendix to this report, and for his own part, he could ſay that he ſaw nothing in it that warranted the inference that was drawn from it by the honourable Gentleman. By the members of that Committee the appointments under diſcuſſion were viewed only in the general light of ſtate offices, nor was there ever hinted any thing reſpecting a legal view of the reſpective ſituations in which the Secretaries of State were placed. Nothing could therefore be deduced from the report of the Committee to diſentangle the litigated point, or to prove that the ſituation now held by Mr. Dundas was a new office, or that that right honourable Gentleman was the Third Secretary of State. The honourable Gentleman who made the preſent motion complained that he was diſcouraged in the performance of his duty, from not receiving the countenance of what he called independent members. For his part, he had long ſince made up his mind reſpecting the tendency of the financial reports, nor was he induced to alter it by any thing that had fallen from the hon. Gentleman. He ſaid thus much to ſhew that there was no contradiction in the vote he was about to give againſt the preſent motion, as he would give it on the principle which directed his conduct in the Committee of Finance.

M. *H. Addington* roſe to give additional information in corroboration of what was advanced by Lord Hawkeſbury reſpecting the affair at Tranent. He was in Scotland after that unfortunate buſineſs had taken place; he was acquainted with the

the magiſtrates who had acted on it, and had heard from them that nothing could be more temperate and forbearing than the conduct of the officer who commanded the troops; he could not therefore but reprobate the miſchievous miſrepreſentations and groſs calumnies that were heaped upon their conduct in ſome of the newſpapers, and he truſted it would be fully inveſtigated, when it would appear that their behaviour had been ſuch as would entitle them to the approbation of the Houſe, and to the gratitude of their country.

Sir *William Geary* ſaid, that it was evident from the report of the Secret Committee, that there exiſted three diſtinct appointments to the offices of Secretrry of State, and that theſe appointments were acknowledged under the abſolute ſignature of the perſons who held them. At the head of the office of the War department appeared Mr. Dundas, and if he appeared in this new department, he muſt naturally be looked upon as the new Secretary of State; but he did preſide in this new office, and conſequently in point of fact and in common ſenſe, he muſt be regarded as the new Secretary of State. As to the tranſaction being denominated a job, that was a queſtion not now before the Houſe, though he would not heſitate to ſtyle it ſuch, if the place was proved to be unneceſſary. This was the light in which he viewed the buſineſs, and his conſcience directed him to vote for the motion.

Mr. *Tierney* explained again, and repeated that the laws that favoured Government were enforced by military execution; that it was by no means his intention to criminate the conduct of the officers in the affair of Tranent; his objections were againſt the ſoldiers who had been bribed to give evidence.

Sir *William Young* thought a parallel caſe to that now under diſcuſſion had taken place with regard to a noble friend of his, who had paſſed from the Home to the Foreign department. When that noble Lord was removed from one office of Secretary of State to another, there was certainly no idea that this change could be regarded as a creation of a new office. In like manner the right honourable Gentleman (Mr. Dundas) had removed from one office to another, but this he denied to be a creation of a new office. On this ground he would oppoſe the motion.

The queſtion was now called for, and the Houſe divided on Mr. Tierney's motion.

Ayes 8 *Noes* 139

Adjourned.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

WEDNESDAY, NOV. 8, 1797.

VOTE OF THANKS TO ADMIRAL LORD DUNCAN.

The order of the day being read for the Lords to be ſummoned; and Lord Viſcount Duncan being in his place, the *Lord Chancellor*, in purſuance of the order of the Houſe, of Friday laſt, gave his Lordſhip the thanks of the Houſe, as follow; (viz.)

"Lord Viſcount Duncan,

"I am commanded by the Lords to give your Lordſhip the Thanks of this Houſe, for your able and gallant conduct in the brilliant and deciſive victory obtained over the Dutch Fleet, on the eleventh day of October laſt; as well as for the zeal, courage, and perſeverance, which you have uniformly manifeſted during the arduous period in which you have commanded his Majeſty's Fleet in the North Sea.

"At the ſame time that this vote paſſed unanimouſly, their Lordſhips were pleaſed to order, 'That all the Peers ſhould be ſummoned to attend the Houſe on the occaſion:' a diſtinction unprecedented, but called for by the general admiration your conduct has inſpired, and ſtrongly expreſſive of that peculiar ſatisfaction which the Peers muſt feel upon your Lordſhip's promotion to a diſtinguiſhed ſeat in this Houſe.

"Splendid in all its circumſtances as the victory obtained by his Majeſty's Fleet under your command has been, important as it muſt prove in its conſequences to the ſecurity of all his Majeſty's dominions, and, under the divine bleſſing, to the favourable iſſue of the arduous conteſt in which they are engaged; the magnitude and luſtre of theſe conſiderations have not ſo occupied the obſervation of the Lords as to make them unmindful of the conſtant vigilance with which your Lordſhip had, in the whole courſe of your command for three ſucceſſive ſeaſons, watched and fruſtrated every deſign of the enemy; nor the manly fortitude with which you had ſuſtained the temporary defection of the greater part of your force; nor, above all, that undaunted reſolution with which, at ſo momentous a criſis, you proceeded to check and to controul the preſumptuous hopes of the enemy.

"These are merits in which fortune can claim no ſhare; they ſpring from that energy of mind and that ardent love of your country which has directed your own conduct, and animated the officers and men under your command, to thoſe exertions which are entitled to every teſtimony of public gratitude and applauſe."

Lord Viſcount *Duncan* replied as follows:

"My Lords,

"Not accuſtomed to ſpeak in public, though my feelings are great, my words muſt be few.

"Deeply impreſſed as I am with the high honour this right honourable Houſe has been pleaſed to confer on me, I ſhall only ſay, that I acknowledge it with the moſt profound reſpect, and feel much gratified by it.

"To you, my Lord, my beſt thanks are due, for the very flattering and polite manner you have been pleaſed to convey to me the reſolutions of this Houſe."

THE

The Duke of *Clarence* moved, That the ſpeech of the Lord Chancellor and of Admiral Lord Viſcount Duncan ſhould be entered on the Journals.—Ordered.

ADDRESS ON PAPERS RELATIVE TO THE LATE NEGOCIATION FOR PEACE WITH THE FRENCH REPUBLIC.

The order of the day for taking into conſideration the Papers relative to the Negociation at Liſle being read,

Lord *Grenville* ſaid, I am perſuaded, my Lords, that the conſideration of the papers which by his Majeſty's directions have been laid before the Houſe, can occaſion no difference of opinion in this Houſe; it can only inſpire but one ſentiment in every breaſt. I am perſuaded that every man muſt feel that the honour and the ſafety of the country admit but of one line of conduct. We are not called upon now to bear our teſtimony to any merits, however high, nor to beſtow reſpect and attention where reſpect and attention are moſt due. We are called upon to diſcharge a duty of a more extenſive kind, and of more general importance. We are called upon to perform a moſt ſolemn act of deliberation, and to follow it up with a pledge of moſt ſacred obligation. I hope that before any noble Lord gives his aſſent to this pledge, he will weigh maturely the conſequences to which it leads, and the ties which it impoſes. I truſt that no man in this Houſe will conſider it as a light and trivial act which he performs; I truſt that no man will incur the obligation who does not intend to diſcharge it to its utmoſt extent with fidelity, and to maintain it at every riſk; and that he will recollect that the pledge includes a promiſe of ſupport to our common Sovereign, whoſe throne, not only, but whoſe ſacred life, as well as the honour and independence of the country, involving at the ſame time the cauſe of civil ſociety, and the intereſt, not of Great Britain alone, but of all Europe, are at ſtake. I am convinced that ſuch is the light in which the meaſure I am about to propoſe will be viewed by every man within theſe walls, and that the impreſſion which the peruſal of theſe papers has left on my mind, is indelibly fixed in every heart. If there are any noble Lords who have abſented themſelves upon this occaſion, I am convinced that they cannot have remained ſingular in the opinion they have formed upon the tranſactions to which theſe documents allude, and that if they have withdrawn themſelves, it is becauſe they are unwilling to confeſs what they no longer have the confidence to deny.

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Such being my conviction of the temper and ſentiments of the Houſe, it will not be neceſſary for me to detain your Lordſhips long with any remarks upon the papers on your table, or with much argument to enforce the propriety of the addreſs which I ſhall propoſe. It will not be neceſſary for me to follow the documents through all their details, to point out the inferences which they naturally preſent. In truth, every one of your Lordſhips muſt feel that there is ſomething in the general aſpect more convincing than even the ſtrong concluſion and irreſiſtible influence that ariſe from the whole details. It is not from the particular character of every individual act, from the uniform impreſſion which every ſingle document leaves behind it, that we are to derive that general conviction on which our opinion is to reſt, and by which our conduct is to be directed. The general complexion of the enemy's conduct, the undiſguiſed views which they entertain, ſpeak more ſtrongly than any collection of inſulated facts. Upon that ſurvey I ſhould be contented to reſt the juſtification of paſt meaſures and the propriety of our future ſyſtem, although the minute details were leſs convincing and leſs ſatisfactory than they will be found.

The ſteps taken on the part of this country during the negociation, I contend, were open, fair, and manly, and ſuch as ſhould beſt conduce to the attainment of a ſafe and honourable peace. This, the papers before their Lordſhips will beſt ſubſtantiate: the Projet held forth by his Majeſty as the ground work of an admiſſible peace, was amongſt them, and by it would be ſeen, better than by any thing I can detail, the fair, moderate, and candid propoſals made by his Majeſty. Let the reciprocal conduct of the two governments on this occaſion be for a moment compared, it will be inſtantly ſeen to which party the failure of the negociation is to be attributed: let the reſpective conduct of the parties ſince the negociation was broken off be alſo weighed, let the publications of the enemy reſpecting that event be conſidered; they appear like the lying romances of an extravagant novel. Contraſt theſe with the mode taken by the government of Britain to promulgate the circumſtances and merits of the negociation, they have laid the papers and documents themſelves, which paſſed between the parties, before the world, and theſe papers exhibit a full, explicit, and detailed account of the whole tranſaction. It would appear by theſe, that the principle of compenſation was at firſt underſtood by both governments to be the baſis of negociation; but from this the French government took an early opportunity to recede.

In calling your attention therefore to the papers before your Lordſhips, I ſhall not trouble you with minute detail. I ſhall not

not dwell upon the conduct of the enemy, even in the very commencement of the late negociation. Although by the preliminaries of peace ſolemnly agreed upon between them and the Emperor, both parties obliged themſelves to invite their reſpective allies to meet in a general congreſs to ſettle a preliminary peace, this agreement was openly violated. Even *in limine* it was obvious that they ſubmitted to accept the proffer of a negociation for peace with this country, but becauſe they knew that ſuch was the general temper of the people of France, that they could not venture to refuſe acceding to it. They however would only conſent to enter into a negociation for a definitive peace with this country, and in the firſt inſtance they deſired it might be a ſeparate peace, but that his Majeſty immediately rejected, being determined to take care of the intereſts of his ally the Queen of Portugal, and to put the French Republic on an equal footing intimated, that he would allow them to treat for Spain and Holland their allies. This point adjuſted, another difference aroſe: contrary to the eſtabliſhed uſage of all negociation, they objected to the taking into conſideration of exiſting treaties with others, though in ſome inſtances, France was a party to them and a guarantee. Sincerely anxious to reſtore peace, his Majeſty condeſcended to overlook theſe difficulties, new and unprecedented as they were; but the French Directory defeated in their firſt objects, were obliged to proceed in the negociatton. In the paſſport which was ſent over for the perſon whom his Majeſty was to ſend to treat, the form was a direct and intentional departure from poſitive agreement, from all decency and eſtabliſhed cuſtom. It expreſsly guarded againſt the idea of a preliminary peace, and without any purpoſe but that of a perfidious determination to throw every obſtacle in the way of peace, limited the object of the negociation to a definitive peace only, though the moment the negociation was opened, they departed from their own ſtipulation, and commenced with the propoſal and diſcuſſion of preliminary points. I ſhall paſs over with equal contempt the baſe and unworthy inſinuation which, in the early part of the correſpondence of the French government was thrown out againſt the character of the perſon whom his Majeſty had choſen to conduct the negociation. That noble Lord has ſhewn by his able conduct in the former negociation, and by the ſtill more able manner in which he had acted under the very difficult circumſtances that diſtinguiſhed the laſt, that if any proof were wanting, if any pledge were required of his talents and his fitneſs for managing the great concerns which were confided to his care, no man could be found who could better

better ſupport the dignity of his own character and protect the intereſts of his country. His conduct in the whole of the arduous and unprecedented taſk which devolved upon him; his whole life, ſpent with honour in a public ſituation, evince at once the merit of the choice and the malignant motives of the accuſation. But even from this pitiful inſinuation may be gathered the temper which the enemy brought into the negociation, and the cataſtrophe which they were deſirous to produce. Eager to rake up every article of former difference, every point of former conteſt, they gave proof at once of the new difficulties which they would raiſe, and the new grounds of animoſity which they would excite.

I come now, however, to more important topics, to the negociation itſelf. I will not dwell on the unexampled liberality of the conduct of his Majeſty in directing almoſt in the firſt interview between the Plenipotentiaries, a full and detailed plan to be given in of the terms upon which he was willing to conclude Peace. The paper is upon your table, read and determine for yourſelves on its nature and its character. Examine and compare it with the repreſentation given of it by the enemy in a paper from high authority, and publiſhed in an official paper.—(See the "letter *forgot at Liſle*"* in the public papers, Saturday, October 14.) I ſhall

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* *The following is ſuppoſed to be the Letter alluded to by his Lordſhip. It appeared in the* REDACTEUR, *the official paper of the French Directory.*

LETTER FROM LORD MALMESBURY TO LORD * * *, FORGOT AT LISLE, TRANSLATED FROM THE ENGLISH.

I am about to leave France, my Lord, and before I can account to the King, my maſter, and to the maſter of my King, of the honourable miſſion which I have juſt diſcharged at Liſle, I feel myſelf impelled to depoſit in confidence with you a number of details which could not form part of an official account. It is neceſſary that before my arrival, you ſhould prepare in my favour the opinion of the public, which prejudice might miſlead. For this purpoſe, I muſt loſe no time in telling you what I have done, what I mean to do, and what I conceive ſtill remains to be done. After ſo great an event in my political life, I muſt alſo unveil to you ſtill farther that ſoul of your friend whom you have known ſo long, but who, I will venture to ſay, muſt gain in proportion as he is known. I have no occaſion, as a preliminary point, to aſk your forgiveneſs for ſome reflections flattering to myſelf, which neceſſarily will fall from me in the courſe of this recital. Yet how can I ſpeak of my Negociation at Liſle without talking of my own glory? This in the eye of envy might be deemed pride; but it is only a candid avowal in the eſtimation of friendſhip. It is very true that the reſult of the Negociation is not very well calculated to impreſs this concluſion on the minds of the vulgar; but you who know that Turenne acquired greater glory by his retreats than by his victories, and

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not make any remarks upon the indecency of the mode which the enemy adopted to make known to the world what they wiſhed to be conſidered as a ſtatement of the terms and conduct of the negociation. It ſhewed, however, the contempt which they entertained for their country and for the negociation, and every appearance of decorum, when they could think

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the temporiſing Fabius by what he did not do, than ſo many illuſtrious generals by what they have done, will not judge of me like the vulgar.

Here, perhaps, it is proper to revert to my firſt journey to Paris, for with this the whole is connected; it forms one great ſcheme. At this period no great pains were employed to prove to the Engliſh nation, that a ſerious deſire of peace was entertained. Upon the laſt occaſion a little more ſincerity was diſplayed without a greater portion being felt.—You know all this as well as me.

At both the periods to which I have alluded it was important, however, to the Engliſh Government, that its pacific intentions ſhould in England be conſidered as real.—The people, who cannot help ſeeing that it is in ſome meaſure for their cauſe that the French fight; the merchants, who are inclined to be much more affected by the intereſts of their commerce than thoſe of the French Nobles and their noble Pretender; all thoſe ardent friends of liberty, the number of which, according to Burke, who was extremely converſant in this ſubject, amounted to 80,000 in the city of London alone *; all the enemies of arbitrary power, both thoſe who wiſh for another Conſtitution, and thoſe who are ſatisfied with the preſent, but who wiſh that Mr. Pitt would be ſatisfied with it likewiſe, and who would be very glad that the *Habeas Corpus* act formed an eſſential part of it; thoſe Iriſhmen incorrigible in their love for independence; the Scots always gloomy; in a word all that innumerable multitude which can never comprehend why the Britiſh Government has interfered with the diſputes of France, and by what right it ſtill continues to interfere in them at the expence of the blood and treaſure of England; ſo many complaints, ſo many diſcontents; above all the neceſſity of procuring money to ſupport the war they wiſhed to prolong; all theſe conſiderations were of ſufficient weight to induce Miniſters to make peace, or rather to make ſome attempts to conclude a peace which they did not wiſh to obtain.

Thus to have the appearance of deſiring peace without wiſhing to obtain it, of deteſting war while he deſired it ſincerely, ſuch was the problem which it was neceſſary for Mr. Pitt to ſolve before the eyes of the people of England. I was pitched upon to facilitate the ſolution.

All the world agreed that the choice was happy; my long diplomatic labours in Pruſſia and in Holland, the gravity of my carriage which never betrayed what paſſed in my mind: my invincible habit of concealing what I thought, and of thinking only as I was taught, ſeemed to promiſe the ſucceſs which was expected: I arrived at Paris with a ſplendid train, there I found men's minds in an excellent diſpoſition. The Journaliſts ſeemed to be perfect. I only found that they were too liberal in their panegyrics upon me. I intimated to them with *acknowledgments* that I preferred deſerving to obtaining their praiſes, and entreated them to be more moderate

* This is a miſtake. This number Mr. Burke ſtates in the country in general.

think it ſufficient to treat ſuch a ſubject with levity. Judge then, whether his Majeſty has thought proper to ſport thus with the intereſts, with the anxiety, and with the feelings of the country. Judge if he has thus attempted to withhold the ſatisfaction which it was natural for the public to expect upon an event of ſuch importance; his Majeſty has laid before not

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in future; ſome of them obeyed reluctantly; the greater number could not prevail upon themſelves to comply with my requeſt.

The grand point, as you know, was to put the negociation in train, for thoſe who ſeriouſly wiſhed for peace, might entertain hopes of what might be its reſult. Thoſe who did not wiſh for it, knew well what means would be employed to prevent its accompliſhment. In the mean time, however, it was eaſy to obtain money by virtue of the old adage of governments—that, in order to negociate Peace with advantage, it was neceſſary to prepare for war.

Unfortunately the Negociation, the ſecret of which was entruſted to me, was of ſuch a nature as would have been terminated in 24 hours; for I was inſtructed to make demands incompatible with the French Conſtitution, and I had no real powers even for that. But, to open a Negociation and put an end to it the ſame moment, was at once a ridiculous thing and contrary to the object which Mr. Pitt propoſed:—a ſtroke of genius extricated me from this dilemma. I was aware that the maſter piece of art was here to open the Negociation without beginning it (*entamer ſans la commencer*), and for this purpoſe to propoſe a queſtion which could not be anſwered, and by this means provoke another to which I ſhould not reply. What think you I propoſed in writing to the French Negociator as the principle of compenſation?—And in the name of whom I received for anſwer, "By what powers do you ſpeak of the principle of compenſation?" I replied, "I on my ſide wiſh to know what is your principle, and then I will tell you what are my powers." To which it was replied: "Firſt ſhew us your power to propoſe ſuch a queſtion, and then we will acquaint you with our principle to reſolve it."

It is clear that, according to ſuch a mode of argumentation, there was no reaſon on earth for ever coming to a concluſion; for there was none even for ever beginning. Nothing could be better than this! Nevertheleſs it was to be apprehended, leſt the impatience natural to Frenchmen ſhould put an end in one day to a game ſo puerile. It was neceſſary to gain time; and for this purpoſe the true way was to *take* time. Of this expedient I availed myſelf with rare ſagacity. I declare that, from the nature of my inſtructions, and alſo in order to proceed with greater diſcretion, I was obliged, on every anſwer, and on every queſtion of the French Negociator, to ſend a Courier to my Court;—in the interval every thing was ſuſpended.

It was this circumſtance which gave riſe to the caricature, to ſay the truth, rather too ludicrous, in which I was repreſented receiving a viſit from M. Delacroix, who politely aſks me, "My Lord, how do you do?" and to which I anſwer, ſtill preſerving the expreſſion of my acknowledgments, "I am ſenſible of the honour done me by your Grace, but be ſo good as wait, I entreat you, till I know the intentions of my Court on that head." I ſmiled at the epigram; it did not diſconcert my plan; and I even ought to confeſs, to the honour of the French, that I was very ſufficiently

the public the whole of the documents, and on theſe he deſires you to judge. Read the papers on the table, and ſay, whether the project they contain be a project *in blanks*, or whether it be a full and fair ſtatement of the terms to which his Majeſty was willing to agree as the baſis of the negociation?—This project, however, being delivered, the French government

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ently revenged. It is inconceivable how many writers among a people who paſs for being ſo witty, undertook to prove very ſeriouſly that nothing could be more to the purpoſe than all I ſaid, and that unqueſtionably there was nothing to be laughed at in the whole matter.

You know what followed. The French Negociator, tired of theſe delays, which I prolonged with a great deal of addreſs, at laſt conſented to quit the poſition he had taken.—He declared that from a love of peace he was about to anſwer a queſtion which was obſtinately forced upon him contrary to all principle. He ſaid, in fact, that the French government would willingly admit the principle of compenſation, but I was preſſed to declare in my turn what were the compenſations I had to preſent.

I was afflicted beyond meaſure I confeſs, at the rapid turn which the negociation had then been conſtrained to take. I deviſed means, however, to ſuſpend it ſtill; and by the aſſiſtance of my notes, which were very inſignificant, and my couriers, which were very ſlow in returning with their anſwers, which truly were very frivolous, I protracted the definitive moment. It then became neceſſary to anſwer, that I demanded by way of compenſation in the name of the Emperor, from whom I had no powers, what he would not have ventured to aſk for himſelf, the reſtitution of what France had taken from him, and what the French conſtitution did not permit to be reſtored.

This anſwer produced a deciſion againſt me. I received orders to depart; but I had ſeemed to negociate for three months. I entertained hopes of being able to perſuade the people of England in my turn, that it was to France alone that the continuance of the war could be imputed. At laſt, however, not to mention the ſincere regret of Meot and the dancers of the opera, I had the conſolation on quitting Paris to ſee, that ſome Frenchmen (who could believe it!), and a multitude of new converts to the Catholic religion, accompanied with their vows, their prayers, and almoſt with, their tears, the Engliſh negociator returning to his heretical country.—Ah! exclaimed I, if it is without reaſon, it is not without pretext that the king, my maſter, perſiſts in always ſtiling himſelf king of France, ſince he has ſo many ſubjects in the French Republic.

All the world knows what happened at London, the efforts of Mr. Pitt to perſuade the country that all the fault was on the ſide of the French; the ſublime replies of Fox, the energetic and humorous replies of Sheridan, the eloquent replies of Erſkine, and the humourous replies of Grey, and the artifices employed to repreſent as an excellent bargain a loan which was ſo dear, and to hold out as ſufficient a loan which was inadequate for one half of the public neceſſities; and the ſtill encreaſing public diſcontent, and the clamours on account of the wretched ſtate of the national repreſentation, the fermentation of the Catholics; the expedition againſt Ireland, which was happily diſconcerted only by the unfavourable weather, did not fail, however, to ſpread leſs diſmay all over Great Britain. From all theſe cauſes combined, it was quickly perceived that it would be neceſſary anew

government found itſelf placed in a ſituation of conſiderable embarraſſment. No anſwer was returned, however, becauſe this would have diſappointed the ſchemes which the Directory then purſued. Had they been ſerious in their wiſhes to facilitate the concluſion of Peace, would they have brought forward the topics which they brought into diſcuſſion?

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to hold out hopes of peace, however firmly determined it might be to continue the war.

In this view the negociations again became the topic of d ſcuſſion, and it was decided that I again ſhould be the perſon who ſhould diſcharge the functions, or rather *play* the *part* of negociator. I ſay the *part*—in reality it was ſuch, and a difficult one too. You will ſee that I am good actor.

I at once ſaw that in order to induce a belief in the ſincerity with which peace was purſued, a far more important matter than to conclude it, nothing could be better imagined than to pitch upon me a ſecond time. How, indeed, could men bring themſelves to think that Miniſters could wiſh to ſend me to France again, to be again driven out of it, and that I would accept this miſſion with the certainty of terminating it in this manner? This was quite incredible; and it was this very circumſtance which pointed me out as the object of choice.

I likewiſe knew what had cauſed the failure of my firſt negociation, that is to ſay, what had prevented me from prolonging it to an infinite duration. The moment was come when my powers were called for—I had none. I ſtipulated for our Allies—I was not authorized by them to do ſo. In a word the ſyſtem I had adopted was falſe; it was not in my power to perſevere in it longer.

Upon the preſent attempt there was no occaſion to introduce the intereſts of allies, who in the interval had taken upon themſelves the taſk of managing their own affairs. The only point was to have full powers to act for ourſelves, and I was the bearer of them.

Your Lordſhip, perhaps, is not ſufficiently aware what, in diplomatic language, is the preciſe meaning of *full powers*. There is in it ſomething of metaphyſics, or rather of theology, which it will be proper to explain. You will ſee how very convenient this term is, and the advantage which a man of addreſs may derive from it.

You will recollect thoſe ingenious and eloquent letters of Paſcal, in which he laſhes with irreſiſtible ridicule ſo many idle ſubtleties and theological puerilities. You will recollect the *power* which has no *power*, that *ſufficing* grace which does not *ſuffice*, and all thoſe contradictions of the ſchools which are expoſed with ſuch exquiſite humour. Why! all this nonſenſe you find here almoſt literally. You ſhall ſee.

The place of the ſecond negociation being fixed at Liſle, I repaired thither with *full powers*, that is to ſay, with an oſtenſible paper, which fully authoriſed me to *treat, conclude, and ſign*. I had nothing elſe to do but to treat for England, and the *powers* were delivered to me by the king. Every thing then was perfectly regular. But along with theſe *powers* I received inſtructions which ſtrangely reduced their *plenitude*. Thus I had *powers* without the *faculty* of exerciſing them. Oſtenſibly I could do every thing. In reality I could do almoſt nothing. Here, my Lord, you will find a great deal of nonſenſe, but it is neceſſary that you ſhould accuſtom [illegible] it.

Placed

ſion? Would they, without any purpoſe, have ſtarted the points of his Majeſty's title as King of France, the reſtoration of, or a compenſation for, the ſhips taken at Toulon, or a renunciation of the mortgages of this country upon the Netherlands? Without dwelling upon theſe topics, which ſufficiently diſplay the temper of the enemy, I now come to the

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Placed between theſe two contradictory authorities, I was obliged to preſerve a good attitude. This was by no means eaſy. To be brief, the ſecret part of my inſtruction, the only one really eſſential, was to procraſtinate the buſineſs more than ever; to negociate always, and bring nothing to a concluſion; and my powers combined with my inſtructions furniſhed me with powerful reſources for this purpoſe. What a multitude of other conſiderations likewiſe prompted me to purſue this courſe!

I ſaw France a prey to inteſtine diſſenſions; a Directory greatly divided, and in which I had valuable correſpondents; a Legiſlative Body, of which a great number of deputies were members, than whom I myſelf could not have choſen men more to our purpoſe; public opinion greatly agitated, and become almoſt quite counter-revolutionary; the newſpapers excellent; the preſs quite devoted to us; the prieſts, the emigrants greatly in our favour; judges very complaiſant; adminiſtrators very royaliſt; the patriots greatly perſecuted; in a word, a republic where a man was no longer in ſafety who dared to call himſelf a republican.

All this was very advantageous, and you may well believe, that had I poſſeſſed powers ever ſo extenſive, I ſhould have taken good care not to employ them in concluding any peace whatever. However hardened I might be againſt ridicule, I was extremely ſolicitous not to incur that which in England would never have been pardoned, concluding peace with a power which ſeemed not to have a month to live.

Obſerve, my Lord, whether I conducted myſelf properly to effect my object, and judge whether any man ever attained greater excellence in the ſublime art of doing nothing.

After the firſt cuſtomary delays; after going backwards and forwards a long time upon the *conſidering*, in a word, over every thing, I reſolved to preſent a *projet*. This *projet* was a rare compoſition, as you may judge, for I will not only repeat it to you, but even paint it.

This projet of a treaty began with the glorious title of the moſt ſerene and moſt puiſſant prince, George III. by the grace of God *(as every body knows)*, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, &c. nay, and beſides, Arch Treaſurer of the Holy Roman Empire!—It recited then and ratified, as far as neceſſary, the ten treaties of peace, from that of Nimeguen, in 1678, to that of Verſailles, in 1783. And in a word, after having laid down in principle the *ſtatus quo ante bellum*, to ſerve as the baſis of the new treaty, it was ſtated—I copy the *projet* literally,

"1mo. The two parties agree to except from the principle of reciprocal reſtitutions . . . . . which ſhall remain to his Britannic Majeſty in full property.

"2do. His Britannic Majeſty binds himſelf to conclude a definitive treaty of peace with his Catholic Majeſty, on the footing of the *ſtatus quo ante bellum*, with the exception of . . . . . which ſhall be ceded to his Britannic Majeſty, in exchange for . . . . . which ſhall remain in full property to his Britrnnic Majeſty, and of . . . . . .

You

the great point on which the failure of the negociation turned. Although at the beginning of the negociation this demand had been abandoned, they again renewed the propoſal which had been declared inadmiſſible, the complete renunciation of every thing which had been taken during the war, not only from them, but from their allies. They would not enter,

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You will perceive, my Lord, in theſe lucky blanks, the ſpaces of which indicated no trifling filling up matter, and on which I entreat you for a moment to fix your attention, a fertile and almoſt inexhauſtible ſource of delay. For in a word, two modes preſented themſelves to the French Negociators: firſt, to demand that theſe blanks ſhould be filled. The ſecond, to oppoſe to it a Contre-projet, all conſiſting of blanks too, and which might have been reduced to this ſingle article:

"The Contracting Parties agree to admit, as the baſis of a definitive Treaty, the *ſtatus quo ante bellum*, with the exception of . . . . . which ſhall be ceded in full property to the French Republic."

It muſt be acknowledged, my Lord, that this laſt mode would have been very pleaſant, and that a negotiation of gaps againſt gaps, and blank paper againſt blank paper, would have preſented a very novel particularity in diplomatic hiſtory. It is true that the reply would have been more lively than the attack, and that the laughers would naturally have been found on the ſide of the French. But if the French had the laughers in their favour, we ſhould have had time for us; and once more I repeat, it was time that we wanted here. Who can ſay, indeed, how long theſe blanks might have remained in oppoſition to each other, and as it were, marſhalled in battle array? How was this kind of diſpute to be terminated? It is capable of proof that one argument is better than another argument which is oppoſed to it; but how are you to prove that one blank is better than another blank; that nothing is better than nothing? The French Negociators might have told me "Fill up your blank," I ſhould not have failed to anſwer—"Fill up your's firſt." "No; it is your buſineſs to begin:"—"No; it is not my buſineſs." And who is to decide in this conflict?

Thus the French, who without having loſt their ancient gaiety, have learnt however to treat ſeriouſly thoſe matters that are the moſt ſerious in the world, and who do not believe that every thing ought to end with a ſong or witticiſm, waving this kind of recriminatory anſwer, adhered to the firſt method, that of demanding what were the exceptions of which England claimed a reſervation?

Here, my Lord, admire what was my anſwer. The queſtion appeared to me very ſimple, and in ſome reſpects favourable to us. Nevertheleſs I gave ſome weight to my compliance. It was not, I told them, *an official paper* which I was about to preſent; it was *a confidential communication*. I entreated them likewiſe to conſider it *as verbal*, although it was entirely written! but I took upon me the danger of ſuch a communication, in order to give a ſolemn teſtimony of my deſire to accelerate peace. In a word, I reſolved to anſwer and fill up my blanks with an air of the utmoſt moderation and even of ſacrifice. England, ſaid I, to the French Plenipotentiaries, will conſent to the *ſtatus quo ante bellum* with Spain, *with the exception of Trinidada, which ſhall remain in full property to his B. M.* She will conſent alſo to the *ſtatus quo ante bellum* with the *Batavian Republic*,

enter into any diſcuſſion of the project delivered by Lord Malmeſbury, nor did they want to ſee whether, the terms propoſed by this country would admit of any modification by mutual facilities and mutual compenſations. I will not now deliver any opinion how far this was admiſſible, or to what extent it would have been wiſe. At this moment the Houſe

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public, with the exception of the City, Fort, and Settlement of the Cape of Good Hope, and the Poſſeſſions which belong to the Dutch before the war, in the City and Fort of Ceylon, and the City and Fort of Cochin, with its Dependencies, which ſhall belong to his B. M. in exchange for the City of Negapatnam and its Dependencies.

In this manner I filled up my two blanks. But you know, my Lord, that Trinidada is the only Spaniſh poſſeſſion which has paſſed during the war into the hands of the Engliſh. Thus for Spain I acknowledged the *ſtatus quo ante bellum*, with the exception of juſt all ſhe had loſt during the war. I make the ſame obſervation reſpecting the Dutch poſſeſſions of which I claimed an exception. They are alſo the only ones the Dutch have loſt in the courſe of the war. I could not entirely diſſemble to my own mind that they had not been taken in very fair game; that they had come into our hands by a little treachery, ſince they were obtained by the connivance of an authority which no longer exiſted in Holland; it was not rights, however, with which we had to do, but pretenſions. I found theſe poſſeſſions excellent, and well worth keeping: and I not only pretend that they were ours, but I wiſhed alſo by a juggle equally dexterous, that this ſtate of things for the Dutch ſhould likewiſe be called the *ſtatus quo ante bellum*,

I was charmed, I confeſs, at this moment, that the French had not thought of preſenting us with a contre-projet in blanks; for perhaps in a *confidential* communication they might have amuſed themſelves with introducing, by way of exception, Bengal, Newfoundland, Jamaica, and Gibraltar, as rightly belonging to them; and perhaps too they might have required us to have conſidered this as the *ſtatus quo ante bellum*. But happily the juſt application of theſe Latin words belongs to me alone. It will for ever confer upon my name the character of genius, and tranſmit to future ages the diſtinguiſhed teſtimony of the moderation of England.

I frankly confeſs, my Lord, that my project, eſpecially followed by the *confidential* communication, was calculated extremely to offend a Republic which filled the univerſe with the ſplendour of her victories; and that it was by no means very probable that ſhe would abandon Allies, to whom by formal Treaties ſhe had guaranteed the integrity of their poſſeſſions. But this Republic, ſo flouriſhing without, was now only a vain name within, or ſeemed to live only in the hearts of a few Frenchmen. The Directory, aſſailed by internal enemies, was unable to diſplay its ſtrength; and I, quite naturally, raiſed my tone, becauſe I conſidered the Government feeble and almoſt overthrown. Still, however, I ought to declare that, even at the moment when it was moſt occupied in the ſecuring its exiſtence, it yielded to none of my demands; it did not recede from a ſingle point of its engagements with its Allies; it only permitted them to make that kind of propoſals which they deemed uſeful in the circumſtances in which they were placed. The Batavians, ſenſible of ſuch good faith, in fact, ſhewed themſelves diſpoſed to cede Cochin, and ſome factories on the coaſt of Coromandel: they refuſed Negapatnam which was offered. They conſented

Houſe muſt ſee how improper it would be to enter into that queſtion. The enemy, however, did not ſtop for any information of this kind; they demanded, as a preliminary, to renounce all that we had to aſk, and to declare all that we were ready to concede. In ſuch a ſtage, and upon ſuch a demand, it would not merely have been folly in any man to have

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conſented to wave their claim to reſtitution of the ſhips and cargos taken by treachery at the commencement of the war (an object equal to two millions ſterling), &c. &c.

In this ſtage was the negociation, when all of a ſudden, the rumour of the event of the 18th Fructidor reached Liſle, an event which I know not in what terms to qualify, which it muſt be confeſſed, however, ſtruck terror into the heart of every man who was an enemy to France. For my part, I was filled with conſternation, it was an event which I had not foreſeen, and how could any man have foreſeen it.

I then plainly perceived that the negociation was about to take another turn, or rather that there was no other turn for it to take. I felt that *I* was out of my element. Two new negociators arrived, and a day was fixed for the firſt conference. There I was aſked whether I was furniſhed with ſufficient powers to conſent to ſuch reſtitutions as the laws and the treaties which bind the Republic might render indiſpenſible; whether in a word, I was furniſhed with the power *fully* to avail myſelf of my *full* powers? I I might have ſaid, *Yes*. By the help of a theological explanation of the words, *full powers*, there was nothing indeed which I might not have ſaid; and, in the courſe of the negociation, I would have placed my individual oppoſition in the room of that which my inſtructions enjoined; for I cannot forget that I was not aſked whether I conſented to the reſtitution? I was ſimply aſked whether I had the power of conſenting to it? whereby a field was left open to more than one propoſition; but I was carried away by the force of truth, and this, I dare ſay, my Lord, is the only occaſion on which I have expoſed myſelf to this reproach. Unleſs I returned a poſitive anſwer, I was to ſet out within twenty-four hours: I therefore leave this tomorrow, but I was deſirous that this letter ſhould precede my arrival.

P. S. You muſt be ſenſible, my Lord, that the eſſential point for us is to perſuade the nation that *we* only were anxious for peace. In order to impreſs that belief, make uſe of every thing contained in this letter, and do not forget to remind Lord Grenville, that he muſt furniſh all the arguments which he has uſed theſe five years paſt, in order to ſhew that the French only were the aggreſſors, even at the moment when we diſmiſſed their Ambaſſador. The ſame ſtrain of reaſoning is equally good at preſent, in order to prove that it is the French who are unwilling to make peace. Above all, let him not be diſpirited by the replies of Lord Guilford, of the Marquis of Lanſdown, of the Duke of Bedford. But after all, truth muſt neceſſarily prevail.

Neither muſt you forget to induce Lord Liverpool ſtrongly to adviſe his ſon to prepare a ſpeech to prove that the commerce of England muſt gain exceedingly by the continuation of the war.

As for Canning, I have nothing to ſay to him. Let him be preſent in the Houſe, and repeat his ſpeech on the immortality of the French Revolution.

Another P. S. It is with grief I learn that the Negociators ſtill remain at *Liſle*—that is rather embarraſſing for our poſition.

Liſle, 17th September, 1797.

have acceded to the propoſal. Nay more, I do not heſitate to aſſert, that it would have been direct treaſon in any Miniſter to have complied with a demand ſo derogatory to the honour, and ſo fatal to the intereſts of his country, and deſerving of exemplary puniſhment.

The motives by which the majority of the Directory was actuated in the courſe which they purſued, it will not be difficult to explain. It will eaſily be recollected in what circumſtances, amidſt what violence the French Conſtitution of 1795, overthrown by the revolution of the 4th of September, was eſtabliſhed. It will be recollected under what military violence the firſt elections were conducted. In no ſenſe was any freedom of election permitted, or the voice and ſentiments of the people of France poſſible to be collected, till about the month of April laſt, when a very conſiderable change in the temper of the Councils, as well as in the people at large, was obſerved. A majority in the Legiſlative bodies ſeemed diſpoſed to put an end to the miſeries under which the country groaned, to remove the evils of which ſome of them had been the authors, to atone for and cancel the crimes of which many of them had been guilty. They wiſhed to reſtore ſome degree of public order and tranquility to the unhappy people of France; their former happineſs, alas! they could not hope to reſtore. They wiſhed to oppoſe the progreſs of that revolutionary principle, which the Directory endeavoured with too much ſucceſs to ſpread over Europe. They wiſhed to check the ravage and the devaſtation which the war nouriſhed and protracted. They were deſirous to enjoy happineſs in peace. Theſe views, however, ill ſuited with the ſchemes of the majority of the Directory. Their aim was far different; they were bent on ſpreading confuſion over Europe, on prolonging the miſeries of their own country on Jacobin principles and by Jacobin means. Had the majority of the Directory then, by whoſe influence the whole of the proceedings at Liſle were conducted, choſen to break off the negociation upon the terms which this country offered, they would have put the councils upon their guard, they would have made all France and Europe the judges of their conduct, and they would have anticipated that event which they were preparing. Again, had they brought forward another project of their own, they muſt have diſappointed the object they had in view—that of breaking off the negociation without ſpecifying any terms, and if poſſible ſo as to throw the

whole odium of the failure upon us. At the very moment, however, when they were practiſing every evaſion, creating every delay, conſtantly refuſing to deliver in a counter-project, they held a language directly oppoſite in their meſſages to the Councils. In theſe they threw the charge of delay upon the coaleſced powers, and to whom could this inſinuation apply, but to this country in conjunction with its ally? The others who originally were members of the coalition, were either their allies or their dependents. At this very moment their plenipotentiaries were daily apologiſing for the extraordinary delays which took place. In theſe circumſtances does it not moſt plainly appear, that delay was their object, that they wiſhed to gain time till their plot was ready to be executed, and till it would be ſafe to throw off the maſk? In their views they unhappily ſucceeded by the weakneſs of their enemies, and the frail fabric of the conſtitution of 1795 was overturned. Had they broken off the negotiation abruptly before this period, they would have defeated their own object. It was clear to every man who watched the progreſs of events, and of opinion in France, that it was not at Liſle, but at Paris that the reſult of the conferences would be determined. It was obvious that it muſt depend upon the reſult of the diſputes which agitated the councils and the government. It depended upon the deciſion of the ſtruggle, and if the majority of the Directory ſucceeded, every man was prepared for what followed. Perhaps, indeed, this forms the only excuſe which his Majeſty's Miniſters could urge for having ſo long ſubmitted to the delays and evaſions of the enemy. They could only be juſtified by their deſire to wait an event which might promiſe a favourable reſult to the negotiation, and facilitate the attainment of peace. This conſideration alone ſhields them from the reproach of having ſo long endured the triffling and the evaſion of the enemy, and lent themſelves, in ſome ſort, to the fatal deception which the Directory wiſhed to paſs upon the people of France, by ſo long keeping up the appearance of negotiation, and cheriſhing the hopes of peace.

When at laſt the fourth revolution of September arrived, and the Directory had accompliſhed their project at Paris, they immediately changed their ſyſtem and avowed their object.—They immediately recalled the men whom they had formerly inſtructed to ſupport their views, and whom they had authorized ſolemnly to make, and repeatedly renew profeſſions which they no longer meant to perform. Every thing which had been done was retracted, and demands again brought forward which

which two months before had been abandoned. But it is needleſs to enter into a detailed expoſition of their conduct. Their views were evidently not confined to their own country, or to the rupture of the negotiation; they went further, and they now declare that it is our conſtitution, our laws, our religion, and our liberties, with which they war; that it is the whole ſyſtem of our public glory and of our private happineſs that they wiſh to ſubvert and overthrow. Thus they not only aim at the total deſtruction of our conſtitution and independence; but to eſtabliſh in their ſtead, French liberty, French principles, and French anarchy, with all its train of horrors. They avow that the government of this country and that of France cannot be co exiſtent. They wiſh not peace with this country, but the utter annihilation of our government, and the deſtruction of the whole ſcheme of our political exiſtence.

With ſuch avowals I confeſs I am at a loſs to conceive in what manner the conduct of the enemy can now be palliated or excuſed. I well know indeed that every meaſure of the French government in its relation to this country, finds better and much more able and ingenious apologiſts here than in France. I know that even what ſeems too flagrant for defence, too manifeſt for ingenuity to colour, is juſtified by much more plauſible arguments, and placed in much more favourable lights, than the talents of the friends of the Directory on the other ſide of the water can produce. But, my Lords, aware as I am of this, I cannot divine from what ſources their defence can now be drawn. I know not what new voluminous pamphlet will iſſue from the pen of any advocate, to juſtify the proceeding of the enemy, and to cenſure Miniſters for refuſing to accept the proffered grace of the Directory. I know not upon what ground we ſhall be accuſed of maintaining the old and eſtabliſhed forms of our government, and for diſdaining to ſubmit the people of England to the yoke of a ſavage and ferocious government, and to the brutality of a licentious and ſanguinary army. I ſhall not detain you with anticipating any objections to the conduct which Miniſters have obſerved, or to the meaſure which I am about to propoſe. I am convinced that it is the ſentiment of every breaſt in this aſſembly, that the terms to which the enemy would have reduced us, were ſuch as no Engliſhman could ſanction. I am ſure that every man who hears me is convinced that it is no moment of humiliation. What your Lordſhips have witneſſed this day, when the noble Lord whom I ſee in his place received the thanks of the Houſe, I am ſure that no man can think the preſent the period when the dignity and honour of the nation ought to be ſacrificed. I

am ſure that every man feels with conſcious pride, while he looks back to the event which the preſence of the noble Lord recalls, that this is not the moment to deſpair. The reſources of this country are great and powerful; and hitherto there has been no preſſure to call them in all their vigour into action. Every man muſt now ſee, however, that upon the iſſue of the preſent conteſt depends not only whether this country ſhall exiſt any longer as an independent nation, but even exiſt as a nation at all. Every man muſt ſee that public and private happineſs, the honour, the dignity, every thing that is dear to individuals, even life itſelf, depend upon the iſſue of the ſtruggle we have to maintain. Every man in this aſſembly in particular, knows, that his property and his exiſtence are at ſtake. But with the intereſt of the firſt claſs of men in the ſtate, the happineſs of the loweſt is connected. The horrors, the perſecutions, and the ſufferings to which the firſt orders in France were doomed, though they began with the nobleſſe, were ſpread over all, and were felt by the loweſt orders, even by the humbleſt peaſantry of the kingdom. Nay, I will venture to aſſert, and undertake to prove, that the horrid effects of the French revolution have been the ſource of more calamity to the lower claſſes than even to the unhappy nobility, whom you every day ſee groaning under thoſe evils which they ſo little deſerve. This too, I will venture to aſſert, is the ſentiment with which the public at large is inſpired. They are convinced that every thing they hold moſt dear depends upon the exertions which they make to defend the honour and the dignity of the country. They feel that not a tranſient but a vigorous and perſevering effort is required, to ſecure that permanent and honourable peace which can alone maintain the ſources of their happineſs; that there is no ſafety without reſiſtance, no hope but in courage and magnanimity. I have the fulleſt confidence in the public ſpirit and the determined diſpoſition of the people of this country. From you, my Lords, I only aſk that you will perſevere in the ſentiments you have expreſſed, and in the conduct you have purſued. I aſk you to carry to the foot of the throne the declaration of this reſolution, and that you will give a ſolemn pledge of your determination to perform the obligation you incur. From thoſe only, I again repeat, who have fully and maturely conſidered the nature and the conſequences of the ſtep they take, do I require this pledge. I deſire no noble Lord who is not willing and determined to fulfil this pledge to its full extent, to vote for the Addreſs I am about to propoſe. It is a ſolemn and important meaſure which involves too much and extends too far to be adopted without deliberation.

tion. Having ſaid this, my Lords, I ſhall detain you no longer, but ſhall content myſelf with moving, "That an humble Addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, aſſuring him that we have taken into our moſt ſerious conſideration the papers which have been laid on the table relative to the negotiation for peace; that in the ſteps which have been taken we have recognized the pacific diſpoſition evinced by his Majeſty throughout the whole of its progreſs, and obſerved the inveterate hoſtility of the enemy; that while on the one hand his Majeſty has given an example of the greateſt moderation, the enemy on the other have abandoned every pacific diſpoſition; that they entertain the moſt determined hatred and animoſity to the conſtitution, laws, and liberties of this country; that the deſtruction of our conſtitution and government is the object at which they aim; that we are determined to defend, at every hazard, his Majeſty's perſon and government; that we know that great exertions are neceſſary; but that notwithſtanding, we are prepared and reſolved to ſtand or fall with the conſtitution, laws, and liberties, upon which the happineſs of every claſs of the community eſſentially depends." *

The Earl *Dartmouth* ſaid, though he ſubſcribed to every word of the Addreſs, as being eſſentially neceſſary at this period to counteract the views and wiſhes of the enemy, whoſe extravagant notions of what they called republican energy, and inveterate animoſity againſt this kingdom, and envy of the bleſſings enjoyed by its inhabitants, made it impoſſible for thoſe who had any eſteem for this country to remain neuter in the conteſt; and though it was almoſt impoſſible to add any thing either to elucidate the ſubject, or enforce the motion, he muſt trouble their Lordſhips with a few ſhort obſervations. He ſaid, he approved of the moderation, as well as dignity, with which the late negociation was carried on, on our part; and cenſured that of the French, for its duplicity. Their conduct had left us no alternative; we had either to crouch to the enemy, or prepare for a vigorous proſecution of hoſtilities, until ſhe was diſpoſed to accede to a ſecure and honourable peace. There was nothing in the relative ſituation of the countries at preſent which ſhould juſtify deſpondence on the part

* It is a well known part of the French character to turn every thing, however ſerious, into a jeſt, and to felicitate themſelves on every chance of fortune by a *bon mot*. The letter alluded to by Lord Grenville, which appeared in the *Redacteur*, and which we have quoted at length, is obviouſly a banter on the conduct of Lord Malmeſbury in the late negotiation, and meant to ſerve the double purpoſe of exciting a laugh among the wits, and impoſing on the majority, whoſe underſtanding the Directory hold in the moſt abject ſubjection.

part of Britain. We were thoroughly prepared to meet any attack which the enemy might make on us, even if our invincible and victorious navy did not entirely do away any apprehenſion on this head. He did not ſee how the enemy could proſecute hoſtilities offenſively, when he conſidered the deplorable ſtate of their navy, and the triumphant condition of ours; thus circumſtanced, we had nothing to fear; the reſources of the country, he fully agreed with the noble Lord, in conſidering to be adequate to the conteſt: and in theſe views he would look for the moſt perfect unanimity amongſt their Lordſhips.

The Addreſs being read by the Lord Chancellor, was put and carried *nem. diſſ.*

Lord *Grenville* then ſaid, he thought it eſſential to the intereſts of the country at this moment to give all poſſible energy to the Addreſs which their Lordſhips had juſt voted. It ought to be made as ſolemn an act as poſſible, he therefore wiſhed that the Addreſs might be preſented to his Majeſty as the joint Addreſs of the two Houſes of Parliament.

With this view he moved, "That a Committee be appointed to prepare a meſſage, and deſire a conference with the Commons."—Ordered.

Adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

WEDNESDAY, NOV. 8.

The Houſe reſolved, that no private petitions ſhould be received after the 9th February next.

Lord *Charles Somerſet* appeared at the bar, and informed the Houſe that he had waited on his Majeſty with their Addreſs, praying that certain papers and accounts relative to the Navy and Victualling-offices, and to the Imperial Loan, might be laid on their table; and that his Majeſty was graciouſly pleaſed to order the ſame.

Mr. *Roſe* moved, That the order of the day be read.

The order of the day for the Houſe to reſolve itſelf into a Committee of Supply being accordingly read,

Mr. *Hobart* moved, That the ſaid Committee be deferred till Friday.—Agreed to.

Adjourned.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

THURSDAY, NOV. 9.

The Houſe met at an earlier hour than uſual, for the purpoſe of holding a conference with the Commons, in purſuance of their Lordſhips' reſolution of the preceding day; but a conſiderable delay was occaſioned by the non-attendance of the Maſters in Chancery, whoſe office it was to wait on the Commons with the meſſage.

Lord

Lord *Sydney* ſuggeſted the neceſſity of ſome proceeding of the Houſe to enforce a regular attendance of thoſe officers in future, but forbore to make any ſpecific motion for the purpoſe.

When the Maſters in Chancery arrived, a meſſage was ſent to the Commons to deſire a conference, and a deputation, conſiſting of ſix Peers, headed by Earl Spencer, met the Commons in the painted chamber for that purpoſe, and managed the conference—after which the Houſe adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

THURSDAY, NOV. 9.

Two Maſters in Chancery brought a meſſage from the Lords, that their Lordſhips deſired a conference with the Commons in the painted chamber.

The names of the following members were then called over, for the purpoſe, and waited on the Lords:

Sir Charles Morgan	Mr. Lygan
Mr. Long	Sir G. A. Wynne
Mr. Baker	Mr. Joddrell
Mr. Hawkins Browne	Mr. H. Addington
Mr. Wallace	Mr. Churchill
Mr. Roſe	Mr. Morgan
Mr. P. Wyndham	Lord Gower
Mr. Burdon	Mr. Granville.
Mr. Abbott	

Upon returning from the conference, Sir *Charles Morgan* informed the Houſe, that the Lords deſired the concurrence of the Commons with their Addreſs of the preceding day to his Majeſty, and he therefore moved, that the ſame be taken in conſideration the next day, which was agreed to *nem. con.*

Adjourned.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

FRIDAY, NOV. 10.

Their Lordſhips waited a conſiderable time in expectation of receiving a communication from the Houſe of Commons, reſpecting the ſubject of the their late conference, (their deſired concurrence with their addreſs on the ſubject of the papers relative to the late negociation). No ſuch proceeding, however, taking place, the Houſe, after making ſeveral arrangements relative to the private buſineſs, adjourned at ſeven o'clock, till Monday.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

FRIDAY, NOV. 10.

The order of the day, for taking into conſideration the Addreſs to his Majeſty, purſuant to the reſolution of the preceding

ing

ing day, and the ſaid Addreſs as it came from the Lords, together with the papers on which it was founded, being read,

Sir *John Sinclair* roſe and ſaid, it was his intention to move an amendment. He by no means objected to the general tenor of the Addreſs, but thought that certain phraſes in the wording of it were in ſome degree exceptionable, as they ſeemed to indicate an intention that there ſhould be no end to the war. It was to correct this he meant to propoſe an amendment; but before he moved it, he would make ſome remarks on the papers before the Houſe, and on ſome circumſtances of the negociation. He expreſſed his aſtoniſhment at the mean manner in which the negociation was managed. When it was firſt propoſed to make the experiment with France, he had intended to move the Houſe that no negociation ſhould be ſet on foot till the French Miniſter had given a *contre projet*. He was now extremely ſorry he had not done ſo; but he was diſſuaded from his purpoſe by his fear that it would be an impediment to the negociation; and he thought that Miniſters, by neglecting this in the outſet, had brought much diſgrace upon the country. He appealed to the evidence of the papers on the table whether this charge was unfounded; for by thoſe it would appear that the moſt unwarrantable inſinuations and foul calumnies upon the conduct and intentions of our Executive Government had been patiently born by Miniſters; he was ſorry to ſee the country ſo lowered. While he lamented the neceſſity he was under of thus cenſuring the management of the negociation, he was no leſs ſorry to be obliged to object to the language of the Declaration and Addreſs, as being at once full of raſhneſs, inapplicable to the circumſtances of the two countries, and ineffectual to any good purpoſe. They not only profeſſed to keep up perpetual hoſtility, but made charges which he thought were not juſtified by the papers. In the Declaration the Houſe was told, that the preliminaries propoſed by the French government were frivolous and offenſive; but on looking into the papers they would find that the firſt of thoſe was the abandonment by our king of the title of king of France; the ſecond, the reſtitution of the ſhips taken at Toulon; and the third, the abandonment of our mortgage on the Low Countries; but for his part, he could not ſee any thing in the papers that ſhewed an expreſs demand of thoſe points on the part of France. The Declaration alſo ſtated, that it was not the wiſh of France to make peace; yet it appeared on the face of the papers that the French Plenipotentiaries took much pains to ſhew the reverſe, and this the Houſe would find acknowledged by Lord Malmeſbury in his firſt and ſecond letters.

ters. Another charge contained in the Declaration was, that it was the intention of the government of France to overturn that of England—he confeſſed that if he really thought that was the diſpoſition of the enemy, he would vote for the Addreſs as it ſtood; but he believed that ſuch an intention might be tranſiently expreſſed only under the irritation of ſuppoſed wrong; France might probably be inveterate againſt us, becauſe ſhe thought us inveterate againſt her; the Directory might profeſs a deſign to overturn our government, becauſe we endeavoured to overturn theirs, but at the ſame time ſhewed they had no objection to peace and amity if we would let them alone. In order to prevent the perpetuating theſe ſentiments between the two nations, he meant to move an amendment, to expreſs the firm reſolution of the Houſe to ſupport his Majeſty in the proſecution of the war, to expunge thoſe words which ſeemed to denote an inveterate animoſity, to declare that, whenever France was diſpoſed to treat on reaſonable terms we would not refuſe to negociate, and to expreſs a hope that a negociation might yet take place. He accordingly moved an amendment to that effect.

Lord *Temple* ſaid, that he was ſorry for the abſence of the gentlemen who laſt ſeſſion filled the benches on the oppoſite ſide; and he thought their deſerting the duty of their conſtituents highly indefenſible, particularly at this criſis, when the arrogant conduct and dangerous plans of the enemy called on every Engliſhman to join in the defence of the country, and to expreſs, by their repreſentatives, the unanimity which, he believed, prevailed univerſally through the country: he hoped they would again return to their duty in ſpite of the laughter, it was ſaid, they ſo much dreaded. For his part he moſt heartily agreed to the Addreſs, which he thought intitled to unanimous concurrence, not only on account of its general tenor, but ſtill more, becauſe the terms in which it was put were ſo guarded and temperate, and the words ſo well choſen, that every part of it had his hearty aſſent. While he ſaid ſo much of the Addreſs, he ſhould not diſguiſe his ſentiments ſo far as to deny that he ſincerely lamented the negociation had been ever attempted, and as ſincerely rejoiced when it had been broken off; for he ſaw infinitely more danger in the concluſion of a peace with the preſent rulers of France than in the continuation of war. Indeed the diſpoſition of thoſe men was ſo manifeſted in all their conduct for the laſt four years, that any one might have foreſeen the event of the negociation. He profeſſed to think that it was a matter of utter indifference to England what form of government might take place in France,

provided it was ſuch as promiſed permanence and ſecurity in peace. The only wiſh he had was, that any peace we made ſhould be laſting: it was for this reaſon that he entertained ſome hopes of pacification when he ſaw the progreſs which parties in France were making to moderation; but, from the moment he ſaw that the moderate party there had given way, he thought all hope of accommodation was at an end. The unreaſonable terms which the plenipotentiaries of the new uſurpation demanded as preliminaries, were ſufficient evidence of their determination to continue the war; and it could not be doubted that, if thoſe had been granted, we ſhould have been expoſed to other demands ſtill more degrading. The ſame principle of animoſity by which they were actuated from the beginning of the conteſt was viſible in their conduct at Liſle, and was avowed in their Declaration ſince breaking off the negociation; for they had avowed that their government and ours cannot exiſt together, and that one of them muſt be deſtroyed; and in ſhort, have declared that *delenda eſt Carthago* muſt be the determination of the conteſt. Of the extent and inveteracy of their deſigns there could be no ſtronger proof than their decreeing an army to march to the coaſt oppoſite to our ſhores, and dignifying it with the name of *the army of England*; not to mention their ſcoffing at the rights of nations, and diſclaiming all right to be bound by the moſt ſolemn treaties. What confidence could ſafely be placed in a treaty with men who had broken the moſt ſolemn pledges they had given to the world in their declarations, transferring at their will to the dominion of other powers, nations who confided in them; refuſing to ratify treaties long ſubſiſting; offering aſſiſtance to the rebellious and diſaffected of every country—with men who, while they deceived their own country with the name of Liberty, ſent off the legal conſtitutional repreſentatives of the people into baniſhment, without proof of their guilt or even trial, and impriſoned a printer for invectives againſt their War Miniſter? He ſaid, that if an honourable gentleman, (Mr. Tierney) was preſent, he would aſk him what he would ſay if the printers of ſome of the daily prints had been taken up and impriſoned for detailing his witticiſms the other night on the Secretary of the War Department? Upon the whole, he declared that ſo long as the government of France remained in its preſent uncertain ſtate he ſhould object to negociation *in toto*. His Lordſhip concluded with begging pardon of the Houſe for having detained them ſo long, a liberty he would not have taken if the ſubject did not preſs itſelf ſo ſtrongly on his mind as to overbear his diſinclination

diſinclination to ſpeak; but he aſſured the Houſe he would never inſult them by ſaying *he had a retainer for the ſeſſion.*

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* roſe immediately and ſaid, that having come down to the Houſe this day with a firm perſuaſion that there never exiſted in the hiſtory of this country an occaſion which promiſed a more unanimous and unqualified concurrence than the ſubject now ſubmitted to your deliberations, and the meaſure which the peruſal of the papers upon the table naturally ſuggeſts, I muſt confeſs I was even diſappointed at ſome of the ſentiments which were expreſſed by my noble relation (much as I rejoice to ſee the hope which his talents inſpire), how much more, then, muſt I have been ſurpriſed at the ſpeech of the honourable Baronet, and the amendment with which he concluded. I cannot agree with the noble Lord that we ought to rejoice that no peace was made, much leſs can I accept on the part of my colleagues in office and myſelf, of the approbation which he was pleaſed to expreſs of the manner in which *we* concluded the negociation. I truſt it will be obvious to every man who carefully attends to the circumſtances of the whole tranſaction, and to the documents before you, that the negociation was concluded not by us, but by the enemy; that it was concluded becauſe we were no longer ſuffered to continue it; that its rupture was the act of the enemy, not of the Britiſh government. If we have any title to the approbation of this Houſe, if we have any claims to the applauſe of the country, it is becauſe we perſevered with unremitted zeal to proſecute a ſincere deſire of peace, to conduct the negociation to a ſucceſsful termination as long as there was left not a proſpect, but even the ſmalleſt chance, the remoteſt probability of obtaining the object of our wiſhes upon terms conſiſtent with the honour, the dignity, and the welfare of the ſtate. After having diſcharged our duty, after having exerted every effort in our power to facilitate the attainment of peace, the next ſentiment we feel is to lament and deplore that our earneſt endeavours, and perſevering exertions, were not crowned with the ſucceſs which they deſerved. Yet while we feel regret upon this occaſion, we are far from yielding to a ſentiment of abject diſmay, we are far from being inclined to adopt that unmanly line of conduct which the honourable Baronet recommends. While we lament the failure of our wiſhes, we ought not to conſult the dictates of puſillanimous apprehenſion: we ought not to ſuppreſs the feelings of juſt indignation, to ſhrink from expreſſing the language of truth and of our ſenſations, or to forget our duty to ourſelves ſo far as

to paſs over without our marked diſapprobation thoſe proceedings which muſt prove to the world the extent of the injuries we have ſuffered, and the propriety of the conduct we are to purſue. Between the two oppoſite lines which the noble Lord approves upon the one hand, and the honourable Baronet recommends upon the other, the meaſure which has been propoſed holds a middle; and, in calling upon you to give it your ſanction, I truſt we ſhall have, if not complete unanimity, at leaſt the great and general concurrence, both of the Houſe and of the country.

Before I trouble the Houſe with the few obſervations which I conceive will be neceſſary in recapitulating the different ſteps of the negociation, and the contents of the papers before you, I ſhall take the liberty to recal to you the nature of the Amendment of the honourable Baronet, and the obſervations with which it was accompanied. The worthy Baronet began with deploring in general terms and common-place lamentation, the miſeries of war. Does the honourable Baronet imagine that I regret leſs than he does the evils with which a ſtate of war is attended? Surely not. Yet what is the purpoſe of theſe trite expreſſions of regret? When it muſt be evident to every man who has the leaſt claim to impartiality, that the continuance of the war is only to be aſcribed to the implacable animoſity, to the inſatiable ambition, to the unwarrantable pretenſions of the preſent frantic government of France, is it the buſineſs of a Britiſh parliament to content itſelf with mere common-place lamentation of the miſeries of war, forgetting that it is our duty as repreſentatives of a great nation to ſtate that the calamities we deplore are the fruits of the injuſtice and the rancorous ſpirit of the enemy; that to them, and not to us, the guilt and the reſponſibility of future extremities are to be imputed? The papers which his Majeſty has ordered to be laid before the Houſe are in the hands of every man, and on a fair and impartial conſideration of them, can there be a doubt that the enemy alone are to blame; can it be doubted that his Majeſty's Miniſters exerted every endeavour in their power to facilitate the concluſion of peace; and that from the firſt commencement of the negociation the whole of the intermediate delay, and its final rupture, were owing, as his Majeſty expreſſed it, to the evaſive conduct, the unwarrantable pretenſions, the inordinate ambition, and the implacable animoſity of the enemy? But while the worthy Baronet ſo boldly accuſes this government of inſincerity in the whole courſe of the negociation, and with ſo much complaiſance gives the enemy the credit of a ſincere deſire of peace, and ſo kindly

ly wiſhes to overlook every thing which ſeems reprehenſible in their conduct, let us conſider a little the nature of the argument which the honourable Baronet has maintained. Indeed his reaſoning does not ſeem to be very conſiſtent with itſelf. Firſt of all the worthy Baronet makes it an article of charge againſt his Majeſty's Miniſters, that in the exiſting circumſtances they ought not to have commenced the negociation at all: next, that they ought not to have perſevered in it when diſhonoured by the extraordinary demands, the violations of practice and of form which marked the conduct of the French in every ſtep of its progreſs; and, thirdly, he taxes us with inſincerity, and expreſſes his conviction that the enemy were ſeriouſly diſpoſed to conclude a peace. Theſe different charges are ſo inconſiſtent that I am afraid it will be difficult for the worthy Baronet to reconcile them, or to unite their force to eſtabliſh any general point of argument. Probably, however, the honourable Baronet has purpoſely left a conſiderable chaſm in his reaſoning for fear of giving offence to the enemy. Perhaps he was afraid of touching upon any topic that might be conſtrued to expreſs any feeling of animoſity. The worthy Baronet is tender of uſing offenſive language; rather than riſk this tremendous evil, he chuſes to diſguiſe the truth, he chuſes to compromiſe the character of the country, to leave it doubtful to Europe and to the world to whom the rupture of negociation is to be aſcribed; to leave it doubtful, whether we can rely upon the juſtice of our cauſe, and can dare to charge the enemy with the injury they have committed and the guilt they have incurred. If there be any doubt in the queſtion, he fears to probe it to the bottom, and would rather leave it with a doubtful character than explain it by careful examination. I confeſs however, that the opinion which I entertain leads to a different mode of proceeding. In my opinion, to inveſtigate with care, to pronounce our judgment with boldneſs and with dignity, is our indiſpenſible duty, and the only true manly conduct. But, ſays the honourable Baronet, if you adopt the language of the Addreſs, that is, if you charge blame upon thoſe to whom blame attaches, if you purſue that manly conduct which truth and dignity require, you will cheriſh a ſpirit of endleſs animoſity. So far from this being the proper inference, the very reverſe of this is the caſe. He who ſcruples to declare that the government of France, acting in direct contempt of every principle of juſtice, acting in oppoſition to the intereſt of France and of Europe, he who blinks the diſcuſſion of this important point, deprives us of the moſt conſolatory reflection which we can enjoy amidſt inevitable calamity and neceſſary

neceſſary war. It is from the conſideration that the government, not the people of France, is to blame, that we draw the hope of a change of circumſtances more favourable to our wiſhes. It is indeed a melancholy picture to behold erected upon the ruins of any principles of liberty, however wild, chimerical, and deluſive they might have been, a ſyſtem of the moſt flagrant uſurpation, of the moſt rank injuſtice, and the moſt atrocious tyranny that ever ſtained the page of hiſtory, and diſgraced the annals of the world. Yet when we recollect that it is to the fatal predominance of this ſyſtem that the miſeries which oppreſs France, and the calamities which threaten Europe are to be aſcribed, when this hideous and deteſtable tyranny is accuſed as the cauſe of the calamities which we lament, the ground of endleſs animoſity is carefully removed. The hope of peace is again opened, and the cauſe of hoſtility is not extended, but confined. Do we accuſe France of the injuſtice which her tyrannic rulers have committed? Do we preclude the poſſibility of reconciliation? Surely not. There is not a word in the Addreſs which breathes the ſpirit of perpetual animoſity. It, on the contrary, makes every reſerve for the return of pacific diſpoſitions. The declaration of his Majeſty tells the people of this country, it tells to France, and to Europe, that he does not forego the hope of pacification; that he is prepared to renew his endeavours for peace, whenever the enemy ſhall diſcover a temper more correſponding to his own. Can any words be more contrary to the inference of the Honourable Baronet; can any expreſſions more diſtinctly guard againſt the danger which he wiſhes to guard? It diſclaims all animoſity againſt the French nation. It even goes farther. It holds forth no objection to treat even with thoſe who at preſent exerciſe the functions of Government, if with them peace can be attained. Yet, how probable is it that peace can be obtained, conſidering the principles which they profeſs, conſidering the means by which they acquired, and by which they ſupport their power, I ſhall not diſcuſs. But although his Majeſty may wiſh a change of government in France, which would facilitate the concluſion of peace, he does not conſider this object as abſolutely indiſpenſible. Even now, after the diſtinguiſhed ſucceſſes which have crowned his arms, he is willing to conclude a peace with that very government, upon thoſe moderate and conciliatory terms which he propoſed in the moment of our greateſt difficulty.

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In ſtating this, however, I am ſenſible that I incur the cenſure which the noble Lord expreſſed againſt thoſe who would agree to peace on any terms with the tyranny which now prevails in France. I know that by ſome it is contended, that with ſuch an uſurpation, no peace, however admiſſible in point of terms, ought to be concluded. I, for one, however, cannot aſſent to this opinion. In the preſent ſpirit of the enemy, indeed, there is little hope that they would be diſpoſed to liſten to any terms compatible with the honour, the dignity, and the welfare of this country. I have no heſitation even to avow, and I ſhould conſider myſelf guilty of the groſſeſt hypocriſy and deceit were I to deny, that for the intereſt of human nature, for the happineſs of France, for the advantage of mankind, for the cauſe of every thing that can be dear to the feelings of humanity, I ſhould behold with pleaſure the downfall of a government which exiſts by ſuch deteſtable uſurpation, and employs power to ſuch unprincipled ends. This, however, certainly is not the object nor the principle of the war. Whatever wiſhes may be indulged for ſuch an event, they do not enter into a ſyſtem of hoſtility that will admit of nothing but its overthrow. Whatever violent means the government of France may employ to maintain and to extend its power, however hoſtile it may be to the happineſs of Europe, the courage, the reſources, the perſeverance of this country enable us, and I truſt, under Providence, will enable us to defend the honour and to ſupport the intereſts of the Britiſh empire, under whatever government France may be placed. Still, however, if we do not fail in that duty which we owe to our country and to ourſelves, if we do not ſubmit to taint its unſullied glory, to degrade its proud character, to reſign the ſources of its commerce, to abandon the means of its proſperity, and the foundations of its greatneſs; if we perſiſt in aſſerting that rank which we are entitled to hold in the ſcale of nations, which, for the advantage of Europe, we have long maintained, be the government of France what it may, peace I conſider as deſirable. Unleſs theſe bleſſings are preſerved, unleſs theſe objects enter into every treaty of peace, there is no extremity of war, no extremity of honourable conteſt that would not be preferable to the ſemblance of peace purchaſed by the ſacrifice of honour, by the ſurrender of every thing that is dignified in conduct, every thing that is great among nations, and reſpected among mankind.

But the honourable Baronet contends, that if, as we ſay, the French were inſincere, we ought not to have commenced the negotiation. So far as regards thoſe who now conſtitute the

the executive government, I am ready to acknowledge that I never entertained the ſmalleſt idea that they were ſincere in their profeſſions of peace. From all the information I have obtained, and from every conjecture I could form, I, for one, never was duped by the profeſſions they found it convenient to make. I know and believe, however, that there exiſted in France a ſtrong and general deſire of peace. Seeing the ſpirit of moderation gaining ground, and the madneſs of revolutionary intoxication rapidly ſubſiding, I was induced to think that the violent diſpoſition of that part of the executive government which, unhappily for France and for mankind, has gained the aſcendancy, would be reſtrained by the force of public opinion. I imagined that ambition would be compelled to yield to moderation, that violence would be forced to ſubmit to reaſon, and that even frenzy would be ſubdued by neceſſity. I did feel that the majority of the Directory laboured to thwart what they durſt not openly oppoſe. I was aware that every thing was done by the prevailing councils in the Directory to blend with the diſcuſſions which were the ſubject of the negotiation, every thing that could embarraſs its progreſs, or to compel Miniſters to break up the negotiation with all the odium which it would have excited. The ſyſtem they purſued was ſufficiently explained by the nature of the objections they brought forward. They wiſhed to drive us to the neceſſity of abruptly terminating the conferences. They perplexed the negotiation by the moſt unneceſſary deviations from eſtabliſhed practice; they inſiſted upon the moſt unwarrantable pretenſions; they totally departed from thoſe forms which are always important to be obſerved in the tranſactions of independent nations. They placed in the power of his Majeſty's Miniſters an option on which it required no ſmall degree of caution to decide, but they happily did make that deciſion which ſerved at once to prove their own ſincerity, and to diſplay the perfidious views of the enemy. They ſacrificed thoſe wiſe and ſalutary forms which cuſtom has introduced for the general advantage of civilized ſtates; they continued to endure the trifling and evaſion of the enemy, rather than give them that opportunity which they ſought, to throw the odium of a rupture upon this country. Accordingly a *projet* was preſented, to which neither a *contre-projet* was oppoſed, nor any diſcuſſion of its conditions attempted. Here, however, the honourable Baronet informs you, that he had a remedy for this inconvenience. He tells you of a deſign which he entertained laſt ſeſſion of Parliament, of making a motion in this Houſe, that no *projet* ſhould be given in till the enemy were prepared to preſent a *contre-projet*.

I muſt

I muſt acknowledge I muſt plead guilty to the charge of having occaſioned ſome of that regret which the honourable Baronet feels for not having carried his intentions into execution. With great candour he communicated his deſign to me, and I frankly told him that if he was really friendly to peace, nothing could for any practical purpoſe be leſs calculated to promote that object, than the motion he intended to make. I now find, however, that he thinks better of the propriety of that motion, when it can no longer be tried, than when he firſt conceived the idea. But if it was right to puſh the enemy to make ſome offer, was it not neceſſary to bring them to that alternative, when they muſt either enter into the diſcuſſion of the terms propoſed by this country, or préſent ſome outline in their turn upon which diſcuſſion could take place? Was any thing better calculated to put ourſelves more in the right, and to guard againſt their inſidious views, than to depart from common *punctilio*, and call upon them to ſtate their objections to our terms, or to propoſe others of their own? I rejoice that the courſe which Miniſters purſued was ſo fortunate. The queſtion was placed on a clear and intelligible footing. It now defies all the power of miſrepreſentation; it challenges the moſt hardy partizan of French politics to deny that to them is owing the rupture of the negotiation. It invites the country to judge; it calls upon them to determine whether or not the preſent is the criſis which demands every effort which a people can exert in defence of their country. To ſhew the zeal with which Miniſters ſtruggled to overcome all the preliminary obſtacles which the enemy threw in their way, and their anxiety to come to the main point of the negotiation, it is unneceſſary to employ much argument. His Majeſty's declaration, ſupported by the evidence of the papers upon the table, can leave no doubt upon any reaſonable and impartial mind.

It is true, however, that before any preliminary points came into conſideration, and even before the plenipotentiaries met for diſcuſſion, the conduct of the French government was ſuch as might have forbidden all negotiation whatever, had not the government of this country been ſuperior to the wanton obſtacles with which they were diſcouraged. However it may have been repreſented by intereſt or by party, Lord Malmeſbury, even on his firſt miſſion to Paris, was not diſmiſſed on account of any difference in terms. In fact, the queſtion had never turned upon terms. It is true, likewiſe, that he was ſent away nearly upon the ſame ground from Liſle. It is true, that in the preliminaries of peace agreed upon between France and the Emperor of Germany, both parties engaged themſelves

to invite their reſpective allies to meet in a general congreſs, an obligation which they openly violated. Notwithſtanding all the obſtacles which the paſt conduct, and the prevailing views of the majority of the Directory pointed out as inſeparable from any new attempt, his Majeſty, hoping that the pacific diſpoſitions which he manifeſted would give ſtrength to that ſpirit of moderation which was ſpreading over France, and which began to actuate the councils, reſolved to renew the ſlighted and rejected offers which he had already propoſed. In the circumſtances in which they were placed, the violent leaders of the Directory could not venture to reject at once all overtures, or to break off all hope of ultimate ſucceſs in the negotiation. From the beginning, however, they diſplayed their temper, and their hoſtility. When the firſt application was made, they wantonly raiſed every obſtacle that could bring this government to feel the difficulty of the new attempt on which they had reſolved; they inſiſted on a mode of negotiation contrary to the eſtabliſhed cuſtom among the nations of Europe, contrary to approved convenience and utility, contrary even to what they had done in the concluſion of every peace which they had concluded with any of the belligerent powers during the preſent war; contrary to the mode they wiſhed to follow in practice in the courſe of this very negotiation. They diſclaimed every idea of a preliminary peace. They inſiſted that the conferences ſhould be for the purpoſe of definitive peace. Though aware of the object and the ſpirit of this tergiverſation, his Majeſty replied to them by an argument which they could not reſiſt. He told them that the powers of the plenipotentiary he intended to ſend would apply equally to either object, either preliminary or definitive. Contrary to all cuſtom, the paſſport which they tranſmitted for the plenipotentiary from this country, unneceſſarily ſpecified the nature of the powers with which he was to be inveſted, and the object on which he was ſent. It ſtated that it was to be for a definitive and ſeparate peace. To this his Majeſty might have objected. In itſelf, though apparently of no real moment, it ſufficiently ſhewed their intractable ſpirit, and explained the nature of their pretenſions. To the one point his Majeſty replied as before, that the powers of his plenipotentiary were equally ſuited to both. But he peremptorily refuſed to aſſent to the idea of a ſeparate peace. He was reſolved not to abandon Portugal, and he agreed that France ſhould negotiate for Spain and Holland, however little, conſidering the manner in which they had entered into the war, and,

and conducted themſelves in its progreſs, they might be entitled to treat on equal terms. What then was the reſult of this combined firmneſs and moderation? The violent ſpirit of the enemy was forced to give way. The mighty and aſtoniſhing ſcheme of unprincipled uſurpation and deteſtable injuſtice which they were then preparing, was not yet ripe for execution. It would have been dangerous to have too raſhly provoked public opinion, and given ſtrength to the moderation of the councils. They were therefore obliged to admit the demands of his Majeſty. They accordingly affect to treat likewiſe for their allies, although the pledge of their authority for this purpoſe was never given up, to the moment of Lord Malmeſbury's diſmiſſal. Baffled in all their preliminary attempts to embarraſs the propoſed negotiation, they endeavoured to kindle new differences, and to provoke former reſentments, by wantonly alluding to the points which had been diſputed during the firſt negotiation. They deſcended even to throw out inſinuations againſt the perſon whom his Majeſty had pitched upon to conduct the conferences on the part of this country. This, however, they knew they could not ſtate as a formal objection; they knew that there was not an act of his Lordſhip's conduct upon which they could faſten a charge. The character of the noble Lord ſet their malignant inſinuations at defiance, and the event of the late miſſion has ſhewn, that in all the comprehenſive range of talents which this kingdom happily affords, there could not have been found a perſon better qualified than Lord Malmeſbury to carry into effect the benevolent and pacific intentions of his Majeſty, and to maintain the dignity of the nation. Not to dwell, however, on all the intermediate obſtacles, Lord Malmeſbury at laſt reached Liſle, the conferences were opened, and mutual powers exchanged. The powers with which Lord Malmeſbury was inveſted, were tranſmitted to the Directory, and found unexceptionable, although this defect was afterwards made the pretence of rupture. Although during the former negotiation it was made a ſubject of loud complaint that ſo much delay intervened, and ſo many couriers were employed, in order, as was ſaid, that the Britiſh plenipotentiary might obtain inſtructions from his court, the powers given by the Directory to their commiſſioners were unuſually limited, and only authorized them to act according to the inſtructions which from time to time they ſhould receive. This I merely ſtate without comment, deſiring the Houſe to treaſure it up in their memory.

Such was the ſituation in which the negotiation began. I now come to the *projet*. Can there be a more convincing proof of his Majeſty's ſenſe and moderation than his authoriſing a *projet* to be delivered in, waving all forms, and anxious only to come to the diſcuſſion of the great objects in diſpute? From the peremptory manner in which the French inſiſted that the negotiation ſhould be for a definitive treaty, it was to be expected that they would have been prepared to form their determination on the points at iſſue in the ſpace of twenty-four hours. It was to be expected on another ground likewiſe, that they ſhould have been prepared to ſpecify the terms which they required, and the objects which they meant to bring into diſcuſſion: they were placed in a very different ſituation from this country. We had nothing to aſk: it was natural therefore that they ſhould firſt ſay what they required, before any offer came from our ſide. Every objection of this nature, however, was immediately waved. The *projet* detailed in the papers produced was preſented, than which a *projet* more diſtinct, more full, more particular, in every point more conciliatory and more moderate, never conſtituted the firſt word ſpoken in the opening of any negotiation. Yet you have ſeen in what light the enemy have thought proper to repreſent this propoſal. You have heard what has been ſaid of it by that preſs which circulates over Europe what it publiſhes under the direction of the Police of Paris, you have ſeen in what ſhape it has been repreſented by the French preſs in this country, you have ſeen the uſe which that preſs makes of Engliſh liberty, in tranſcribing French ſentiments, and inculcating French opinions. Gentlemen, however, have read the paper, let them judge for themſelves. One blank it contained reſerved for the expreſs purpoſe of knowing whether the French meant to require the reſtitution they demanded for themſelves, or for their allies; and when this was aſcertained it remained blank no longer. The French Government, pretending to be ſo jealous for the intereſt of their allies, authoriſed their Plenipotentiaries to ſay that they demanded every thing for themſelves, and that the compenſations we demanded ſhould be retained out of the poſſeſſions of their allies. The blank was accordingly filled up agreeably to this explanation. Yet then it did not preclude any other mode of filling it up. It remained ſubject to modification and diſcuſſion. The French were preſſed and ſolicited either to accede to the object, or to ſubſtitute any thing elſe which they judged more proper, and to come fairly to a mutual diſcuſſion of terms. I ſhall not here enter into any conſideration of this *projet*; how far its conditions

tions might ultimately have been altered, conceded or maintained, this is not the proper time or place for ſuch a conſideration. I ſhall neither argue whether, as ſome think, that the conceſſions were too large, nor whether, according to others, they were not on a ſcale ſufficiently liberal. All I aſk is, whether this *project* was not on the face of it open, diſtinct, intelligible, candid and conciliatory? To France we offered all we had conquered in the Weſt-Indies—the ſtrong and, in ſome meaſure, impregnable iſland of Martinique, St. Lucia, Tobago, that part of St. Domingo occupied by our troops; in the Eaſt-Indies, Pondicherry and Chandernagore, with all their ſettlements and factories in that quarter. And in return for what were all theſe ſacrifices offered? For peace, for peace alone; to an enemy too that had taken nothing from us at home or abroad in any quarter of the globe; an enemy whoſe forces had never ſeparately met the military ſtrength of this country without adding to our national glory and renown; an enemy whoſe fleets never encountered ours but to add to the liſt of their defeats, and to ſwell the catalogue of our triumphs; an enemy whoſe commerce was extinguiſhed, whoſe navy annihilated, whoſe financial diſtreſs, however palliated by their partiſans here, was loudly proved in the groans of the people, in the contentions of the Councils, in meſſages, in reports, in ſpeeches, in the language of remonſtrance, and in the acts of violence of the executive Government. Of the allies, Spain had felt the war into which ſhe had been compelled to enter only in the triumphs ſhe had added to this country and her own indelible diſgrace. One iſland had been taken from her by this country, for which, in the circumſtances in which ſhe ſtood, ſhe could have no claim for compenſation. But the iſland of Trinidada was claimed on another ground; it was claimed as a condition of our guaranteeing the ceſſion of the Spaniſh part of St. Domingo to France, which, by ſolemn treaties, could not be given up without the conſent of this country. To Holland we offered to reſtore all the ſources of her commerce, every thing valuable to her proſperity, and only required that which would have enabled France to ſubjugate the other poſſeſſions of Holland, and to harraſs our own eſtabliſhments in the Eaſt. All we aſked was that which ſecured to us what we already poſſeſſed, that which was eſſential to the preſervation of our antient eſtabliſhment and our naval power. Look at the ſtate of the two countries, and judge of the value of the conceſſion on the one part, and ſay what would have been the force of the claim upon the other. Compare the mutual means of offence and reſiſtance, the power of the French to take from us, and the ability of this country to retain. Upon that compariſon ſay, whether the

project

projet of his Majeſty did not manifeſt proofs of ſincerity and moderation? I am aſhamed to dwell upon the ſubject in argument. I am afraid that, in their conceſſions, Miniſters may have been thought too forward rather than too backward. The whole, however, was matter of diſcuſſion, of modification, and compenſation. Still, nevertheleſs, the enemy would come to no diſcuſſion. Endleſs delays enſued; time was conſumed in ſending for inſtructions to Madrid and to the Hague, and the conſideration of the different points ſtudiouſly protracted. After the negotiation had aſſumed this ſhape, what was done, what progreſs was made after every pretence for delay was removed? They now required that we, whom they had ſummoned to treat for a definitive treaty, ſhould ſtop and diſcuſs preliminary points, which, though diſcuſſed and ſettled, we did not know but the next moment might be wholly ſet aſide. They led the conferences to vague and ſecondary points. They inſiſted that his Majeſty ſhould reſign the title of King of France, a harmleſs feather at moſt, which his anceſtors had ſo long worn on their crown; they demanded reſtitution of the ſhips taken at Toulon, or a compenſation, and a renunciation of any mortgage which this country might poſſeſs on the Netherlands for the loan guaranteed to the Emperor. The honourable Baronet has alluded to this laſt point. It ſo happens, however, that what the worthy Baronet conſidered as ſo important was of no importance at all. It ſhewed only the arrogant and overbearing diſpoſition of the enemy to dictate to third parties in points with which they themſelves have no connection. The French Plenipotentiaries were immediately informed that this country had no ſuch mortgage, that there could be no conceſſion where there was no claim, and that the point was not worth talking about.

The next point which occurred is of a nature that it would be difficult to dwell upon. We are called upon to ſubſcribe as a preliminary that we were prepared to give up every thing we had acquired during the war. Need I argue the inadmiſſibility of ſuch a demand? Need I addreſs myſelf to any ſet of men to prove its diſgraceful nature, its arrogant pretention, or the infamy of acceding to it? Can there be any man in this country to whom the argument would be neceſſary? Such a preliminary could not be admitted by any man who was not prepared to adore in proſtrate baſeneſs the idol of French power, who was not ready to proſtitute the dignity and the honour of his country at the feet of France, to ſubmit to the burden of accumulating infamy, and of ſtill more degrading homage, of demands ſtill more ignominious, to cancel at once all the honours

nours of the Britiſh name, and to overthrow the foundations of Britiſh greatneſs.

His Majeſty had no heſitation in refuſing to comply with ſuch unwarrantable and inſolent demands. The French Directory, however, had not yet acquired, in their opinion, the power of adhering to all the extravagance of their demands, nor to treat with indifference his Majeſty's moderate propoſals. We ſaw the ſpirit as early as the 14th of July, and it was confirmed on the 26th. His Majeſty's anſwer was received by the French Plenipotentiaries with aſſurances indeed of pacific diſpoſition, but followed by no renewal on their part with terms of negociation. A long delay took place; at laſt, however, aſſurances came from them again of a pacific diſpoſition, followed with this obſervation, "that the delay of the anſwer was a proof that the Directory did really deſire to forward the great object of peace; that much time muſt neceſſarily be taken up in forming an anſwer, becauſe they were under the neceſſity of ſending to their allies on account of what paſſed, and that they were endeavouring to prevail on them to accede to propoſals for putting an end to the calamities of war." It is in this manner the Directory pretended to feel for their allies in this war, a war into which they brought theſe allies, who are now, let the French Directory affect to give them what importance they pleaſe in the negociation, in a ſtate of proſtration to the French, and have nothing to look for but loſſes and diſgrace. The Directory then directed their Plenipotentiaries to inform Lord Malmeſbury that they had ſent to their allies for their conſent to our propoſals, and that they had obtained an anſwer, but not being a ſatisfactory anſwer, they were under the neceſſity of ſending to ſuch allies another meſſage. It was thus they endeavoured to conceal their inſincerity. This continued until the dreadful cataſtrophe of the 4th of September. Until that violence appeared in Paris, and as late as ſome days after that event, they promiſed to produce their *projet*; they could not however do ſo in leſs than four days. They were ſtill as pacific as formerly in their profeſſions. But after all theſe, and this laſt aſſurance, what was the firſt ſtep they took to go on with the negociation in this ſpirit of conciliation, as they profeſſed? The firſt ſtep was to renew in a ſhape more offenſive than formerly, the already rejected demand, which two months before was made, and when made, poſitively rejected by Lord Malmeſbury, in which rejection they acquieſced, and in the interval between the two, we had been patiently waiting for the propoſals that were to come from them, or at leaſt their anſwer to ours. This demand of theirs, thus

thus renewed, was nothing leſs than that Lord Malmeſbury ſhould ſhew to them, not only his powers, but alſo his inſtructions. They aſked, that after they were in poſſeſſion of his powers, they ſhould know what uſe he was inſtructed to make of thoſe powers. They aſked from us an irrevocable pledge that we ſhould reſtore to them and to their allies all we had gained, without knowing from them what they were afterwards to aſk further from us. As an inducement for Lord Malmeſbury to aſſent to this, they ſaid, that although this demand was made of him, it would never be required to carry it into effect, for that there was indeed great difference between knowing the extent of the powers of a miniſter, and inſiſting upon their exerciſe. And here I cannot help obſerving that the honourable Baronet, who blames his Majeſty's Miniſters for making any propoſals before we were ſatisfied that the French would alſo make theirs, can hardly cenſure us for not complying with this laſt demand. Suppoſe I was ambaſſador for the French Directory, and the honourable Baronet was ambaſſador for Great Britain, and I were to ſay to him, "Will you give up all you have gained? It is only requeſted of you as a handſome thing as an Engliſhman to do, but no ungenerous uſe ſhall be made of it." If the honourable Baronet were to conſent to theſe terms, would he afterwards expect me, as a French ambaſſador to ſay, "Now you have acted handſomely, I, in my turn, will ſhew you that I can act as handſomely as you, for I ſhall not retain what you have ſo generouſly given; I now return it to you?" Why, Sir, ſhould not we be children and mere drivellers, if we were to expect ſuch a return for ſuch a behaviour? And the French government, whoſe talents it is the faſhion among ſome of us to exalt, would alſo be children and drivellers, if they thought that we ſhould have acceded to ſuch a propoſal: But they are bound, it ſeems, by their conſtitution and private treaties, to inſiſt on the propoſition which they ſtated to us, that is to ſay, France muſt firſt eſtabliſh its own claims to honour and independence, and then ſit in judgment on its own acts, and call that its honour and independence. If any man can really ſuppoſe it is poſſible for this country, conſiſtently with its own honour, to accede to ſuch a propoſal, or that ſuch a negociation, thus commenced, is likely to lead to a good end in favour of this country, all I can ſay is, that with ſuch a man I am unable to argue. I leave others to imagine what was likely to have been the end of a negociation, in which it was to have been ſettled, as a preliminary, that you were to give up all that you have gained; and when, on the ſide of your enemy, not a word was ſaid, what he had to propoſe afterwards.

wards. They demand of your ambaſſador to ſhew to them, not only all his powers, but alſo his inſtructions, before they explain a word of theirs; and they tell you too, that you are never to expect to hear what their powers are, until you ſhall be ready to accede to any thing which the Directory may think fit to dictate. This is certainly the ſubſtance of the thing; for they tell you, that they are to carry on the negociation from the inſtructions which their Plenipotentiaries are to receive from time to time from the Directory. You are to have no power to inſtruct your ambaſſador; you are to ſhew to the enenemy at once all you have in view, and they will only tell you from time to time, as to them ſhall ſeem meet, what demands they ſhall make.—It was thus it was attempted, on the part of the French, to commence the negociation. In July this demand was made to Lord Malmeſbury. He returned for anſwer, that his powers were ample. In anſwer to this they went no further than to ſay, that if he had no ſuch power, he ſhould ſend to England to obtain it. To which he replied, that he had not, nor ſhould he have it if he ſent. In this they acquieſce, and attempt to amuſe us for two months. At the end of that time, for reaſons beſt known to the French Directory, the Plenipotentiaries ſay to Lord Malmeſbury, not what they ſaid before, ſend to England for power to accede to propoſals which you have already rejected, but, go to England yourſelf for ſuch powers, in order to obtain peace. Such was the way in which the proſpect of peace was to be opened to you, and upon which all hopes of peace were broken off. I ſay broken off, for the groſs attempt to deceive all Europe by the affectation of moderation, in ordering the French Miniſters to remain at Liſle for ten days, is really below comment. They ſay they expected an Ambaſſador to return. They knew it was impoſſible he ſhould after they had ſtated as a *ſine qua non* that you ſhould throw yourſelves at their feet for mercy before you knew what terms they ſhould be afterwards in the humour to dictate.—The French government, however they may deſpiſe the intereſt, have felt enough to know the neceſſity of giving a colour of attention to the wiſhes of the people of France, elſe they would not have made ſo many aſſurances of a ſincere deſire for peace. But, fortunately for this country, there is now no pretext left for them, as is manifeſt by the papers which are now made public; which exhibit to the world the arrogance, violence, and duplicity, not of the French people, nor of the whole government of France, but of others who form a part of the government, and who now poſſeſs all the power of it. That arrogance, that violence, and that

duplicity are manifeſted by their offering terms ſuch as it would be neither juſt, honourable, or ſafe in this country even to admit into the courſe of negociation, becauſe they ought to be repelled and rejected the moment they were propoſed. Your honour and independence required that you ſhould take that courſe. But it is proper for you to ſee at what it is your enemy is aiming. It is not againſt your commerce; it is not againſt your wealth; it is not againſt your colonies in the Weſt, or territories in the Eaſt; nor is it againſt your maritime greatneſs, or the extent of your empire. No! It is the object of your enemy to deſtroy the eſſence of your liberty, the foundation of your independence, the citadel of your happineſs, your Conſtitution; that is the object of their hoſtility. It is evident; they themſelves have declared it. They have ſaid that your government and theirs cannot ſubſiſt; that one of them muſt be deſtroyed. Should they come among you, they will bring with their invading army the great peſtilence to man, the genius of French liberty; which contains in it every curſe to ſociety, and would be the total ſubverſion of your Conſtitution, with which it forms a fatal and malignant contraſt. In the place of that beautiful fabrick will be a hideous monſter that nothing can content but the annihilation of Britiſh liberty, and thoſe glorious principles which have rendered you the moſt conſpicuous and happy people in Europe. For theſe are we to declare ourſelves in a manner that would ſeem to deprecate the rage of the enemy? Are we under theſe circumſtances, afraid or aſhamed to declare in a firm, deciſive, manly tone, that we will defend ourſelves? Or are we to ſhun the truth, and forget the energy that belongs to Engliſhmen? I do not ſcruple for one, to declare, that if I knew the conteſt was not likely to terminate in our favour, I would ſay, that the conteſt with its worſt proſpect would be better than acquieſence in theſe demands, ſince the chance is better than a certainty of ruin. If therefore we value property; if we value liberty; if we value law; if we value national power; if we value any thing that either has contributed or can contribute to our happineſs, or even to our ſafety, we ſhall reſiſt theſe demands with indignation. It affects us all, from the higheſt to the loweſt. There is not one man, let his enjoyments be ever ſo great or property ever ſo conſiderable, who ſhould not ſacrifice any portion of it to oppoſe the violence of the enemy, nor one whoſe ſtock is ſo ſmall, that he ſhould not be ready to ſacrifice his life in the ſame cauſe. We owe it as a debt to poſterity as well as to ourſelves to preſerve our character in the page of hiſtory. We owe it as gratitude to Providence,

Providence, whoſe goodneſs has placed us ſo high in the ſcale of nations, and cauſed us to be the admiration of Europe, with moſt of the governments of which ours is a happy contraſt. I ſay gratitude to Providence ought to inſpire us to make efforts in defence of the moſt valuable bleſſings which we enjoy. There may be danger, but on the one ſide there is danger accompanied by honour, on the other, the certainty of indelible diſgrace and ſhame; for it will prove the dereliction of principle, and a daſtardly fear which has never yet been attributed to you. Upon ſuch an alternative Engliſhmen cannot heſitate. I wiſh to diſguiſe no part of my ſentiments, nor the grounds upon which I put the iſſue of the cauſe. My opinion of the event of the conteſt is not altered, but my hopes are animated. The means of our own ſafety are ſtill in our own hands, and there never was a period in which we were more conſpicuous to the world than the preſent. Our reſources are ſtill very great; our commerce is the envy of ſurrounding nations; the bleſſings which we now enjoy furniſh us with the means of continuing them; the protection of ſuch bleſſings I truſt we ſhall never abandon; and I hope the luſtre of the Engliſh character will ſhine forth and preſerve your fame as a nation. I ſay, I truſt you will never abandon your duty to yourſelves and to your poſterity, nor your gratitude to Providence, in any extremity to which you may be driven, but that you will chearfully enter into a pledge for the ſincere performance of your duty, by declaring that you are prepared to maintain your character, and that you are determined to ſtand or fall by the laws, liberties, and religion of your country.

Mr. *G. A. Pollen* ſaid, he did not intend to have troubled the Houſe that night with any obſervations relative to the conduct of Miniſters in the late negociation; but as he perceived that the ſubject now under diſcuſſion had branched out into an unexpected variety of ſhapes, he felt it incumbent on him ſhortly to expreſs the ſentiments which a ſerious view of the tranſaction had induced him to entertain. It was by no means his intention (it would indeed be a vain and arrogant attempt on his part) to venture going over and commenting on the different periods and the deſultory progreſs of the late negociation, after the able and eloquent manner in which they had been deſcanted on and diſcuſſed by the right honourable Gentleman (Mr. Pitt). Such, however, had been at firſt his deſign, but he felt precluded from purſuing it by having heard the ſubject already treated with ſuch extraordinary ability and ſuch minute detail. He would therefore content himſelf for the preſent with expreſſing his ſurpriſe at the doubts that had

been thrown out reſpecting the ſincerity of his Majeſty's Miniſters in their endeavours to procure a peace. On a former occaſion, perhaps, that ſincerity of intention and earneſtneſs of endeavour were not ſo unequivocally announced; but on the late occaſion he could not but think that the neceſſity of attaining peace, if it could be obtained on juſt and equitable terms, preſſed as hard on the intereſts and the ſituation of Miniſters, as on any other deſcription of his Majeſty's ſubjects; and therefore it was but candid to ſuppoſe that they were not indifferent or inſincere in their efforts to accompliſh an object, which they muſt have been conſcious was univerſally deſired. But if any inſincerity was betrayed in that important tranſaction, it could only be imputed, indeed it is evidently imputable, to the French Negociators, or to the preſent French government, the baſis of whoſe power the ſudden return of peace muſt inevitably have overthrown. Every man muſt now feel the trying ſituation to which we are reduced, and every man was free and ought to deliver his opinion reſpecting the preſent poſture of public affairs; ſuch at leaſt was the idea he entertained of his duty, and he hoped he ſhould not be accuſed of vanity for his attempt to perform it. Of many of the paſt meaſures of his Majeſty's Miniſters he had frequently diſapproved; but he now felt the propriety and neceſſity of throwing a veil over the paſt. When we looked forward, the proſpect was too ſerious and awful to permit us to attend to what had gone by. We were now called to look a ſituation in the face which required all our intrepidity and all our firmneſs to confront without diſmay. There was no longer a queſtion of conſuming our ſtrength in what he feared was an unavailing ſtruggle to maintain the balance of power, and the former ſyſtem of European politics. A more urgent care preſſed home on our feelings, and ſhould engage the whole of our attention. The danger was imminent, and we had now to defend every thing that was valuable and dear to us, our laws, our liberties, and our conſtitution, which it was the fixed object of the enemy to aboliſh and overturn; and above all, we had to deprecate and prevent what would cover us with inextinguiſhable ſhame, the permitting the French to invade our kingdom, violate our females, and enſlave our children. Impreſſed with theſe apprehenſions, he could not think of acquieſcing in the ſentiments of the honourable Baronet, (Sir John Sinclair), however highly he reſpected his good intentions: above all, he differed from him, when he expreſſed a truſt that France would be ſoon ſeriouſly diſpoſed

to

to enter into a fair and honourable negotiation: he was at a loſs to diſcover the grounds upon which ſuch a truſt could reſt. The moſt prominent features of the French government left no hopes that they were deſirous to renew the negotiation; if we waited for ſuch a diſpoſition on their part, he feared we had long to wait. When they ſo obſtinately rejected the terms that were offered them, he could not well ſee what was likely to ſatisfy them. The Miniſter ſurely ſhould not have ſtooped lower, and he truſted that the right honourable Gentleman would never be induced to make greater conceſſions. Mr. Pollen thought himſelf bound to ſay thus much; he would offer no more, for every topic of argument had already been exhauſted by the Chancellor of the Exchequer; he would therefore only repeat, that the Addreſs ſhould have his moſt cordial ſupport.

Mr. *Martin* declared, he had often liſtened with admiration to the powerful eloquence of the right honourable Gentleman, though he was very ſeldom induced to ſupport his meaſures. But of all the ſpeeches he had ever heard from him, none appeared to him more convincing to his mind than his ſpeech of that night. Indeed, if the French would have acceded to any reaſonable terms, it was his opinion they ſhould not be rejected; but when he ſaw they were determined to dictate the conditions, we ſhould not permit ourſelves to be trampled on. but evince the ſpirit which became a great nation. He therefore felt it his duty to ſay, that he thought the propoſed amendment unneceſſary, and that the original Addreſs was more conſonant to the nature of our preſent circumſtances. It ſhould have his ſupport, and he earneſtly wiſhed that, upon cooler conſideration, the honourable Baronet would be induced to withdraw his amendment.

Mr. *N. Edwards* hoped, that from the ſimilarity of his name to that of another Gentleman (Mr. B. Edwards), whoſe opinions widely differed from his, that he ſhould not be miſtaken for that honourable Gentleman, leſt that honourable member might be charged with inconſiſtency of opinion. He had but a few words to offer in diſapprobation of the amendment. Indeed, in his mind, it would have been much better that very little had been ſaid on the ſubject. It was a ſubject awful and momentous, and to have decided on it by a ſilent vote, would have been the more dignified manner and the moſt honourable to the feelings of the Houſe. As he had riſen, however, he was happy and proud to be able

able to ſay, that in his county (Rutlandſhire) the beſt poſſible diſpoſition prevailed among the inhabitants, and that the Lord Lieutenant of it was diſtinguiſhed for the inſtitution of the Yeomanry Corps. In many of the villages he knew from perſonal obſervation, and from repeated aſſurances, that the people were ready to make every ſacrifice for the defence of the country. There was a body of villagers, to the number of more than a thouſand, who were prepared to come forward, and to defend our frontiers whenever any danger threatened them. Such, he was well ſatisfied, were the ſincere ſentiments of thoſe friendly ſocieties, for he had the honour to belong to them, and could anſwer for their loyalty. This perhaps might be deemed a piece of information of a nature too private to be mentioned in the Houſe, but he only wiſhed to mention it as a ſymptom of the zeal and alacrity which animated his part of the country, ſhould the unreaſonableneſs of the enemy, or their raſh attempts, neceſſitate a further proſecution of the war, or call on our valour to repel their attacks. He was particularly glad to obſerve that the honourable Gentleman who ſpoke laſt (he meant Mr. Pollen) had altered his political ſentiments, and was brought to a true ſenſe of the ſituation of the country.

Mr. *Martin* wiſhed to add a word, and to remind the honourable Gentleman that it was he who ſpoke laſt, and that he had not altered his political opinions. What he had to obſerve was, that though he might think a continuance of the war neceſſary under the preſent circumſtances, yet he hoped it would be conducted on a wiſer plan than it had hitherto; that it would be wholly changed into a defenſive war, and carried on ſolely by the operation of our naval power, and above all that it ſhould be conducted with œconomy.

Mr. *Lloyd* ſaid, however unaccuſtomed I may be to ſpeak in this Houſe, yet, Sir, I think I ſhould be wanting in the duty I owe my conſtituents if I did not riſe up in this place to expreſs their and my own deteſtation of the perfidious conduct of the French Directory; and although the county of Flint, as a mineral county, ſuffers in a particular manner from the continuance of the war, having almoſt entirely put a ſtop to the lead trade, yet, I truſt, there will not be found in any part of theſe kingdoms a ſet of men more ready to oppoſe the inſatiable ambition of the tyrannical rulers of France, or more willing to make ſuch temporary ſacrifices as may be neceſſary to repel the attacks of an enemy that has

has carried deſolation into every corner of the world into which it hath penetrated, and exerciſed the moſt ſhocking acts of barbarity that ever diſgraced the human race, in every country that has been ſo unfortunate as to be curſed with its depredation. I ſay, Sir, I truſt there are not a ſet of men more ready or willing to exert themſelves at this important criſis than thoſe I have the honour to repreſent in this Aſſembly, and for theſe reaſons I ſhall give my hearty vote for the motion in its original form.

Mr. *T. Tyrwhitt* ſaid, he did not intend to have troubled the Houſe at all, but he could not now forbear expreſſing the great concern he felt at the difference of opinion that had unfortunately manifeſted itſelf in the preſent debate. He alſo was diſpoſed to join in entreating the honourable Baronet to withdraw his amendment. If we be but true to ourſelves, there is nothing to alarm us; but if we are divided we have every thing to fear: it was therefore eſſential to evince the moſt perfect unanimity on the preſent critical occaſion, for by unanimouſly aſſenting to the Addreſs, we give the direct lie to the malevolent aſſertions of the Directory, who ſo inſidiouſly repreſent us as a divided people.

Lord *Carysfort* ſaid, that he moſt cordially concurred in the ſentiments of the Addreſs, and that he was neither inclined to declare that any blame could attach to Miniſters for their conduct in commencing the negotiation, or that he rejoiced in its unſucceſsful termination; his conjectures were confirmed with regard to the conduct of the French, for he never ſaw any reaſons on which to ground an expectation that the French government ever entered on the negotiation with a ſerious view to its having a favourable and happy iſſue. Their power was founded in a ſyſtem hoſtile to the re-eſtabliſhment of tranquillity; to reſiſt ſuch a ſyſtem he felt to be our beſt policy; it was the policy of Miniſters, and he thought it deſerved the countenance of the Houſe and of the country. The French ſyſtem was ſet up for the annoyance of Europe, and Europe could bear witneſs to the moderation and juſtice of our cauſe; our reſiſtance was pointed againſt the monſtrous ambition and exorbitant pretenſions of the enemy, and it was, moreover, in uniſon with the principles upon which the country had acted from the beginning, as we have uniformly declared, that whatever form their government might aſſume, we ſhould not decline entering into negotiation, whenever ſuch an attempt might be made, conſiſtent

fiſtent with the honour and the ſecurity of the country. To that pledge we have ſtrictly adhered, and the ſyſtem of prudence and moderation which we have uniformly acted on, ſhould unite all men of every deſcription in a cordial and vigorous defence of our laws, our rights, and our conſtitution. Such an unanimous co-operation would have the double good effect of ſileneing the calumnies which abroad were circulated by the enemy, and of reviving our ſpirits at home, if indeed our ſpirits could be permitted to droop. There was nothing in our ſituation to excite deſpair, and deſpair was a ſentiment that could never enter the breaſt of an Engliſhman. And indeed from whence could ariſe our deſpair? Was it from the empty threats held out againſt us by the French? We have tried their ſtrength in many conflicts, and the trials were crowned with complete ſucceſs. The ambition of France has, for many years, aſpired to univerſal dominion, but their mad attempts have always been repreſſed by the valour and perſeverance of this country; and ſuch again muſt be the fate of their attempts, if we but oppoſe them by the ſame arms. One circumſtance, it is true, ſeems to juſtify our alarms at the continuance of the war; it is an unproductive conteſt. We have much to loſe, and nothing to gain. Nor can we expect to make any ſucceſsful impreſſion on the enemy's territories; but we have already conquered all their foreign poſſeſſions, though any attempt to conquer France herſelf is not very likely to ſucceed. An attempt, on their part, to make an impreſſion on this country, would prove equally impotent and ineffectual. Their invaſion of England is no leſs likely to fail, than our endeavours to invade France. It would prove fatal to all who ſhould be employed in it. He was ſorry to ſee that Ireland was in a different ſituation. But notwithſtanding the preſent diſturbed ſtate of that country, in the tranquillity of which he felt materially intereſted, if they attempted a landing there, he was ſatisfied they would meet with the ſame reception which they had experienced on a former occaſion. He had no doubt of the iſſue; it would tend to the glory of the country and the confuſion of the enemy. He truſted therefore that the Houſe would proceed unanimouſly to the performance of their duty; and that they would carry to the Throne a full and forcible aſſurance of their unanimous determination to exert the vigour and call forth the reſources of the country, a vigour and reſources not to be equalled by any other nation in Europe.

Doctor

Doctor *Laurence* ſaid, that agreeing with the honourable member who ſpoke from under the gallery, (Mr. Noel Edwards,) in the opinion, that a ſilent vote was preferable to any declarations which might diſturb the unanimity of that night, and hoping the honourable Baronet who moved the amendment, would have yielded to the requeſt which had been made to him to withdraw it, he had intended not to have troubled the Houſe with a ſingle word. But the unanimity which alone he wiſhed, was ſuch as might anſwer the firm tone of the Addreſs propoſed for the concurrence of the Houſe, an unanimity of deciſion, vigour, and energy. He hoped at leaſt, that they who had ſupported Government in all their meaſures of war or peace, would have imitated the prudence of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who had declined to argue whether he had offered to the enemy too little or too much, as the price of peace; adding at the ſame time, that the latter accuſation was that which he moſt apprehended. Yet the noble Lord who ſpoke laſt, thought it neceſſary to declare his approbation in the fulleſt manner, of every thing done by the King's Miniſters in the late negotiation; though he had ſtated, that from the very outſet he did not expect them to ſucceed. He had thought this neceſſary, in conſequence of what fell from another noble Lord, (Earl Temple), who riſing firſt to oppoſe the amendment, had expreſſed his regret that the negotiation had ever been commenced, and his joy that it had terminated in a defeat. Aſſenting moſt cordially to the principle of that joy and that regret, Dr. Laurence obſerved, that he felt himſelf called upon by what the laſt ſpeaker had ſaid in anſwer, to avow his aſſent in the face of his country; and however favourably the pacific diſpoſition of Government might have been originally viewed, and whatever hopes might have been entertained that a treaty would be actually concluded, he thought that no man who had ſeen the papers then before the Houſe, and remembered the late events in France, could do otherwiſe than rejoice at our eſcape from that ſnare. For if the Directory, a little more puſhed by the majority in their legiſlative councils, had accepted the terms we propoſed, in what ſituation ſhould we now have been placed? When our enemies, without poſitively conceding any thing, appeared to temporize a little, the more violent and furious faction among them, which has now gained the aſcendancy, was committed in a dubious ſtruggle for power. Had our project of a definitive treaty been then ſigned, how ſhould we now have ſtood? Has not that fac-

tion ſince ſtifled, by open force, the firſt expreſſion of any thing like the public voice of France? Do they not ſtill profeſs the ſame principle which we ſo often pronounced to be hoſtile and fatal to all regular eſtabliſhments? Do they not uniformly act upon them; and are they not as ready as ever to pour forth their hordes, to propagate them with the bayonet through every other nation? Had the negotiation ſucceeded, ſhould we not now have been left, with many eſſential points unſettled, to the good faith of a power that never regarded any compact, any obligation, any public law of Europe; a power that in all our attempts to treat, had conſtantly recurred to the baſis of its own laws and its own treaties; of laws which it changes at random, and of treaties which it violates as ſoon as they ſtand in the way of its intereſt or ambition? To this country in particular had not this power invariably declared and ſhewn itſelf hoſtile to the utmoſt extent of hoſtility? Had not the Directory recently adopted and publiſhed to the world the ſentiment, "that the French Republic and the government of England could not exiſt together?" Not that in his eſtimation it was neceſſary to reſort to ſuch evidence; the enemy, from the firſt, uniformly betrayed his implacable animoſity againſt us, in all his conduct. No peace with men of ſuch opinions and ſuch principles can be tolerably ſecure, till they ſhall know that we have the ability to reſiſt and avenge every infringement of it. Nor is that ability to be diſplayed by a paſſive ſyſtem of defence, or by ſending againſt them a few ſhips, as one honourable Gentleman (Mr. Martin) had adviſed. They muſt feel the vigour of our arms; they muſt be made ſenſible, that the hands which wield the weapons, are impelled by hearts as brave as thoſe which beat ſo high in the boſoms of our anceſtors. When the ſeaſon of ſecurity in peace ſhall have arrived, may be a queſtion hereafter: conjecturing from the paſt, he thought it likely that he might differ again from Miniſters on that queſtion; but at preſent it ſeemed to be the conviction of every man, even of the honourable Baronet who moved the amendment, that the period was not yet come. By the common conſent of all, we are under the neceſſity of purſuing the war with ſpirit and reſolution.

Under theſe circumſtances, he would not go into a retroſpect, which the Addreſs before the Houſe did not make abſolutely neceſſary. He only meant, in conſequence of what had fallen from the noble Lord who ſpoke laſt, to proteſt, in this manner, againſt being ſuppoſed to give any approbation

probation to the proceedings at Liſle. He did indeed diſapprove of them in almoſt every part, but ſhould in the preſent ſituation of things, content himſelf with ſimply declaring, without arguing, that opinion.

Upon one point he would touch, becauſe in that one he could praiſe the firmneſs of the King's ſervants: he alluded to the "decided and unalterable reſolution" expreſſed in one of Lord Grenville's diſpatches, not to admit of any propoſals for treating with our enemies, about the navigation of neutral powers in time of war. And he was the more induced to advert to this ſubject, on account of a notion which had been thrown out in another place, (no matter where), by a noble perſon who once was at the head of his Majeſty's councils, and who might probably hope to be placed there again, and to make a ſecond peace. It had been ſaid that we had better give up for ever the right of ſearching neutral veſſels and make that conceſſion the ground of a new defenſive league, than wait to have it extorted from us. He truſted we never ſhould ſuffer any ſuch conceſſion to be extorted from us. The day in which any ſuch treaty ſhould be ſigned, would be fatal to the naval power of England. It is to our naval power that we owe the rank we hold as a nation. We have often, it is true, aſſumed another character with glory and ſucceſs, and he truſted that we might aſſume it again with equal ſpirit and effect; but that character is only temporary. It is our maritime ſuperiority that has hitherto enabled us permanently to maintain the balance of European power, and to incline it as we thought expedient, not to alarm and ſubjugate other nations, but for the preſervation of that balance of power, and for the general benefit of all. Our enemies continually affect to put themſelves in the place of ancient Rome, and us in that of its rival, Carthage: and an honourable Baronet aſked, the other night, if we were prepared to ſubmit, like Carthage, to ſtipulate the reduction of our fleet. But ſuch a diſgraceful ſtipulation would be leſs fatal than the propoſal inſidiouſly hinted to Lord Malmeſbury by the plenipotentiaries of the French republic. He did not mean to intimate that avarice was neceſſary to ſtimulate our ſeamen to the diſcharge of their duty. They had fought as bravely in the laſt century as in any period of our naval hiſtory, and yet they had not then that intereſt in prizes which they now have, by the bounty of the King and Parliament. But if we once gave up univerſally the clear, undoubted right, which America herſelf in her preſent diſpute

with France has recognized, of ſtopping and ſearching the veſſels of countries in peace and amity with us, our naval power would have little againſt which it could operate in any future war. An enemy unable to meet us in arms on the ocean, by ſurrendering his navigation, might ſecure his whole commerce in neutral ſhips, from our victorious force; and it was chiefly by diſtreſſing his commerce, that a naval power can act ſo as to compel a peace. It was thus that by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, Louis XV. was contented to reſtore all his conqueſts, that he might be releaſed from the preſſure of our maritime power on the trade of his kingdom. Dr. Laurence ſaid, that he ſhould not now diſcuſs this queſtion at large, but he thought it his duty to call the attention of the Houſe, and the nation, as early as poſſible, to the danger which lurked under the gentle and ſpecious language of the "freedom of the ſeas," which we had been recommended to acknowledge; as if the right, which we had invariably exerciſed, was an act of uſurpation and injuſtice!

There was only one point more which he thought it proper to notice, in conſequence of a phraſe which had come from high authority, in the preſent debate. The Chancellor of the Exchequer called his Majeſty's title of King of France, a harmleſs feather. In his own opinion, no ancient dignity, which for ſo many centuries had ſhed luſtre on the Engliſh crown, ought to be conſidered as a mere light, unſubſtantial ornament. It was bound up indiſſolubly with the honour of the nation. If we ſuffered that feather to be plucked, he feared that three other feathers, which were nearly connected with the Crown, and were gallantly won in the ſame glorious wars by which we firſt aſſerted the claim of our monarchs to that harmleſs feather, would ſoon follow: the crown, and the throne itſelf would hardly be ſecure. A great nation can never ſafely ſubmit to be diſgraced. He wiſhed the Houſe to carry their recollection back to the time of Edward III. when that title was firſt uſed. Then it was that we had the firſt regular and full records of the proceedings in Parliament. Whether it was from the peculiar favour of Providence, that we might have always before us an example to fix and ſteady our wavering courage, in moments of terror and trepidation; or whether it was from the veneration of our anceſtors for this ſacred relick, which they preſerved with religious care, while they ſuffered leſs precious monuments to periſh; but ſo the fact was, that the firſt traces of the deliberations and conferences of the two Houſes, which appear on the rolls, are of that epoch, and exhibit a ſituation of the

the country, far leſs favourable than the preſent, in every thing but the ſpirit of Engliſhmen. Making allowance for the relative value of money, much larger ſums had then been ſpent in gaining the princes and ſtates of the Netherlands to our ſide, than in the preſent war. Yet no reliance could be placed on the allies whom we had ſo gained. No effectual aid was derived from their co-operation, and in fact they ſoon after deſerted us. Commerce we had none. Our revenue was not to be mentioned. Then, as now, we were obliged to reſort to an iſſue of foreign coin, in order to ſupply our circulation; we had ſcarcely any ſpecie of our own. We had acquired nothing from the enemy; we had loſt our natural dominion of the ſea; our coaſts were inſulted and plundered; Harwich had been ſet on fire; the Iſle of Thanet, Folkſtone, and Dover, had ſuffered more lightly; Haſtings more ſeverely; Southampton had been burnt to the ground; a great part of Plymouth, with all the great ſhips in that harbour, as well as other harbours in the weſt, ſhared the ſame fate; and the Iſle of Jerſey had been conquered, as the records of the Houſe confeſs, "to the great ſlander of the whole land." Within our own iſland, the Scots, not as now united to us, but the faſt allies of our enemies, were threatening the borders; while in many of our counties and cities exiſted a deſperate knot of conſpirators, bound together by oath, upon the firſt intelligence of thoſe diſaſters which they wiſhed to their country, to riſe in a general inſurrection, rob, and maſſacre their peaceable and well-diſpoſed neighbours.* What, then, was the conduct of Parliament

* We preſume the learned Gentleman alluded to what is to be found on the Rolls of Parliament, Vol. II. page 104, ſection 9. As there is no trace of it in Cotton's Abridgement, we ſhall preſent our readers with a tranſlation.

"Theſe are the points on which it will be neceſſary to treat at a conference in this Parliament.

"Firſt, Foraſmuch as in divers counties and cities and towns of the land, men of evil covin are bound and ſworn together, that in the hour when they ſhall hear news agreeable to their deſires, (from which God defend us), they will riſe, and rob, and murder their neighbours, perſons of worth, who are peaceably diſpoſed, and thoſe who will not be of their covin; and it is their intent to procure a general riot throughout the whole land: what is to be ordained on that ſubject, how beſt to be able to reſtrain this covin.

"Alſo, foraſmuch as the Scots purpoſe to make a ſudden inroad into England, to deſtroy the borders and all the country of the North, and of the whole land to the beſt of their power, that a ſpeedy remedy ſhould be conſidered and ordained.

"Alſo,

Parliament on that perilous and awful occaſion? The Commons reſolved that the Government had ſufficient power to protect the internal peace of the land. They propoſed meaſures of external defence. They agreed in the neceſſity of a large ſupply, and they declared their own good will to grant what the exigencies of the ſtate demanded; but to give greater effect to the meaſure, they adviſed that another Parliament ſhould be ſummoned, and in the mean time they promiſed on their loyalty and allegiance, that they would retire each to his own country, and there endeavour with all their influence, to bring up the public mind to the exigencies of the public ſituation. And what was the event? What was the reſult of the vigour then exerted; of the ſpirit and union then diſplayed? What was the concluſion of a war of twenty years? A peace dictated by Edward, as he was marching back from the ſiege of Paris! Upon that glorious example we ſhould fix our eyes, till we kindled as we gazed, into the zeal, ardour, and intrepidity which glowed in the hearts, and blazed out in the character and conduct of our anceſtors. What will be the event of our preſent momentous conteſt for every thing valuable to man, is only known to that Being who ſees all things alike in their firſt cauſes, and their ultimate conſequences. It is our part, with manly fortitude to diſcharge our duty, in obedience to his moral law; and what that duty is, no man can heſitate a moment, when there is only the choice propoſed in ſuch eloquent and animated language, by the Chancellor of the Exchequer—Danger, with glory; or certain, though poſſibly ſlower ruin, with indelible ſhame.

He concluded by pointing out to the honourable Baronet who moved the amendment, his total want of ſupport, and the impreſſion which every thing ſaid on the other ſide, however little recommended by ability or eloquence, ſeemed to make upon the Houſe; and by joining in the repeated requeſts which had been addreſſed to him, that he would withdraw his motion.

Mr. *Wilberforce*

"Alſo, forasmuch as, from the want of a navy on the ſea laſt year, the navy of France has done much miſchief by ſea and land, and conquered the Iſle of Jerſey, to the great ſlander of the whole land; let it be conſidered and ordained, how it may be poſſible to keep in check the navy of France, and regain what is loſt. And that in ſo much the Commons be diſcharged from the guard of the ſea, and let them have conſideration to treat on this point, for there is a ſufficient navy in England to do this, if the people were well diſpoſed."

Mr. *Wilberforce* ſaid he heartily coincided with thoſe gentlemen who regretted that an amendment had been propoſed by the honourable Baronet, and wiſhed that nothing had been ſaid expreſſive of a want of unanimity in the Houſe. For his own part, he would not have ſaid a word upon the ſubject, if it had not been extorted from him by the honourable and learned Gentleman who had juſt ſat down, and who, while he ſtrenuouſly recommended unanimity, made uſe of language very likely to produce a directly contrary effect. He was ſorry the honourable and learned Gentleman had not followed the example of his right honourable friend, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who had purpoſely waved the ſubject introduced by the former, and had ſaid expreſsly that whether his Majeſty's Miniſters had gone too far in conceſſions or not, was a queſtion on which he would not give an opinion; to introduce that queſtion, therefore, and make it a ſubject of diſcuſſion at a time when all ſhould be harmony and unanimity, was, in his mind, exceedingly improper, and therefore he proteſted againſt what had fallen from the honourable and learned Gentleman, who in endeavouring to interpret his right honourable friend, had but too fully ſpoken for himſelf. It appeared, however, that, with the exception of the honourable Baronet, all wiſhed to aſſent to the Addreſs, although with different views; for himſelf he could ſay, that he did not, with the noble Lord, regret that the negotiation had been commenced, nor rejoice that it was broken off; on the contrary, he ſincerely lamented, in common with the King's Miniſters and the people at large, that it had had ſuch an unproſperous iſſue. But even ſo, it was not without its uſe, for when it was ſeen that the Miniſters did fairly and candidly, and with earneſt deſires for peace, come forward, and that in order to obtain it, they had paſſed by ſo many inſults that had been offered in the courſe of the negotiation, no one, he conceived, could entertain a doubt of the unequivocal conduct of Government on the one hand, and the unwarrantable intentions of France on the other; at leaſt he would ſay, that if there was any man who entertained ſuch a doubt, he muſt be conſtructed very differently from him. So far from rejoicing at the obſtinate temper of the enemy, he thought it to be juſt matter of regret, and he declared that he would continue to look out with ſincere anxiety for the time, when under the influence of returning reaſon, the French nation would come to negociation with an earneſt deſire for that peace which was ſtill more neceſſary to themſelves than to England. In the mean time he would tell

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the people that they muſt content themſelves to bear conſiderable burthens, becauſe all they poſſeſſed, and all that was valuable to them in life, were at ſtake. That as the conduct of the enemy in the late negociation proclaimed that not the obſtinacy of his Majeſty's Miniſters, but the vain ambition of thoſe with whom they had to treat, had procraſtinated the wiſhed-for event of peace, and that the overthrow of our government was the ſole object of their deſigns, Engliſhmen ſhould feel the neceſſity of coming forward in preſervation of the Conſtitution; ſhould reflect on what their ſafety and happineſs depend, and to ſecure thoſe objects ſhould join hand and heart together and proclaim to the world that if divided before, they could unite whenever union became neceſſary. Of this univerſal harmony of ſentiment he held the unanimity of that night to be a happy omen, and he hoped the honourable Baronet would, in order to give that beginning its full force, withdraw his amendment.

Sir *J. Sinclair* ſaid, that he had not propoſed the amendment without due conſideration; but he confeſſed that he was not inſenſible to the effect of the diſplay of eloquence which he had juſt heard. He ſincerely wiſhed for unanimity; and aſſured the Houſe that he was willing to ſacrifice not only his opinion, but any thing elſe that he poſſeſſed, to the welfare of the country; and would therefore cheerfully agree to withdraw his amendment, if the honourable Gentleman who ſeconded it was preſent to give his conſent.

The amendment was then withdrawn, and the Addreſs paſſed *nem con.*—Adjourned.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

MONDAY, *November* 13.

Lord *Hawkeſbury*, attended by ſeveral Members, preſented a Meſſage from the Houſe of Commons, ſtating, that the Commons had concurred, *nemine contradicente*, in the Addreſs to his Majeſty, propoſed by their Lordſhips.

Ordered, that the Lords with white ſtaves do wait upon his Majeſty to know when he will be pleaſed to receive the joint Addreſs of both Houſes of Parliament.

Several arrangements were made by the Houſe with reſpect to the private buſineſs, as hearing Appeals, &c.

Fozard's Divorce Bill was preſented and read a firſt time.

Adjourned till the next day.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

MONDAY, *Nov.* 13.

At four o'clock, there being only thirty-three Members preſent, the Speaker adjourned the Houſe.

HOUSE

HOUSE OF LORDS.

TUESDAY, *Nov.* 14.

The Marquis of *Salisbury* informed the Houſe, that his Majeſty had been waited upon to know when he would be pleaſed to receive the Addreſs of the two Houſes, when his Majeſty was pleaſed to appoint the next day at three o'clock.

Ordered that a Meſſage be ſent to the Commons to inform them of this appointment.—Adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

TUESDAY, *Nov.* 14.

Lord *Hawkeſbury* appeared at the bar, and informed the Houſe that he had waited on the Lords with the unanimous Addreſs of the Houſe to the King.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer gave notice, that he would the next day move for a Committee to conſider of the expediency of continuing the reſtriction upon the payment of caſh by the Bank.

Sir *Philip Stephens* gave in the eſtimates of the navy for 1798, which were ordered to lie on the table.

A meſſage was received from the Lords, that the King had appointed three o'clock the next day to be waited upon with the Addreſs.

The Committee of Supply was poſtponed till the next day.—Adjourned.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

WEDNESDAY, *Nov.* 15.

Their Lordſhips met at half paſt two o'clock, and went up with the Commons to preſent the joint unanimous Addreſs of both Houſes to his Majeſty.—Adjourned till Friday.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

WEDNESDAY, *Nov.* 15.

The *Speaker* took the chair at half paſt two o'clock.

The *Secretary at War* brought up the Army Eſtimates, and gave notice that he ſhould move for taking them into conſideration on Monday.

The order of the day for the Houſe to go into a Committee of Supply was deferred to Friday.

The other orders of the day were deferred till this afternoon.

Adjourned till half paſt three o'clock.

The Houſes then proceeded to preſent their joint Addreſs to his Majeſty.

A little after four, the Houſe of Commons being reſumed, the *Speaker* reported, that the Houſe had preſented the following Addreſs to his Majeſty, to which his Majeſty had been pleaſed to return a gracious anſwer.

"MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN,

"WE, your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in Parliament aſſembled, have taken into our moſt ſerious conſideration the papers which your Majeſty has been pleaſed to direct to be laid before us, on the ſubject of the Negotiation into which your Majeſty had entered with the view of reſtoring to your people a ſecure and honourable Peace. In every ſtage of that tranſaction we have recognized your Majeſty's invariable and unremitted ſolicitude for our proſperity and welfare; while we have ſeen on the other hand the moſt abundant proofs of the continuance of that ſpirit of inveterate animoſity and deſperate ambition on the part of our enemies, in which the preſent conteſt firſt originated. Your Majeſty's conduct, characterized by an unexampled moderation, openneſs, and conſiſtency, has left to the enemy no means of evaſion, no ſubterfuge of diſguiſe or artifice. It can no longer be denied that their conduct is actuated by a fixed determination of excluding all means of Peace, and of purſuing, at all hazards, their hoſtile deſigns againſt the happineſs and ſafety of theſe kingdoms. Even the vain pretence of pacific diſpoſitions is now abandoned, and the real purpoſe of all their councils, and all their meaſures, is at length openly and publicly avowed. It is to our Laws and Government that they have declared their irreconcileable hatred. No ſacrifice will content them but that of our Liberty, no conceſſion but that of our envied and happy Conſtitution.

Under ſuch circumſtances we feel the duty which we owe, in this great criſis, to God and to our country. Animated by the ſame ſentiments which your Majeſty has been pleaſed to declare to your people and to the world; attached to your Majeſty by principle, duty, and gratitude, and ſenſible that it is only from courage and firmneſs that we can look either for preſent ſafety or permanent Peace, we are determined to defend, with unſhaken reſolution your Majeſty's Throne, the lives and properties of our fellow ſubjects, the Government and Conſtitution of our country, and the honour and independence of the Britiſh empire. We know that great exertions are neceſſary; we are prepared to make them: and, placing our firm reliance on that Divine protection which has always hitherto been extended to us, we will ſupport your Majeſty to the utmoſt, and ſtand or fall with our Religion, Laws, and Liberties."

HIS MAJESTY'S MOST GRACIOUS ANSWER.

"MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

"NOTHING could be more ſatisfactory to me than this unanimous declaration of the ſentiments of my Two Houſes of Parliament. They are ſuch as the conduct and declared intention of the enemy, could not fail to produce. We are engaged in a cauſe which is common to us all; and contending for every intereſt which a free and independent nation can have to maintain. Under the bleſſing of Providence I look with confidence to the iſſue of this great conteſt; but in every event my reſolution is taken. It is ſuch as I owe to God, to my country, and to myſelf; and it is

confirmed

confirmed by the ſentiments which you have this day declared to me: I will not be wanting to my people, but will ſtand or fall with them, in the defence of our Religion, and the maintenance of the Independance, Laws, and Liberties of theſe kingdoms."

BANK.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer ſaid, that he roſe in purſuance of a notice which he gave the preceding day, to move for a Committee to enquire into the expediency of continuing the reſtriction upon the Bank. There were, he ſaid, many obvious reaſons to make a motion neceſſary. The avowed policy of our enemy, and other circumſtances, rendered this a very important matter. He did not mean to propoſe a continuance of the Act of Parliament upon this ſubject, without examining what has been the operation of the preſent reſtriction. He meant alſo to proceed conformably to precedent, as well as to propoſe that the Committee which were formerly balloted ſhould be voted to be the Committee upon this occaſion, with the exception only of ſuch as were not now members of the Houſe.

The *Speaker* referred to the precedent of the 3d of December, 1781, as one that was analogous to the preſent in point of form, which was read, as well as the Act of Parliament.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* then moved, That a Committee of Secrecy be appointed to enquire whether it may be expedient further to continue the reſtriction contained in the ſaid act, on payment in caſh by the Bank of England.—Agreed.

That the number of the Committee be 15—agreed.

The entry on the journals, that Thomas Powis, Eſq. was no longer a member of the Houſe, being read—

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* moved, that Lord Viſcount Belgrave be a member of the ſaid Committee, in the room of the ſaid Thomas Powis.

The *Speaker* ſaid it was neceſſary that a queſtion ſhould be put upon the name of each Gentleman who were to compoſe the Committee, which was done accordingly, and all the members of the former Committee were then appointed, except Mr. Powis, and Lord Viſcount Belgrave ſupplied his place.

The Committee was then directed to ſit forthwith in the Speaker's chamber. And they had power to meet from time to time, and to adjourn from place to place.

BUDGET.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* ſaid, that as various documents which he ſhould have occaſion to refer to, were not ready, it would not be poſſible for him to bring forward the ſubject of the public finance on Monday, the day for which he

had given notice. He therefore ſhould be under the neceſſity of deferring it till Friday ſe'nnight.

Mr. *Tierney* wiſhed to know the nature of the propoſition which the Miniſter intended to bring forward?

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* ſaid, that without going into a conſiderable length, he could not very preciſely anſwer that queſtion: he would anſwer, however, generally; that he did not mean to propoſe, on that day, reſolutions on all the ſubject of finance, or that were connected with all the Ways and Means which he ſhould ſubmit. He ſhould then ſtate the total probable amount of the Ways and Means preparatory to the plan for raiſing them in all. He ſhould ſtate on that day thoſe reſolutions which were in the uſual form. He ſhould ſtate alſo, in a general manner, another important part of what he had to ſubmit, that part which was moſt of a deviation from former practice.

Sir *John Sinclair* profeſſed great reſpect for the labours of the Committee of Finance, and impatience to ſee the reſult of their labours. They had made reports, for which the public were indebted to them, but from the ſhortneſs of time which they had had, there were many matters neceſſarily excluded from their examination. He wiſhed them to complete the work which they had begun. He therefore hoped that the right honourable the Chancellor of the Exchequer would not be adverſe to the propoſition for renewing their enquiries.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* ſaid, he never entertained any heſitation about the propriety of that Committee proceeding with the work they had commenced; he wiſhed for an early opportunity for their renewing their labour, and aſſured the honourable Baronet that meaſures had been already taken by the Executive Government for that purpoſe, in conſequence of the facts that had come before them, and which ſhould be all laid before the Committee.

SEAMEN.

The Houſe having reſolved itſelf into a Committee of Supply,

Lord *Arden* moved, That it is the opinion of the Committe that 110,000 men be employed for the ſea ſervice for the year 1798, including 20,000 Marines.

Mr. *Huſſey* ſaid that, before he gave his aſſent to that motion, he ſhould be glad to be informed of the number of ſeamen borne and muſtered. He felt that the naval ſervice of this country was of the greateſt importance; he could not give his aſſent to the reduction of our naval force. No man rejoiced more than he did at our late naval victory; but he was for following the blow up with all poſſible energy and vigour

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He ſhould not then take the ſenſe of the Committee; but, if, he ſhould be of the ſame mind the next day as he was at preſent, he ſhould oppoſe any reduction in this ſervice.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* ſaid, that there could be no difference of opinion upon the importance of the naval ſervice of this country; nor any upon the point that we ſhould have a very large naval force; but on the other hand, although we were to proceed in this with vigour and effect, yet it was not imprudent to have ſome view of practical œconomy. 110,000 men was the largeſt eſtabliſhment of naval force this country had at any period of its hiſtory, except the laſt year; but when he conſidered that all our enemies had been defeated by ſea, and were compelled to yield to his Majeſty's naval force, he could not help thinking that 110,000 men were fully adequate to the purpoſes which the preſent war can poſſibly require. Comparing that force with all the force of the enemy, he confeſſed he feared no reproach for voting too little, by aſſenting to the motion then before the Committee.

The motion was then put and carried.

2,645,500l. were then voted for theſe ſeamen for thirteen months, at the rate of 1l. 17s. per man per month.

2,711,000l. for victualling for the ſame time, at the rate of 1l. 18s. per man per month.

4,290,000l. for wear and tear, &c. at 3l. per man per month.

357,500l. for ordnance, &c. at 5s. per man per month.

1,200,000l. for expence of tranſports, priſoners, &c.

60,800l. for the ordinary, &c.

The Houſe being reſumed, the report was ordered to be received the next day.

Agreed to go into another Committee of Supply on Friday. Adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

THURSDAY, Nov. 16.

Mr. *Serjent* brought up the ordnance eſtimates for 1798.—They were ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. *Abbott* gave notice that he would the next day move that the reſolutions which paſſed laſt ſeſſion for promulgating of the ſtatutes be made ſtanding orders of the Houſe.

Leave was given to bring in a bill to continue the Scotch Note Acts.

NAVY.

Mr. *Hobart* brought up the report of the Committee of

of Supply, which was read a firſt time—On the Speaker's putting the queſtion, that it be read a ſecond time,

Mr. *Huſſey* roſe, and reminded the Houſe that he had the preceding day, in the Committee, ſtated it to be his opinion that it would be exceedingly unprovident, and miſtaken œconomy, to diminiſh the number of ſeamen from 120,000, the amount of laſt year, to 110,000, the number ſtated in the reſolution—he had well conſidered the ſubject, and could not bring himſelf to think that ſufficient reaſon had been ſtated by the Miniſter for this great deduction from our maritime force. He had not the ſmalleſt doubt but that, if the enemy were to land, the force of the country would be fully ſufficient to make them repent it; but he nevertheleſs thought that it would be much better to prevent their coming. It was a caſe in which not only probable, but poſſible diſaſters ſhould be provided againſt. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had talked in the Committee of *idle parade*; he could not, for his part, ſee how voting the ſame number of ſeamen we had laſt year, could be called idle parade. He thought it was for the intereſt of the country to look to her naval ſtrength, and was of opinion that money employed in ſeamen to any amount would be good œconomy. If any gentleman in that Houſe, qualified to give a deciſive opinion, would riſe in his place and ſay that the abatement of ten thouſand ſeamen would be attended with no poſſible riſk, he would drop the ſubject. Whatever the Chancellor of the Exchequer might ſay, he (Mr. Huſſey) was in his own mind convinced that the true reaſon of the diminution was the difficulty found in raiſing the money; but though the million it would coſt for the additional ten thouſand men was hard to be raiſed, that difficulty bore no proportion to the dangers we might incur by lowering our maritime ſtrength; for conſidering the nature and diſpoſition of the enemy, and his intentions with regard to England, of which no one could well doubt, he thought it was neceſſary not only to ſecure ourſelves from a deſcent, but to keep the enemy at a great diſtance. For theſe reaſons he thought it would be true œconomy to vote 120,000, and to that end he would give his negative to the reſolution for 110,000, and move for the number voted laſt year.

The *Speaker* begged leave to remind the honourable Gentleman, that as the reſolution for 110,000 had already paſſed the Committee, it would be neceſſary, for any additional expence, to have it re-committed; it was therefore better to let the reſolution be read a ſecond time.

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The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* ſaid, that he had very little to ſay in addition to the obſervations he had made the preceding night upon the honourable Gentleman's objection. On the general principle, that it was found policy to keep our maritime force in power to repel the enemy, and that no œconomy ſhould ſtand in the way of proper proviſions for national ſafety, he perfectly agreed with the honourable Gentleman. No expence was too great for this object, and as to individual œconomy, he conceived that no contribution could be too great for the ſafety of the remainder. With thoſe impreſſions on his mind it would hardly be ſuſpected, that if he were not convinced that the number propoſed would be fully adequate to the purpoſes of ſafety, the mere expence ſhould not have induced him to propoſe a reduction. It was neceſſary to ſtop ſomewhere; but if caſes merely poſſible were to be made the limits of their votes, where were they ſtop? If 120,000 men were voted, it might be ſaid 130,000 were neceſſary; and if 130,000, why not 140,000? Thus there would be no end to it. But the true queſtion was this—Did the nature of the ſtruggle in which we are likely to be engaged require more than the number propoſed? To any thing ſhort of the number that would put us on a footing of decided ſuperiority over the enemy he would never give his aſſent. Nor would he, on the other hand, agree to any expence beyond it. He had the preceding day ſtated that the reduction was made becauſe the maritime power of the enemy was reduced ſo extremely low as to render the ſame extent of force we had laſt year entirely ſuperfluous. The events to which he alluded were yet freſh in every one's memory, and afforded tolerable reaſon to ſuppoſe that the diminution intended was perfectly conſiſtent with our ſecurity. He hoped the honourable Gentleman had not forgotten that the late glorious victory obtained by Lord Duncan was not the only one which crippled the enemy in the laſt year. There were two more moſt brilliant and deciſive victories in that time; ſo that on a compariſon of our force now with that of the enemy, it would appear plainly that 110,000 men were enough. If, on the other hand, the hon. Gentleman would compare the number now propoſed with that of any former time, he would find it much greater in proportion to the neceſſity of the caſe, ſo many as 110,000 men never having been voted in any former war, except in the laſt year of the laſt war, at which time the enemy had no leſs than 140 ſail of the line. Gentlemen then ſhould compare that with the ſtate of things now, and candidly ſay whether Miniſters could fairly be taxed with neglect in the diminution they propoſe. He concluded with aſſuring the honourable Gentleman,

man, that though in this inſtance he thought his propoſition groundleſs and unneceſſary, he would always liſten with reſpect and attention to any thing he would think proper to ſtate, if warranted by the circumſtances of the country.

Mr. *Martin* wiſhed to know whether the decreaſe in the navy was to be followed by a decreaſe in the army? He perfectly coincided with Mr. Huſſey in his ſentiments reſpecting the ſuperior importance of the navy, as well on the grounds ſtated by that Gentleman, as on the principles of humanity, for it was worthy of remark that though the battle of October laſt, when Lord Duncan obtained the brilliant victory over the Dutch was reckoned uncommonly bloody for a ſea fight, the number of men killed was not ſo great as thoſe killed in ſome ſingle ſkirmiſhes in Germany.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* ſaid, that the honourable Gentleman's queſtion would be fully anſwered when the army eſtimates would come to be laid before the Houſe. In the mean time he would ſay, that the decreaſe of the navy could not by any means be ſuppoſed to juſtify a decreaſe in the army. It was true, as an hon. Gentleman (Mr. Huſſey) had ſaid, that the enemy ought to be kept from coming here; but it was equally true that we ſhould keep ourſelves in a ſtate to give good account of him if he ſhould happen to come.

Mr. *Huſſey* being about to riſe,

The *Speaker* remarked, that if the honourable Gentleman ſhould be of opinion to perſevere in his amendment, it would be neceſſary for him to move a recommitment.

The reſolution was then read a ſecond time.

Mr. *Huſſey* again roſe, and ſaid he could not let the ſubject paſs without trying the fate of a queſtion on it. It was true the fleets of the enemy had been much crippled or nearly deſtroyed, but was the Houſe to conclude that they would not uſe exertions? No attempt to refit and bring forward their marine? Could not the ſhips they had be repaired? Were they to be expected to be idle? Were no offenſive operations to be attempted to bring them to better terms? And had we not an Ally who ſtood in need of our aſſiſtance? He ſtill, therefore, remained of his firſt opinion, and though he would not divide the Houſe, ſince he ſaw the ſenſe of it againſt him, he would at leaſt move for a recommitment. He did ſo; and the queſtion being put, it was negatived. Adjourned.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

FRIDAY, NOV. 17.

The Houſe met at three o'clock, and, after prayers (by the Biſhop of Briſtol), were read,

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The *Lord Chancellor* ſtated, that his Majeſty was pleaſed to make a moſt gracious anſwer to the late addreſs of both Houſes of Parliament. His Lordſhip then read his Majeſty's anſwer from the Woolſack.

A variety of arrangements were made reſpecting the hearing of appeals, and ſeveral private petitions were received. The Scots Appeal, which ſtood for hearing on Monday, was poſtponed till Wedneſday next, to which day the Houſe alſo Adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

FIRDAY, Nov. 17.

A new writ was ordered for Tewkeſbury, in the room of Colonel Dowdeſwell, appointed governor of the Bahamah Iſlands.

Several eſtimates were preſented, and ordered to lie on the Table.

The Cambrics and Lawn Importation Bill was read a firſt time.

Sir *John Borlace Warren* took the oaths and his ſeat.

The Scotch Notes, and Chedzoy Incloſure Bills were read a firſt time.

The Sheriffs of the city of London brought up a Petition from the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Common Council, ſtating, that they were empowered by an act of Parliament, which was paſſed for the purpoſe of improving the entrance into the city of London at Temple Bar, to pull down the church of St. Clement Danes, but the Committee appointed to carry that act into execution, having had various eſtimates and plans laid before them, were of opinion that the object of the act might be attained without pulling down that church, which would be attended with great inconvenience and expence, by taking down ſome of the houſes on the South ſide of the Strand, oppoſite to that church. The petitioners therefore prayed for an alteration of ſo much of the act as related to this ſubject.

The Sheriffs of the city of London preſented another petition of the ſame nature, ſtating, that it would be conducive to the object of the bill, to make an opening from Butcher Row, to widen the entrance of Chancery-Lane, into Fleet-Street, and of Cary-Street into Chancery-Lane; and therefore praying that an alteration, &c. as before.

The two petitions were referred to a Committee, conſiſting of the members for the city of London, the city of Weſtminſter, the county of Middleſex, the Borough of Southwark, &c.

PROMULGATION OF THE STATUTES.

Mr. *Abbot*, in purſuance of the notice he gave yeſterday, called the attention of the Houſe to the reſolutions paſſed laſt ſeſſions, relative to the promulgation of the ſtatutes. He ſaid, if it was the opinion of the Houſe that theſe reſolutions ought to be continued, he ſhould move that they ſhould be made ſtanding orders of the Houſe, with a ſlight alteration.

Mr. Abbot's motion was agreed to without oppoſition.

SECRET COMMITTEE

Mr. *Bragge* brought up the report* of the Secret Committee, appointed to conſider of the propriety of continuing the reſtrictions upon iſſuing of caſh from the Bank. The report ſtated, that the outſtanding debts and demands upon the Bank of England, amounted to 17,578,961l. that the aſſets in the poſſeſſion of the bank, to enable them to pay the ſame, amounted (excluſive of the 11,000,000l. due from government) to 21,418,461l. leaving a balance in favour of the bank of 3,839,500l. That the advances made by the bank to government, had been reduced ſo low as to amount to little more than 4,500,000l. that the Courſe of Exchange between this country and Hamburgh was highly favourable to this country, and that there was every reaſon to ſuppoſe it would continue, unleſs altered by ſome political and unforeſeen events; that the quantity of caſh and bullion now in the poſſeſſion of the bank, amounted to five times as much as it did in the month of February laſt; that the bankers and others, who, by a clauſe in the act of parliament, impoſing the reſtriction to claim three-fourths of the caſh depoſited by them, in payment, had only called for one-ſixteenth; that notwithſtanding this favourable ſtate of the affairs of the bank, the Committee were of opinion, that, as the principal object of the enemy was to diſtreſs the finances of this country, the reſtriction ought to be continued, which, they were of opinion, might be done without prejudice to the credit of the bank, and with advantage to the nation. The report alſo contained a reſolution of the Directors of the Bank of England, of the 26th ultimo, ſtating, that their affairs were then in ſuch a ſtate as to enable them to make their payments in caſh, as uſual, if the political concerns of the country did not require the contrary.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* ſaid, he roſe to move, that this report ſhould be printed, in order to convey more extenſively the ſatisfaction

* See the Report in the Appendix.

ſatisfaction which every man muſt feel at peruſing ſuch a report. But he hoped he ſhould be forgiven, if he did not wait till the papers were printed, to move to bring in a bill to continue the reſtriction. He was confident, that the conſideration, ſo diſtinctly and ſo forcibly expreſſed in the report, would leave no doubt in the mind of any Gentleman of continuing the reſtriction under the preſent circumſtances. He was anxious to take the firſt opportunity of ſtating it diſtinctly to be his opinion, that, as long as the conteſt in which we were engaged, continued in its preſent ſhape, ſo long ought this reſtriction to continue, always reſerving to Parliament the power of putting an end to it. In continuing this reſtriction, the Houſe muſt feel great ſatisfaction in thinking, that it was not from any conſideration of the neceſſity of the meaſure ariſing from the ſtate of the affairs of the bank that it was adopted.

Every body muſt lament that any cauſe ſhould exiſt which rendered it prudent to prolong the reſtriction, and the Houſe muſt wiſh to put an end to it as ſoon as poſſible; but, at the ſame time, it muſt be a ſource of great ſatisfaction to Gentlemen to perceive, in contradiction to the predictions of thoſe who oppoſed this meaſure, and who thought that the bank would be ruined, and that it could not ſurvive the meaſures even for a few months, that the affairs of the bank had been conſtantly and greatly improving ſince that period. None of thoſe inconveniences, which it had been predicted would happen to the various mercantile concerns of this country, had taken place. Under theſe circumſtances he felt no heſitation in moving for leave to bring in a Bill to continue the Act impoſing the reſtriction, and to alter ſome of its proviſions. He had included in his motion a power to amend ſome of the proviſions of the Act, but the Houſe muſt have perceived from the report how much the advances made to Government had been reduced, and muſt readily feel, that the advances uſually made to Government, and which were gradually paid off by the land and malt revenue, ought not to be prohibited. But this would be ſubject for conſideration in future ſtages of the Bill; he ſhould therefore not enter into it at preſent, but move for leave to bring in the Bill.

The motion was agreed to *nem. con.* and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Ryder, Mr. Smith, and Mr. Bragge were ordered to prepare and bring in the ſame.

SMALL NOTE BILL.

Mr. *Wilberforce Bird* moved for leave to bring in a Bill to continue the Act paſſed laſt ſeſſion for ſuſpending the operation of ſo much of the 15th and 17th of Geo. II. as relates to

ſmall notes. The ſame grounds of hope had formerly been given that a coinage of ſilver and copper would take place. Gentlemen in that Houſe were not aware of the inconveniency attending the great ſcarcity of ſilver; but it was felt very ſeverely by the poor. It was known that there was much bullion, and an immenſe number of dollars in the bank; they ought to be coined and brought into circulation. He knew that there was danger of the ſilver coin being melted down; but a plan had been ſuggeſted by which ſilver might be coined without any ſuch danger. He wiſhed for ſome information upon this ſubject, becauſe, if the coinage of ſilver took place, it would not be neceſſary to introduce into the Bill the clauſe reſpecting notes under 20s.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* ſaid, that with regard to the copper coinage, great progreſs had been made in it, and a conſiderable quantity was actually iſſued of a very ſuperior kind. With reſpect to the coinage of ſilver, he had had many communications with the Governors of the bank upon the ſubject, and hoped the object would ſoon be attained; but ſtill he did not think it would do away the propriety of introducing the clauſe reſpecting notes for leſs than 20s. He thought it right to ſtate, that another ſtep had been taken by Government upon this buſineſs, viz. that of ordering a new ſpecies of gold coin, of the value of 7s. and which, he believed, were nearly ready to be delivered.

Leave was given to bring in the Bill.

Mr. *Long* brought up the Eſtimates of the Allowances to the American Loyaliſts and the Emigrant Clergy of France for the year 1798.—Ordered to lie on the table.

The Houſe then reſolved itſelf into a Committee of Supply, Mr. *Hobart* in the chair.

The Eſtimates of the Ordinary and Extraordinary of the Navy were referred to the Committee.

Sir *P. Stephens* moved, that a ſum not exceeding 689,853l. 19s. 7d. be granted to his Majeſty for the Ordinaries of the Navy; and alſo that a ſum of 639,530l. be granted for the Extraordinaries. Theſe reſolutions were agreed to, and the report ordered to be received on Monday.

The Committee of Supply was put off till Monday.

The Houſe then reſolved itſelf into a Committee of Ways and Means, Mr. Hobart in the chair.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* moved, that a ſum not exceeding four ſhillings in the pound be raiſed by a Land Tax.—Agreed to.

Mr. Pitt alſo moved the uſual duty on Malt, Mum, &c. which was alſo agreed to, and the report ordered to be received on Monday.

GAME

GAME CERTIFICATES.

Mr. *Dent* moved, that there be laid before the Houſe an account of the produce of the Tax on Certificates for Killing Game; and alſo of the Tax upon Dogs.

CALL OF THE HOUSE.

Mr. *Dent* ſaid, he was ſorry he could not, conſiſtently with the orders of the Houſe, move that the Houſe ſhould be called over on Friday next, when the Chancellor of the Exchequer was to bring forward his Budget. He reprobated very ſtrongly the abſence of ſeveral Gentlemen from their duty in Parliament, and ſaid, that if the Budget was put off, he would inſtantly move for a call of the Houſe.

The *Speaker* informed the honourable Gentleman, that though it was always uſual to give fourteen days notice of a call of the Houſe, yet there was no ſtanding order to that effect.

Mr. *Dent* then moved, that the Houſe be called over on that day ſe'nnight. The motion was not ſeconded, and the Houſe adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

MONDAY, *Nov.* 20.

Major *Elford* gave notice, that the next day he ſhould move that the conſideration of the petition relative to the election for the borough of Newton, in Lancaſhire, ſhould be put off for ten days.

Mr. *Roſe* moved, that there be laid before the Houſe an account of the net produce of the permanent taxes laid on previous to the 5th of January 1791, ſpecifying the amount of the produce of each ſucceeding year up to the 30th of October, 1797. Alſo an account of the duties on home made ſpirits, &c.—Ordered.

The Bill to prevent the importation of French Cambrics was read a firſt time.

The Scotch Small Note Bill was read a ſecond time, and ordered to be committed the next day.

Mr. *Long* moved for an account of the expence of convicts at home and at Botany Bay.—Ordered.

He moved likewiſe an Addreſs to his Majeſty, praying that he would order to be laid before the Houſe an account of all the ſums laid out in conſequence of Addreſſes of the Houſe, and not made good by Parliament.—Agreed to.

The Reports of the Committees of Supply and Ways and Means

Means were read and agreed to, and Bills ordered to be brought in upon the reſolutions.

An account of the expence of American Loyaliſts was ordered to be laid before the Houſe.

Leave was given to bring in the Marine Mutiny Bill.

A variety of papers relative to the public expence were referred to the Committee of Supply.

ARMY ESTIMATES.

The Houſe went into a Committee of Supply, Mr. Hobart in the chair.

The *Secretary at War* roſe to move the uſual reſolutions on the Army Eſtimates. He ſaid, that before he entered into any detail of the objects of the reſolutions which he was about to propoſe, he ſhould take notice of one circumſtance in the Army Eſtimates of the preſent year, which, if not explained, might occaſion ſome embarraſſment. It would be ſeen that a change had taken place in the Eſtimates this year upon ſeveral articles; a change which was not proportional to the articles themſelves. This circumſtance was to be accounted for three ways; all theſe, however, originated in the increaſe of pay to ſubaltern officers, or non-commiſſioned officers and privates voted laſt year. This change had occaſioned an obvious increaſe of expence. Beſides this increaſe, a different allotment had taken place of the articles to which it applied. This circumſtance cauſed an obvious increaſe on the face of the eſtimate, becauſe ſeveral charges which it had been cuſtomary to claſs with the Army Extraordinaries were now provided for on Eſtimate. This occaſioned an apparent riſe in the eſtimate without any expence to the public, as there would be a proportional ſaving in the department to which the charges thus transferred formerly belonged. Notwithſtanding this increaſe on the face of the eſtimate, he has happy to ſtate to the Houſe that, compared with the eſtimates of laſt year, there was in the ſum total of both a ſaving this year to the amount of about 652,000l. But if the Houſe was deſirous to aſcertain the real difference of the expence of laſt year and of the preſent, it would be neceſſary to take out of the eſtimate that ſum which laſt year was claſſed among the Army Extraordinaries. The amount of this ſum was 300,000l. ſo that the difference on the face of the eſtimate, with this 300,000l. amounted to 900,000l. This, however, was not all. Another change had taken place, ariſing out of the increaſe of pay laſt year. Troops on foreign ſtations were furniſhed by Government with proviſions, and on this account 2d per day for each man was ſtopped, in conſequence of the new regulation of pay 6d. per man

man out of the pay of ſuch troops would revert to Government. The amount of the expence thus to be deducted could not be ſtated with perfect accuracy, but as far as it could be calculated, it was with a good deal of confidence ſuppoſed, that it might amount to 100,000l. making in all, with the former two articles of 652,000l. and 300,000l. a ſaving of about one million. Here, perhaps too, it might be neceſſary to mention another reduction which might be expected: in the eſtimate of the amount of guards and garriſons, it was well known that the ſtatement given was above what they were at the commencement of the year, though they might amount to the total ſtated by degrees in the progreſs of the recruiting ſervice. From this it was evident, that the whole of the ſum calculated on the full eſtabliſhment would not be wanted. For this article then it was thought that the ſum of 100,000l. might be cut off, and added to the amount of the ſaving already ſtated. It might be ſatisfactory to the Houſe likewiſe to ſtate, that there would be a ſaving in the foreign corps, although their not being upon eſtimate they properly do do not belong to this department. As the accounts upon the table ſhew the particular articles of expence in a manner much more clear than any verbal ſtatement, it might be unneceſſary to enter into the details; he ſhould therefore only ſtate the moſt prominent points for the ſatisfaction of ſuch Gentlemen as might not find it convenient to examine the whole of the accounts.

The whole of the regular force then would amount to 78,627 men. Theſe conſiſted of guards and garriſons; that is, the regular forces in Great-Britain and the iſlands of Guernſey and Jerſey, which amounted to 48,602 men, and of the troops in the plantations, including all our other regular force except that in Ireland and the Eaſt-Indies, making 30,018 men. The militia and fencibles had been a little reduced, and amounted to about 55291 men. The fencible cavalry would bear ſome reduction, as ſeveral of them had been ſent to Ireland: theſe, however, amounted to about 6,911 men, making in all, of regular and irregular force, 140,829 men.

On the other points he ſhould only remark that it was expected that a conſiderable ſaving would take place on the head of recruiting contingencies. There was a little reduction on the head of general and ſtaff-officers. Even with the allowance of the extra feed there would be ſome reduction on the head of fencible cavalry, not as an abſolute gain to the public on this branch, becauſe part of it would be claſſed under a different department. With regard to ſupernumerary officers, there would likewiſe be a ſaving there, becauſe it

was

was intended that many of thoſe now on whole pay ſhould be put upon half-pay. The next point was of leſs importance, but he ſhould take notice of it as a peculiarity in the eſtimate. It would be ſeen there was no charge upon the War-office. In conſequence of the ſuggeſtion of the Committee of Finance, it was propoſed to change the fees which had hitherto been received into fixed ſalaries. For his own part, however, he doubted whether this would be a real advantage to the public. He had always been of opinion, that buſineſs conſiſting of a great many ſmall particulars, would be much better done by connecting it in ſome meaſure with an increaſe of pay to the performer, that the remuneration ſhould conſiſt partly in fixed ſalary, partly in fees, taking care, however, that the ſum of the fees ſhould not amount to a larger ſum than was neceſſary to furniſh a ſufficient motive to regular diligence and attention. That they ſhould be, as was the caſe in the War-office, of ſuch a nature as to prevent the danger of exaction. And providing, as was not the caſe in the War-office, that they ſhould not riſe beyond what was fit. What evils might ariſe from the change he ſhould not argue; he was ſure that in the War-office the buſineſs would continue to be conducted with the uſual punctuality. He was not ſure, however, that this would always be the caſe. Perhaps in twenty years the buſineſs might not be managed with the ſame attention, when the motive no longer exiſted. Though theſe evils might reſult from a new arrangement, yet the ſums ariſing from this quarter at preſent, would be more than was neceſſary for the higheſt rate of fixed ſalary. Whether the public would ultimately gain or loſe remained to be ſeen. It had been falſely repreſented, as if the amount of the fees at preſent was a permanent and a regular ſum. Nothing could be more erroneous. It depended upon peace or war, and varied even during years of war. Whether the public was to gain or loſe, therefore, would depend upon the proportion of the periods of peace and war. At preſent the variation in the amount was at leaſt in the proportion of fifteen to one. Another article, the allowance to innkeepers this year would afford a reduction, as the ſum allotted laſt year for this object, was rather more than was required. On the whole of the preſent eſtimate, the Houſe would ſee with pleaſure that there would be a ſaving of at leaſt one million. He concluded with moving the firſt reſolution, relative to the amount of the troops under the denomination of guards and garriſons.

The

The queſtion being put,

General *Fitzpatrick* ſaid, that he did not mean to take up his own time, or what was more important, the time of others, in remarks upon the eſtimates. At preſent, he roſe to ſuggeſt a material alteration in the mode of recruiting the army. An addition of pay had been voted to the army, and of that meaſure he certainly approved, yet he would venture to ſay, that if the regulation which he was about to ſuggeſt were adopted, it would be of infinitely more advantage to the ſervice, and contribute more to the comfort of the ſoldier, than even that augmentation; while without any addition to the public expence, it would form a moſt important addition to the national ſtrength and ſecurity. It has often been obſerved, that in this country, where we boaſted of ſo high a degree of liberty, the condition of the ſoldier was worſe than in any other place in Europe. Here the ſoldier was bound to ſerve for life. In other parts of Europe, the period of ſervice was limited. When the circumſtances in which a man enters the ſervice, the time, the mode, and ſometimes the culpable method employed to entrap men into the ſervice, which in ſome meaſure continued, notwithſtanding the laudable exertions uſed by the preſent illuſtrious Commander in Chief to diſcourage the practice, were conſidered, many reaſons would occur why the period of ſervice ſhould be fixed, and humanity would alone prompt us to embrace ſuch a meaſure. This idea was not new. He had voted for ſuch a meaſure 20 years ago, when brought forward by Col. Barre, and then the period of ſervice was fixed at ſix years. If that bill had then paſſed, he would appeal to the Houſe whether the nation would not now have felt a very great additional ſecurity in knowing that there were ſpread over the country ſo many men accuſtomed to the uſe of arms. If humanity would prompt us to ſuch a meaſure when we viewed the ſtate of the ſoldier, it was a queſtion of policy when it was conſidered whether ſuch a regulation would be beneficial or injurious to the ſervice. In his opinion it would tend to improve the army. When it was propoſed at the period alluded to, objections were urged againſt it, neither very numerous, nor, as he thought, very important. Theſe objections came indeed from profeſſional men, and this circumſtance probably had conſiderable weight with the Houſe. He begged leave to ſay, however, that in their opinion there might be ſome degree of prejudice. It was natural that colonels of regiments, who felt ſome pride in the appearance of their troops, might be unwilling to part with men to whom the

credit they received was in ſome meaſure owing. It might be conſidered too as calculated to give additional trouble to the adjutants in training the new recruits. Theſe conſiderations, however, were greatly over-balanced by the advantages with which the meaſure would be attended. He had already mentioned the advantage of having ſpread over the country a number of men accuſtomed to the uſe of arms; but even the army itſelf would be improved. The ſoldiers who were the moſt orderly, moſt attentive to their duty, moſt attached to the ſervice, thoſe who looked forward to promotion as non-commiſſioned officers, would remain, and thoſe only who were not attached to the ſervice, would withdraw. It would tend likewiſe to render deſertion leſs frequent, the puniſhment of which, though neceſſary for the preſervation of the army, could not but be lamented by humanity. It would likewiſe diminiſh the frequency of ſevere puniſhments, which in the preſent conſtitution of the army, were neceſſary for its ſupport and diſcipline. All theſe conſiderations he merely ſuggeſted in order to induce his Majeſty's Miniſters to turn their attention to the ſubject. He had no intention himſelf of bringing forward any propoſition of the nature he had ſtated. The ſtate of Parliament at preſent was not ſuch as could encourage him to take up the deſign. He ſhould like better, beſides, that his Majeſty's Miniſters ſhould take up the ſubject, becauſe if the regulation were adopted, they could beſt provide for its being carried into effect. He was not ſure even whether a legiſlative meaſure was neceſſary. As the conſtitution had placed the army under the management of the Crown, ſuch a mode of enliſting men for a certain period, would obtain the object in view. Laſt war men had been raiſed upon the condition of ſerving three years, or three years and during the war. This mode was in danger of being attended with ſome inconvenience, as the whole army might thus come to be diſbanded at once. Notwithſtanding this embarraſſment, Government at the end of laſt war, ſtrictly kept its faith to the men enliſted upon theſe terms. For his own part, however, he ſhould prefer ſome legiſlative proviſion. In this he was confirmed by obſerving, that in ſome caſes, to which he had called the attention of the Houſe, Government did not ſeem to have kept its faith with the men ſo ſtrictly as was proper. It was not his intention to bring forward ſuch a meaſure when the Houſe was thinner than uſual, from cauſes which it was not neceſſary to diſcuſs at the preſent moment; knowing as he did the ſtate of Parliament, he was aware that it would be idle and nugatory to

attempt

attempt any ſuch thing without the concurrence of his Majeſty's Miniſters. It was obſerved by Mr. Burke upon a certain occaſion, when he thought that Parliament had ſurrendered up its functions to his Majeſty's Miniſters, that in ſuch a ſituation of affairs, Parliament was a place where unimportant individuals had a right to confer with the Miniſters of a great Monarch. Of this right he now availed himſelf to ſuggeſt to Miniſters what they might do with advantage to the country.

The *Secretary at War* thought that the meaſure ſuggeſted by the right honourable Gentleman (General Fitzpatrick) was a meaſure fraught with conſiderable difficulties; it was difficult at all times to effect any change in the preſent conſtitution of the army; but it would be a taſk arduous indeed to attempt it in time of war. Previous to his having come into the office over which he had the honour to preſide, the meaſure ſuggeſted now by the right honourable Gentleman, or ſomething ſimilar to it, had often been in contemplation; but it was always found attended with difficulties and obſtacles which it was not an eaſy matter to ſurmount. However motives of humanity and conſiderations of policy might induce him to incline to ſuch a meaſure, he was not prepared or diſpoſed to announce what was his own opinion on the ſubject, much leſs could he ſtate what was that of others, who poſſeſſed much greater experience on that ſubject than he could pretend to. For the preſent he would not take on him to ſay any thing, one way or the other; he felt it, however, incumbent on him not to let the ſuggeſtion of the right honourable Gentleman paſs by unnoticed. After having ſaid ſo much, he would now beg leave to proceed on the buſineſs he had opened.

Mr. *Windham* then moved the uſual reſolutions, beginning with the motion, "That it is the opinion of this Houſe that there be raiſed for the ſervice of the enſuing year, 78,627 effective men.

This and the other reſolutions were ſeverally put and carried without any oppoſition.

Mr. *Sargent* next roſe to move the Ordnance eſtimates, and after a ſhort preface to his motion, moved, "That it is the opinion of this Houſe, that a ſum not exceeding 1,738,850l. 13s. 9d. be granted to his Majeſty for diſcharging the expences of the office of Ordnance for his Majeſty's land forces for the year 1798."

This and the other uſual reſolutions were then ſeverally put and agreed to, and were as follows:

Leave was given, on the motion of Mr. Hobart, to bring in a bill to indemnify ſuch perſons as have omitted to qualify themſelves as by law required, &c.

Mr. *Roſe* moved, that the laſt Scotch Diſtillery Act be read; which being done, he obſerved, that it would expire on the ſecond of the enſuing month, and therefore it was neceſſary to conſider the ſubject without delay. When the act paſſed the laſt ſeſſion, it was agreed that the matter required a more comprehenſive attention than could then be given to it, and it was then expected that, in the courſe of the receſs, ſome information was to be had from Scotland upon the ſubject; no information, however, had arrived until recently, and he feared there had not yet been time ſufficient to inveſtigate the whole of this very important but complicated ſubject. It ſhould, however, now be taken up, and therefore he moved, "That the Houſe do the next day reſolve itſelf into a Committee of the whole Houſe to conſider of the ſaid act."—Ordered.

Mr. *Roſe* then moved for leave to bring in the Mutiny Bill.—Granted.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* moved the order of the day for the ſecond reading of the bill for continuing the reſtriction on the bank.

The bill was read a ſecond time.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* ſaid, that the preſent bill was conformable to the laſt, except in the caſe of advancing to government. It did not continue the reſtriction as to the mode of making advances in favour of government. He had ſtated when he moved for leave to bring in the bill, that the mode of making ſuch advances were to be varied. As to the Land and Malt duties, the advances were to be made upon them as uſual; but there was to be propoſed a clauſe to be inſerted in the bill, empowering the bank to make advances, ſuch as by a ſeparate act of parliament might hereafter be declared to be neceſſary. This was the only variation from the former bill.

Major Elford obſerved, that as the ballot for a Committee to try the merits of the election for Newton, in Lancaſhire, ſtood for the 30th inſtant, he was ſorry to ſay, he ſaw but little hope of there being a full Houſe on that day, for which the gentlemen who formerly ſat on the other ſide of the Houſe, were in ſome degree to blame. He doubted alſo, whether the parties would be ready, and therefore he moved, that the ballot be poſtponed until the 12th of December.

Mr. *Tierney* objected to the principle of this motion, and conſidered it as againſt the ſpirit of Mr. Grenville's bill. It might

might alſo be very oppreſſive to the petitioner on account of the expences of witneſſes. He wiſhed the honourable Gentleman, inſtead of looking at the oppoſition ſide of the Houſe, would look at his own, and he would find that only a few members attended to vote away thirteen or fourteen millions of the public money.

Major Elford ſaid a few words in explanation.

Colonel Stanley and Mr. *Pierrepont* oppoſed the motion

The queſtion was put, and the motion was negatived.—Adjourned.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

WEDNESDAY, *Nov.* 22.

Several accounts relative to the Eaſt India Company's trade, and the Southern Whale Fiſhery, were preſented from the Commiſſioners of the Cuſtoms, and ordered to lie on the table.

SCOTS APPEAL.

The firſt proceeding of this nature, during the preſent ſeſſion, took place this day. The parties were —— Smart *v.* the Magiſtrates and Town Council of Dundee.

Mr. *Adam* was heard, at ſome length, on the part of the Appellant.

The *Attorney General* and Mr. *Tait* appeared for the reſpondents neither of whom were heard.

The *Lord Chancellor* appearing to entertain no doubts on the merits of the caſe, moved their Lordſhips to affirm the decree of the Scots Court; which was ordered accordingly.

STATE OF IRELAND.

Lord Rawdon (Earl Moira) roſe,—He ſaid that, notwithſtanding the deciſion of their Lordſhips laſt ſeſſion, on his motion reſpecting the affairs of Ireland, he felt the ſubject ſo ſtrongly impreſſed on his mind, that he found it impoſſible not to attempt calling the attention of the Houſe again to the circumſtances of that country. The ſituation of the affairs of the empire in general, he obſerved, were materially altered ſince the laſt ſeſſion of parliament; a number of intereſting political events had taken place: the moſt prominent among theſe, certainly, was the rupture of the late negociation for peace. This, as was declared by the higheſt authority to that Houſe, and to the country, was broken off on no trivial or common grounds; it was in conſequence of no leſs a cauſe than a ſettled determination, on the part of the enemy, to ſubvert the Conſtitution and Government

Government of this country. If this ſtatement be juſt, he would entreat their Lordſhips to look at the fatal proſpect which ſuch a ſituation of affairs preſented. He ſhould argue upon the ſuppoſition that this repreſentation was juſt, though his own opinion was very different. If then the conteſt had become a ſtruggle for exiſtence upon the part of both governments, what was the conſequence to which it would lead? This was an iſſue which no man could be ſo ſanguine as to conſider as very near at hand. The period of its being finally decided went neceſſarily beyond the bounds of ordinary calculation. What was to be the ſituation of the country under this protracted expenditure, when its finances were already depreſſed and embarraſſed? If this event of the negociation was foreſeen, as has been confidently aſſerted, ought not proviſion to have been made to ſupport the burdens which it renders neceſſary? If the conteſt was to be carried on till the government which was ſaid to profeſs ſuch determined hoſtility to this country was overthrown, ought not ſome means have been employed to enable us to carry the war into the enemy's country, and to put an end to the cauſe from which the neceſſity of the conteſt proceeded? If we were merely to ſtand on the defenſive, and if the war was to be protracted a year longer upon this footing, the reſources of this country could not ſuſtain the embarraſſments which would ariſe, in addition to the difficulties under which the finances already laboured. In order to judge of the ſituation in which the country ſtood, it was neceſſary to take a view of the recent events of the war. No man rejoiced more than he did in the victory obtained over the Dutch fleet; no man was more ready to give credit to the vigilance of thoſe who put in motion the national force, and to thoſe who had directed its gallantry with ſo much ſucceſs. Yet what was the effect even of this brilliant exploit upon the ſituation of the country? It was acknowledged that ſome deſign had been in agitation, that ſome danger had threatened. This danger then had been parried. Some miſchief did impend which had for the moment been turned aſide. But was the experiment to be repeated; are we to wait with our arms acroſs till ſome new attempt again threatens us with new danger? are we to reſt upon ours arms, to be contented merely to parry the blow which was aimed at our exiſtence? In ſuch a ſyſtem he ſaw nothing but ruin to our reſources, nothing but complete deſtruction to the oppreſſed and tottering fabric of our finances. True it was that our proſperity and our reſources were extolled as adequate to any exertions we might be called upon to make. He was at a loſs to diſcover upon what

what foundation this ſanguine repreſentation was built. He did not intend to deny that we had great means of defence, but he muſt complain of the improper application of thoſe means, and the miſchievous conſequence that reſulted. He had heard of rumours of new ſchemes of finance and extraordinary means of ſupporting the efforts which it would be neceſſary to exert. In his mind, however, this did not furniſh a very encouraging argument in favour of our financial ſituation. If, however, the magnitude of the conteſt was ſuch as it had been deſcribed, if the enemy was really bent on the deſtruction of our Conſtitution, the true mode of repelling the danger was to intereſt the hearts of the people in defence of the advantage they enjoyed. For this purpoſe it was neceſſary to convince them that they had ſomething worth contending for, it was neceſſary to make them feel the nature of the practical bleſſings which they might loſe. To meet the danger fairly, it muſt be met by the vigorous reſiſtance of all claſſes of the community, and by the united exertions of every part of the empire. If the enemy did meditate deſigns of ſuch rancorous hoſtility to this country, it would be a fatal circumſtance, indeed, if there were any parts of the empire, where the people had no motive to reſiſtance, where they had no bleſſings to forfeit. It would be, indeed, a ſituation of diſmay if the ſituation of any of the ſubjects of his Majeſty was ſuch as to leave them little to apprehend from the ravages of the enemy. In order to meet the danger too, it was neceſſary that every part of the country ſhould be able to contribute to its defence. He was afraid, however, that this was not the caſe. He had ſeen a paper ſtating the ſupplies of the preſent year; he knew not whether that ſtatement was correct, but he was inclined to believe it was, and he ſaw enumerated among the articles, a ſum for the ſervice of Ireland, and that this, among other things, was ſtated as a reaſon for continuing the reſtriction on the Bank. If Ireland, inſtead of being aſſiſted by England, was now, to ſay nothing more, but a dead weight upon this country in its preſent embarraſſed ſtate, it was indeed a conſideration of ſerious importance. When the reſources of this country to carry on the war were ſo much extolled, it was indeed a painful reflection to know that the ſiſter kingdom was no longer in a ſituation to contribute to the general cauſe. If Ireland was reduced to ſuch a ſtate of wretchedneſs that men actually died for want, without any failure of the natural ſupplies of ſubſiſtence, if manufactures in parts of the country where formerly they where moſt flouriſhing, were reduced to little or nothing, if the induſtry of the people was ſuſpended, to what

cauſe was this unhappy ſtate to be aſcribed? When the encreaſing commerce of this country was made a ſubject of exultation, he was ſure that no man would rejoice to think that it was increaſed at the expence of the ſiſter kingdom. If the manufacturers and merchants of England found their trade extended, he was ſure that they were too generous, too liberal, and too high of ſpirit to rejoice in advantages gained at the expence of the ſiſter country; that they were too juſt to wiſh to engroſs profits in which their fellow-ſubjects in Ireland did not participate. He gave the noble Lord at the head of the Admiralty full credit for the protection which the commerce of this country experienced; in this protection the trade of Ireland ſhared. If notwithſtanding this, however, the commerce of the ſiſter kingdom was ſo contracted that in many places the public revenues would almoſt totally diſappear, ſurely there was ſomething extraordinary in the ſituation of that country. This fact was not a vague or an unfounded ſtatement. In the addreſſes that had been ſent about to ſolicit ſubſcriptions for the relief of the diſtreſſed manufacturers in Ireland, it was ſtated that the greater part of them were out of employment and ſtarving. Nay, he had only occaſion to refer their Lordſhips to the application made by the Lord Mayor of Dublin for relief, by which document it appeared that upwards of 37,000 manufacturers were reduced to the extremity of diſtreſs in that city; ſo much ſo, that it became neceſſary that ſuch a number ſhould be relieved daily, or periſh. To prove the fact by another inſtance, in the towns of Belfaſt and Newry, the cuſtoms of which had uſually produced about 150,000l. the preſent produce of the cuſtoms, he was well informed, would not amount to a fifteenth part of the ſum. The cauſes which had occaſioned theſe unhappy effects there, muſt originate in ſomething connected with the internal ſyſtem of the country. Laſt year he had in vain called the attention of their Lordſhips to the ſtate of Ireland, and had predicted the conſequences which the ſyſtem acted upon there would produce. Its ſituation was now more preſſing, and by every motive of juſtice and policy their Lordſhips were called upon to employ the meaſures in their power to remedy the evils which the ſiſter kingdom ſuffered, and to prevent the conſequences which might ultimately extend to this country. It had been ſaid, that for their Lordſhips to interfere would be to uſurp an authority over an independent country. All he ſhould ſay in anſwer to this was, that the circumſtances to which he ſhould call the attention of the Houſe were ſuch as might be the foundation of an addreſs for the recal of a Viceroy of Ireland, and

that

that therefore their Lordſhips were competent to the review of ſuch proceedings. To move ſuch an addreſs was very far from his intention. He had the higheſt reſpect for the character of the preſent Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, he knew his candour, his virtues, and his humanity, and was convinced that he did every thing in his power to alleviate the ſituation of Ireland. But he muſt contend that the ſyſtem ſo unwiſely adopted in application, and ſo obſtinately and fatally purſued in that country, was the cauſe of all the calamities which it ſuffered, and all the calamities which were to be apprehended. That ſyſtem was a ſyſtem of miſapplied ſeverity, ſeverity not merely in individual application, but in its general deſign. He would even admit in argument, that ſuch ſeverities as had reached his knowledge were called for by the conduct of thoſe on whom they were exerciſed, but in the preſent critical ſituation of the empire, he would aſk, if ſuch meaſures were warranted by ſound policy? Men influenced by their paſſions, kept conſtantly irritated and inflamed, might ſometimes proceed to unwarrantable lengths, but in his mind that did not juſtify perſeverance in ſuch a general ſyſtem of ſeverity and oppreſſion. Laſt year, when he had called the attention of the Houſe to the ſtate of Ireland, he had laid before them facts which he had received from the moſt authentic information, which he could with confidence ſubmit to their Lordſhips. Since that time, however, he had an opportunity of witneſſing the operation of that ſyſtem, and to many facts he could ſpeak from perſonal knowledge. It was not his intention in what he was about to ſtate to make any remarks aimed againſt individuals. It was not his wiſh, and he ſhould be aſhamed if it was, his character to ſpeak at any man. He would not even dwell upon what might be conſidered as exceſſes and extravagancies growing out of the ſyſtem purſued. He would not dwell upon particular inſtances of cruelty. He only meant to explain the nature of the ſyſtem that was acted upon, and the conſequences to which it led. In obſerving the ſtate of Ireland, the firſt thing that ſtruck him was the light in which it was now cuſtomary for the military to view an Iriſhman, and the fatal error of encouraging ſuch unjuſt prejudices. In their eſtimation every Iriſhman was a rebel to the Engliſh Government. Every ſpecies of inſult, of menace, and oppreſſion, was exerciſed upon this ſuppoſition; and that in parts of the country where all was as quiet and peaceable as within ſeven miles of London. There was one circumſtance which would give ſome idea of the inſult to which every man was liable. In early life, when he read in the hiſtory of this country of

the curfew, he had been accuſtomed, from the principles of his education, to conſider it as a degrading badge of ſervitude. This inſulting cuſtom, however, was now eſtabliſhed in Ireland in all its rigour. At nine o'clock every man was called upon to extinguiſh his candle and his fire, and the military enforced the regulation in the moſt arrogant and provoking manner. The hardſhip of this regulation was frequently aggravated by the unneceſſary ſeverity and offenſive harſhneſs with which it was enforced. An inſtance had occurred within his knowledge in which a party of ſoldiers had come to the houſe of a man by the road ſide; they inſiſted that he ſhould extinguiſh his fire and candle; the man intreated that he might be permitted to retain his light, becauſe his infant daughter was in convulſions, and its mother hanging over the bed ſide of her child in agony at its diſtreſs, and waiting in hopes a favourable moment would offer to enable her to afford it ſome relief, which ſhe could not poſſibly do in the dark. The party, however, rigorouſly inſiſted that the fire and light ſhould be extinguiſhed. It had been in former times the cuſtom for the people of this country, and of their Lordſhips, to hold in deteſtation the infamous proceedings of the Inquiſition. One of the greateſt horrors with which it was attended was that the perſon, on whom it ſeized, was torn from his family, immured in priſon, ignorant of the crime laid to his charge, and of his accuſer, in the moſt cruel uncertainty as to the period of his confinement, and of the fate that awaited him. But to this injuſtice ſo juſtly abhorred in the practice of the Inquiſition, were the people of Ireland expoſed. A man was torn from his family and expoſed to the horrors of impriſonment without knowing the crime of which he was accuſed, or being confronted with his accuſer. Such proceedings were not ſolitary inſtances, they were frequent; and the man who ſaw his neighbour hurried from his home could not ſay but the next day he might experience the ſame fate. All confidence, all ſecurity, were taken away. In alluding to the Inquiſition he had omitted to mention one of its characteriſtic features. If the ſuppoſed culprit refuſed to acknowledge the crime with which he was charged, he was put to the rack, in order to extort a confeſſion of the ſuppoſed guilt by the preſſure of torture. In the ſame manner the proceedings of the Inquiſition had been introduced in Ireland. When a man was taken up, and was ſuſpected of being guilty himſelf, or of concealing the guilt of others, he was put to the torture. The rack indeed was not applied, becauſe, perhaps, it was not at hand, but torture of another ſpecies was employed. He had known, in repeated inſtances,

ſtances, men taken up on ſuſpicion, ſubjected to the puniſhment of picqueting, a puniſhment years ſince aboliſhed in the dragoon ſervice as too inhuman and as too ſevere. He had known a man, in order to extort confeſſion of a ſuppoſed guilt, or of the guilt of ſome of his neighbours, picqueted till he actually fainted; picqueted a ſecond time till he again fainted; as ſoon as he was brought to himſelf picqueted a third time till he once more fainted; and all upon mere ſuſpicion! Nor was this the only ſpecies of torture: men had been taken and hung up till they were half hanged, and then threatened with the repetition of this cruel torture unleſs they made confeſſion of the imputed guilt. Such proceedings were not merely particular acts of cruelty exerciſed by men abuſing the power committed to them, but they formed a part of the ſyſtem acted upon. They were notorious, and no man could ſay but that he might be the next victim of the oppreſſion and the cruelty which he ſaw others endure. This, however, was not all. Their Lordſhips, no doubt, would recollect the famous proclamation iſſued by a military commander in Ireland, requiring the people to give up their arms. It never was denied that this proclamation was illegal, though it might poſſibly have been defended upon ſome ſuppoſed neceſſity. This neceſſity, however, had never been eſtabliſhed to his ſatisfaction. If, therefore, any reluctance was ſhewn to comply with this demand, he confeſſed it was not matter of ſurpriſe to him. Men who conceived that the Conſtitution gave them a right to keep arms in their houſes for their own defence, might feel ſome indignation when called upon to give up this right. In the execution of the order, however, the greateſt cruelties had been committed. If it was barely ſuſpected that a perſon had not given up all the arms which he had, his houſe was burnt, and his furniture, and every other property it contained, committed to the flames. But a particular ſuſpicion ſometimes was not thought neceſſary. If it was thought that any diſtrict had not given up all the arms it contained, a party was ſent out to collect the number at which it was rated, and in the execution of this order thirty houſes were ſometimes burnt down in a ſingle night. Thus an officer took upon him diſcretionally to decide the quantity of arms which were contained in a particular diſtrict, and upon the judgment thus formed, the conſequences which he had deſcribed followed. Theſe facts he could bring evidence to their Lordſhips to prove. Many caſes of a ſimilar nature he might enumerate, if neceſſary, further to ſhew the nature of the ſyſtem purſued; but he wiſhed, from prudential motives, to draw a veil over the moſt aggravated and enormous

mous fact that he could have ſtated. All of the facts it was impoſſible that he could have ſeen, but many of them had come within his knowledge. It was, his Lordſhip ſolemnly proteſted, his ſincere wiſh to be examined upon oath as to the ſtate of Ireland, and to the facts which he had brought forward, either before the Privy Council or at their Lordſhips' bar. He had ſtated them before God and his country, and was ready to ſtrengthen them by any ſpecies of aſſertion by which they might be confirmed. Theſe facts were notorious in Ireland, but they could not be made public through the channels of the newſpapers, from a fear of attracting that ſummary method of puniſhment which had been practiſed in the caſe of the Northern Star, when a party of troops, in open day, in a town where a General's head-quarters were, went and deſtroyed the whole of the offices and property belonging to that paper. For this reaſon the publiſher of a newſpaper, to his knowledge, often refuſed to publiſh authenticated accounts of ſuch enormities from a dread of experiencing a ſimilar fate. It was not the legal courſe of proceeding which they feared, but an arbitrary interference of a military force, without the forms of juſtice, and beyond the laws of the country. It was not the penal code of Ireland, one of the moſt ſevere with which he was acquainted, that they dreaded, but the application of that arbitrary authority which the Government deemed neceſſary to the ſucceſs of the ſyſtem upon which it acted. Many inſtances more atrocious than thoſe already ſtated might be mentioned, but theſe he had purpoſely omitted, as it might, perhaps be imprudent to diſcloſe them in ſo public an auditory. He had ſaid enough, however, to ſhew the fatal tendency of the meaſures now purſued in Ireland. The ſyſtem of coercion had been tried long enough. Did it anſwer the end for which it had been adopted? On the contrary, inſtead of removing the diſcontents which it attempted to ſuppreſs, had it not increaſed the number of the diſcontented? The number of the United Iriſhmen, from the lateſt information, was extending in every part of the country. He had been informed, and he firmly believed his information to be correct, that their numbers were now three times greater than before the Report of the Secret Committee. Such then had been the conſequence of the ſyſtem of ſeverity. He ſincerely believed that the moment of conciliation was not paſſed, but if the preſent ſyſtem was not changed, he was convinced that Ireland would not remain connected with this country five years longer. A change of ſyſtem was the only chance left, and this chance ———. He would, however, check himſelf,

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as he was going to take larger ground than he intended; indeed his reaſon told him to abſtain from topics on which, in the preſent circumſtances, it might be dangerous to dwell. He was aware that many perſons of conſideration and property were of opinion that on the ſucceſs of the ſyſtem now purſued, whether wiſely or unwiſely introduced, depended the fate of Ireland. For his own part his opinion was diametrically oppoſite. He was convinced that a perſeverance in that ſyſtem would diſſolve the connection of this country with the ſiſter kingdom. A conquered country, it was well known, was ſubjected to military law, and in the courſe of his profeſſional life he had been in a conquered country, but he had neither known nor heard of martial oppreſſion and military tyranny having been carried into practice to ſuch an extent of wanton outrage and unneceſſary cruelty as he knew to have been the caſe in Ireland. He had ſtated ſuch facts as his duty ſuggeſted to have been indiſpenſibly neceſſary for him to ſtate to their Lordſhips, and he repeated his declaration that he had thrown a veil over the moſt flagrant of the long catalogue that he was in poſſeſſion of. It was not, nevertheleſs, his intention to make any ſpecific motion upon the facts which he had ſtated. He moſt earneſtly ſolicited and petitioned Miniſters to take them into ſerious conſideration. He had ſaid as much as he thought it proper to ſay to their Lordſhips, he ſhould diſcuſs the ſubject more fully in another place, but the opportunity for doing ſo might be diſtant, and was uncertain. If any further information was required, he was ready to be examined, either before the Privy Council or at their Lordſhips' Bar. In what he had done he had ſatisfied his conſcience and diſcharged his duty, and exerted this laſt effort to avert the ruin which threatened the country.

Lord *Grenville* in reply ſaid, that he felt it a matter of no ſmall delicacy and difficulty, and he was confident that the generality of their Lordſhips muſt participate in the ſame feelings with him, to attempt entering on the queſtion which the noble Lord had thought proper to introduce, or the vague grounds and iſolated facts upon which it was endeavoured to be ſupported. Indeed the noble Lord ſeemed fully aware of his own deficiency in that reſpect, and appeared to be under the neceſſity of acknowledging it in the very ſentence with which he thought proper to cloſe his ſpeech. The noble Lord heſitated, or was undecided, as to the manner in which he ought to proceed; nor could he prevail on himſelf to frame any ſpecific propoſition or bring forward any direct motion on the ſubject. The noble Lord's heſitation and indeciſion did not, in his mind, excite the ſmalleſt ſurpriſe: the diſcuſſion which he ſeemed

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deſirous to produce could ſurely be attended with no one profitable advantage; it was, on the contrary, a diſcuſſion evidently pregnant with mighty miſchief; nor was there any evil or calamity which, in his mind, it was not likely to produce. He would not, therefore, treſpaſs long on the patience of their Lordſhips, nor would he attempt at confirming the judgment which he was ſure they muſt have already formed on the matter, by any elaborate detail of obſervations, the nature and cogency of which muſt already have been anticipated by the mind of every noble Lord preſent.

He would firſt, however, advert to an expreſſion which the noble Lord had thought proper to make uſe of, viz. That it was no doubt ſolemn and decorous in the Houſe to have acquieſced in the ſtatements made by them of the poſture of public affairs, and of the cauſes that broke off the late attempt at a pacification. This was by no means the motive of their acquieſcence; it was the reſult of their beſt judgment, of their moſt mature conſideration, of their moſt intimate conviction; and it amounted to the moſt ſolemn pledge that a Parliament could carry to the feet of their Sovereign, on a ſubject of the deepeſt national importance that ever called for parliamentary deliberation and parliamentary deciſion. But it was no longer a ſubject open for diſcuſſion. He would ſtill, however, perſevere in aſſerting that the country was in poſſeſſion of ample means, energies, and reſources, which a free and independent people would know how to call forth and exert; however oppoſite might be the picture and the gloomy imaginations which the noble Earl might be inclined to delineate, and preſent to their Lordſhips, a picture and imaginations tending ſolely to diffuſe deſpondency and deſpair; while they would humble to the duſt the pride and honour of the nation, and degrade it from the high rank and merited diſtinction which it has long held and ſtill continues to hold, in the eyes of Europe and of the world; to maintain that rank, and to preſerve unimpaired that diſtinction, we have as yet, thank God, abundant means, and there was no thinking and well-diſpoſed man who had not, he truſted, ſufficient ſpirit and reſolution to employ them. How contrary to this was the opinion that night held out to your Lordſhips. The noble Baron has told your Lordſhips of depreſſed reſources, and ill-applied means of defence; he has even given as his opinion, that ſhould the war be protracted for another year, its ſure conſequence muſt be the utter ruin of the country; an opinion ſo diſheartening and unfounded he hoped

hoped none of their Lordſhips would entertain, and that all of them could eaſily refute. For his part, he was fully ſatisfied that we had means and reſources abundantly ſufficient to proſecute the conteſt not only for one year, but to the utmoſt extent which the imagination of any man can ſuppoſe the enemy will be tempted to purſue it on the preſent grounds and with their preſent deſigns, which aim at nothing leſs than the deſtruction of the Britiſh conſtitution, the downfall of the throne, the extinction of monarchy, the annihilation of our commerce, and the introduction of the genius of French Liberty with all its concomitant train of horrors. To fruſtrate and confound theſe frantic attempts, theſe raſh and inſolent deſigns, we are conſcious of poſſeſſing every adequate means, not only when we view the ſtate of our financial reſources, but alſo when we call back our attention, which we muſt frequently do with gratitude and ſatisfaction, to the late glorious and brilliant victory, which nearly outſhines the moſt ſplendid of all our naval exploits. Such was his idea of the ſplendid advantages which muſt naturally attend this glorious and deciſive triumph, though it does not ſeem to be conſidered in the ſame ſalutary point of view by the noble Lord (Lord Rawdon), nor productive of the deciſive advantages which, however, may be ſafely ſaid to reſult from it. The noble Lord has paid ſome tribute of praiſe to the bravery of our admiral, the gallantry of our officers and ſeamen, and all thoſe who had any ſhare in the atchievement of that glorious victory, which conſtitutes as brilliant an exploit as ever graced our naval annals. But what does the noble Lord tell you is the ſole reſult of this ſignal and important advantage? Why merely that it has parried a danger, and calmed a temporary alarm. Parried a threatened danger! Good God, my Lords! can you hear with patience this ſtated as the reſult of its importance, as the full extent of its value? Does not every Engliſhman glow with gratitude towards the Britiſh Admiral, with conſcious pride, for the honour and glory of his country, raiſed ſo high by ſo brilliant an exploit?

Be our ſituation what it may, be it more or leſs expoſed to difficulty and danger, what does it admoniſh us to do, but cordially to unite in the ſupport and defence of our conſtitution, as the only means to ward off the fatal blow which the inveterate animoſity of our bittereſt enemy is meditating againſt it. For the neceſſity of this general concurrence, he appealed not only to England, but to every branch and member of

the Britiſh empire, whoſe individual intereſt and ſafety, as well as the intereſt and ſafety of the public, muſt depend on this ſincere and cordial co-operation. He was far from being able to diſcern what ſhould alienate the affections of Ireland, or indiſpoſe her from uniting in this general co-operation. That ſuch, however, was her preſent diſpoſition, ſeemed to be more than inſinuated by the noble Lord, who ſeems diſpoſed to accuſe Government of being hoſtilely inclined towards the ſiſter kingdom, and eager to keep up in it a ſyſtem of coercion. He might, however, confidently appeal to their Lordſhips, generally and individually, if it had not been on all occaſions the uniform diſpoſition of Government to adopt the very oppoſite conduct, and that at no time have they abandoned a ſyſtem of conceſſion and conciliation; nor has this temper and diſpoſition been diſplayed and acted on in a few inſtances only, or for a ſhort ſpace of time; but for the whole ſpace of thirty years has his Majeſty's government been diſtinguiſhed by the ſame uniform tenderneſs of regard, by the ſame undeviating adherence to the mild principles of a conciliatory ſyſtem. Indeed the whole of that period is throughout diſcriminated and endeared by unceaſing acts on the part of his Majeſty, from the commencement of his reign, of love, favour, liberality, and kindneſs. Among theſe various inſtances of conceſſion and conciliation exhibited by this country towards Ireland, he might advert to the eſtabliſhing of its Parliament into an independent legiſlature, and a wide extenſion of its commercial privileges. During the period ſince this country abſolutely and completely renounced all claim of ſuperintendance over, and interference with the Parliament of Ireland, the renunciation had been ſtrictly adhered to, and in no one inſtance departed from. He was not, therefore, diſpoſed to go to the extent of ſaying that we had any pretenſions for watching over the ſafety of Ireland by our legiſlature. This was the buſineſs and duty of its own Parliament; and what idea muſt that Parliament, whoſe independence we have ſanctioned, conceive of our proceedings, ſhould we entertain a diſcuſſion like the preſent, or any motions that can ſeem to interfere with the independency of its legiſlature. He would, now, therefore, contend, as he had done on a former occaſion, that the agitation in that Houſe of any queſtion ſimilar to that which the noble Lord ſeems ſolicitous to agitate, would be an undue interference in a matter ſolely belonging to the internal government of Ireland, and that ſuch an interference might be juſtly

regarded

regarded as a manifeſt breach of a ſolemn compact. This being his firm and decided opinion of the impropriety of any ſuch interference on the part of that Houſe, he would no longer dwell on the arguments which the noble Lord had urged to prove the propriety and neceſſity of adopting it; convinced as he was that no argument could ſatisfy their Lordſhips either of its propriety or neceſſity.

He would therefore proceed to what ſurpriſed him ſtill more, the general ſtatement of the cruelties which the noble Lord aſſerted had marked this ſyſtem of coercion which he ſo bitterly inveighs againſt, and which he inſinuates, is principally promoted and acted on by the Britiſh military, at the inſtigation of the government. It was no difficult matter, nor to him an unpleaſing taſk, to vindicate the Britiſh military from any imputation of that kind: if any country was peculiarly diſtinguiſhed for humane and generous feelings, he was proud to ſay, for he could ſay it with truth, that humanity and good-nature were the characteriſtic features of the Engliſh diſpoſition, and on all occaſions the Britiſh military had evinced that their bravery was only equalled by their patience, their clemency, and their humanity. That there might be individual exceptions derogatory from this general diſpoſition he would not pretend to ſay; if ſuch exceſſes had been perpetrated, were there no courts of juſtice? Were there no laws, no magiſtracy, no tribunals open to the complaints of thoſe who are ſaid to have been ſo cruelly treated, where their complaints would have been liſtened to, and their grievances redreſſed? Had not Ireland its juries, as well as this country, and the ſame ſafeguards provided for the ſecurity of the property, the liberty, and lives of Iriſhmen, as England could boaſt for its natives? Indeed if a ſyſtem ſo rigorous and cruel had been purſued; if ſuch as the noble Lord had ſo elaborately deſcribed, it muſt naturally be reſented by a ſpirited and independent people. But what was the object for which theſe troops were ſent over? Were they not ſent over to protect the great body of the people, (who were, generally ſpeaking, peaceable and well affected), againſt conſpiracy and aſſaſſination? Were they not ſent to Ireland to overawe and counteract the machinations of a ſet of men who were actively plotting the deſtruction of their country, and favouring the deſigns of our moſt inveterate enemy? If againſt ſuch men they have at times been incited to acts of too great harſhneſs and ſeverity; if they had been occaſionally warmed into a ſenſe of indigna-

tion that broke out into inſults and outrages, he has read but little in the heart, or hiſtory of mankind, in whom it would excite ſurprize. What more natural than that a large body of men ſhould feel indignant and enraged againſt the abettors of a conſpiracy to deliver up the country to the French invader? And that ſuch a conſpiracy has and does exiſt, had already been proved beyond the poſſibility of a doubt. Had it not been fully proved by the report of the Iriſh Houſe of Commons, after a candid and minute enquiry into evidence of the exiſting facts and circumſtances? And has it not likewiſe been proved in courts of juſtice that money has been paid as the price of murder, and the reward of aſſaſſination? Had it not been proved that large ſums had been diſtributed to hire aſſaſſins, in order to murder thoſe who are ſuppoſed to be inimical to their traiterous plans, and to intimidate all witneſſes from coming forward to give evidence againſt them, and even to deter juries from giving in a conſcientious verdict? Do they not hang the ſame terrors over the heads of the judges and magiſtrates to ſcare them from the performance of their ſacred duty? Is this a ſyſtem which can be viewed with the cool compoſure, with the deliberate circumſpection of civil prudence? Impoſſible: it cannot be, the paſſions of men, when kept in a ſtate of perpetual irritation, as the noble Lord has himſelf obſerved, will ſometimes hurry them too far; but it is the cauſe that is to be lamented, and if it inſtigates ſome ſpirited individuals to acts of outrage and of cruelty, thoſe crimes and cruelties are imputable to thoſe only by whoſe daring and unprincipled conduct they are naturally provoked. Keen, notwithſtanding, muſt be the regret which ſuch unwarrantable revenge muſt here excite in every humane and benevolent breaſt. The ſame ſenſations muſt be awakened in hearts of a ſimilar ſenſibility in Ireland; and here he would heartily join in the tribute of praiſe paid by the noble Lord to the preſent Governor General of Ireland. He held him dear as his friend, but it was not the partiality of friendſhip, but juſtice to the merits of the man that prompted the praiſe he was ready to beſtow on him. No public man, placed in ſo trying and ſo critical a ſituation as Lord Camden confeſſedly was, has ever diſplayed more exemplary moderation in the diſcharge of a painful duty; no public man has ever more zealouſly exerted himſelf for the benefit and happineſs of the people over whom he had been ſent to rule; but if his benevolent exertions were defeated by thoſe whom he would willingly protect, if rigorous meaſures were neceſſarily

rily purſued, no blame could ſurely be imputed to him; the circumſtances of the country required it, and if any partial abuſes did exiſt, we had only to lament them.

He could not, therefore, ſee what utility could be derived from the removal of a perſon whoſe conduct in every reſpect was thus highly commendable, and whoſe only care ſeemed to be a juſt and punctual execution of the laws. He would again repeat it, that if any abuſe attended the ſyſtem which the Government of Ireland had adopted, the laws were open to grant redreſs, and juſtice ready to inflict puniſhment. No imputation ought, therefore, to attach on the character and conduct of the Britiſh military, who had been ſent to Ireland, and were paid by that country for aſſiſting in defence of its liberties, as well as for the purpoſe of protection againſt the common enemy. Individuals, it is true, might ſome times proceed to unwarrantable lengths, but the whole body ſhould not therefore be aſperſed, for endeavouring to diſcharge the painful taſk which had been impoſed on them. Nor ought it to be forgotten that it is not the Engliſh military who ſolely act on theſe lamentable occaſions. Are not many of the nobility and gentry of Ireland actively employed in the ſame ſervice? Muſt they not naturally feel infinite regret at being driven to meaſures of violence? And what poſſible motive can be ſuppoſed to actuate their conduct, but their anxiety to ſecure the general ſafety? This is an object, however, which can never be compaſſed by the ſyſtem recommended by the noble Lord. On the contrary, it would only tend to ſtain and vilify the character of Government, and bring all its meaſures into contempt and diſgrace. The contrary ſyſtem muſt therefore be perſevered in, and to the ſpirited exertions of the Engliſh military will be due the preſervation of Iriſh laws, of Iriſh property, and of Iriſh lives; for by their exertions only can thoſe laws be kept unviolated by licentiouſneſs, and thoſe lives reſcued from the dagger of aſſaſſins. And what again was the object of the conſpiracy which their endeavours are daily exerted to baffle and to cruſh? Is not the object which they have uniformly purſued and undiſguiſedy avowed, a ſeparation of Ireland from the Britiſh empire? Can it be doubted for a moment, by any man if we recur to the manifeſt proofs of the exiſtence of ſuch a deſign exhibited to us by the reports of the Secret Committees of both Houſes of Parliament in Ireland; as well as by the recent trials and convictions? [Lord Rawdon ſaid, he doubted it.] Lord Grenville then ſaid, as the noble Lord ſays "he doubts it," I will

will only expreſs my ſurpriſe that the noble Lord ſhould doubt a fact ſo ſelf-evident that no man will venture to deny it.

I will proceed with my argument, and ſpeak to the freedom of the preſs which the noble Lord ſays is held in ſuch oppreſſion in Ireland: My Lords, I now hold in my hand a printed paper, the contents of which are too ſhocking to read;—ſuffice it to ſay, that its avowed object is to point out innocent men by name to the poignard of aſſaſſins. It contains a liſt of the names and deſcriptions of thoſe, who at a future period, were to be murdered. It loads his Majeſty with the moſt opprobious epithets, and reviles the Engliſh nation with every term of contumely; it holds it out to be the duty of every Iriſhman to wreſt from the hand of Engliſh ruffians the property which thoſe Engliſh ruffians have wreſted from their anceſtors. This your Lordſhips will doubtleſs perceive is no obſcure or ambiguous language; it pretty clearly developes their favourite project of ſeparating Great Britain and Ireland, an object which has been ſuggeſted by France, and of which France is deſirous to promote the accompliſhment, and ſhould they unhappily ſucceed in this impious attempt, what muſt be the reſult; but that confuſion, diſorders and anarchy muſt ruſh in upon the country, together with the public enemy?

Such is the ſituation to which an open conſpiracy of profligate men have reduced the ſiſter kingdom. And how can this ſituation be meliorated, or the danger that threatens that country be repelled, but by a ſyſtem of ſevere and vigorous laws, a vigour and ſeverity which on ſuch occaſions are indiſpenſibly neceſſary; nor can theſe laws be enforced without entruſting great powers in the hands of thoſe on whom we impoſe the performance of this arduous duty under ſevere reſponſibility?

The queſtion therefore now is, Will your Lordſhips interpoſe on the preſent occaſion, and tell the parliament of Ireland, and Iriſh Magiſtracy, that you are more careful of the intereſts and happineſs of the Iriſh people than they are, and that the Engliſh military are not to obey the Iriſh laws, but the arbitrary inſtructions of the Britiſh parliament?

Lord Rawdon (Earl Moira) ſaid, that no ſentiment had fallen from him to the effect which the noble Secretary had ſtated. He would aſk the noble Secretary, Whether he knew of any point under the general relation of the two countries to each other, in which a peer of parliament had a clearer right to addreſs their Lordſhips than he had on the ſubject to which he had called their attention? He would aſk the noble Secretary, Whether, if he were now to move their Lordſhips

ſhips to addreſs his Majeſty to remove Earl Camden, he was not competent to make, and the Houſe to agree, to ſuch a motion? Moſt clearly, in his mind there was no queſtion upon ſuch competency. He would, however, fortify the doctrine by reference to a caſe which occurred in a reign when no privileges of parliament were ſuppoſed to encroach upon the prerogatives of the crown—the reign of Charles the Second. Their Lordſhips knew too well to make it neceſſary for him to inform them of the caſe of the Duke of Lauderdale. The parliament of Scotland was then independent of this country, and the two countries ſtood preciſely in the ſituation that Ireland does now with reſpect to England, and yet the parliament here came to a vote that the evil counſellors about the King was a grievance, and that the Duke of Lauderdale was "not fit to be truſted in any office, or place of truſt," while he was in Scotland, which vote was, doubtleſs, intended to have been followed up by the impeachment of that noble Duke, but it did not take place, owing to the diſſolution of parliament, which ſoon followed. Here was a caſe to illuſtrate the principle and eſtabliſh the right of a member of the Britiſh parliament, moving to adviſe his Majeſty to remove any of his miniſters in ſuch parts of his dominions as are poſſeſſed of legiſlative bodies of its own. If, therefore, from motives of reſpect for the high ſtation, and real eſteem for the perſonal character of Lord Camden, he forbore bringing any motion forward upon this ſubject, it was not becauſe he did not conceive himſelf entitled to do ſo if there exiſted any neceſſity for ſo doing. But inſtead of anſwering his argument, or meeting the facts he had mentioned, the noble Secretary of State choſe to reſt the whole of the caſe upon a mere point of form, and to ſay that no cognizance could be taken in that Houſe of moſt flagrant circumſtances in the ſiſter kingdom, ariſing from a miſapplied ſyſtem of ſeverity and coercion, the conſequence of which threatened deeply and dangerouſly to affect the ſafety and ſecurity of the Britiſh empire, becauſe Ireland poſſeſſed an independent legiſlature. The noble Secretary had complained that he had reprobated the troops in Ireland for obeying the law. He denied the charge; he had not reprobated either the troops or any body of men for obeying the law; but he had reprobated the conduct of Executive Government, which was repugnant to the feelings of the people of Ireland, inconſiſtent with the character of the people of England, and highly injurious to the real intereſt of both countries. The noble Secretary had obſerved alſo, that he had only taken notice of partial points and incidental abuſes. This was not a fair or a correct repreſentation

repreſentation of the detail he had given. He had ſtated facts not upon ſurmiſe, but upon knowledge, in which the moſt dreadful cruelties had been executed, and in places, he repeated it, where every thing was as tranquil as any where about London at this hour. He admitted that there was a combination formed in Ireland, a moſt powerful combination, and that it was making progreſs to an alarming degree; but he denied that coercion was the beſt of means to diſſolve that combination. It would, in his opinion, be wiſe to try conciliatory meaſures. The noble Secretary aſked, Whether the whole courſe of the conduct of his Majeſty, and of the Britiſh legiſlature, for theſe thirty years paſt, had not been an uniform ſeries of conciliating meaſures? To which he would anſwer, that it did not much become the noble Secretary of State to lay any ſtreſs on the conduct of the Britiſh legiſlature towards Ireland, while by his own admiſſion it exerciſed an authority ſo unwarrantable, that the Britiſh legiſlature, fifteen years ſince, on a principle of juſtice, thought it right to renounce it altogether. In reply to the aſſertion that the government of Ireland uſed conciliatory meaſures towards the people of that country, until it appeared that vigorous meaſures had been indiſpenſible; he would ſay, that men have a right to be well and juſtly governed; and when they feel themſelves aggrieved, they have a right to ſtate their complaints, and to call for redreſs with firmneſs; and to accuſe them of ingratitude for complaining, was the moſt provoking petulance, as well as injuſtice. He had ſtated, not caſual exceſſes or incidental abuſes; not what he had looſely heard of, but what he had himſelf, in various inſtances witneſſed—a conſtant, uniform procedure of cruel oppreſſion and harſh government in that part of the country to which he had already alluded. If theſe things be true, and true he knew them to be; if their Lordſhips knew them alſo, and now they did know them; what excuſe would they have, if in the hour of peril the people of Ireland ſhould refuſe to ſupport government, and ſhould ſupport thoſe who aimed at overthrowing it? It was not the reſources that he dreaded, he had never ſtated any doubt of them and of our means of defence, he had doubted merely the application of both. It was not the want of men that he was fearful of; it was the want of the hearts and affections of men that was the object of his fear; without that heartfelt affection, we might call in vain for union in all parts of the empire, and a vigorous exertion againſt the common enemy; without conciliatory meaſures, that affection could not be expected, nor would it ever ariſe. He would aſk the noble Secretary, if the meaſures of the Executive

tive Government had been of that character? The noble Secretary of State had aſſerted, that there was a conſpiracy among the united Iriſhmen. He admitted that many perſons who had joined that body, under that character did many acts that were culpable in the extreme; but he did not believe the cauſe which the noble Lord aſſigned for it to be a true one. It was not originally for the purpoſe of overturning the Conſtitution that theſe Iriſhmen united; the atrocious acts ſome of them had ſince been guilty of were the effect of having been goaded by what they felt; and terrified by the proſpect of what they have to expect, from what they have ſeen, they ſtill continue in the ſame temper. The ſociety of United Iriſhmen, had originally, he ſolemnly believed, nothing in view but a parliamentary reform, for which they could not be fairly cenſured, as the Houſe of Commons of Ireland had itſelf come to a reſolution for that very purpoſe. Upon this ſubject he ſpoke the more readily, as he himſelf had never been friendly to a parliamentary reform. He did not ſee all thoſe frightful conſequences as likely to ariſe from it, that ſome men had pictured to themſelves, but he did not think that a reform would be a good meaſure if carried into effect, beſides the hazard of trying it, and therefore he ſhould not adviſe the trial; if, however, men entertaining different opinions on the ſubject were defective in their judgment, coercion, he was perſuaded, was not likely to affect it? He knew that infinite abuſe had been bandied about in Ireland from one party to another; the reſult of which had been fatal in many inſtances, for many aſſaſſinations had taken place. This practice, odious and deteſtable as it was, did not ariſe out of any ſettled plan to overturn Government; but from private malice and from revenge, the effect of perſonal diſputes. The ſtate of Ireland was moſt deplorable. He had declared, that it was ſo preſſing as to admit of no delay. He would aſk what might be the conſequence, if an army were to land there under the preſent ſyſtem of coercion? Could government rely on the people unleſs they had ſome hope of conciliation? He, therefore, muſt again recommend conciliatory meaſures. Nor was it any anſwer to what he had ſtated, to facts ſo flagrant, ſo poignant and diſtreſſing to the feelings of humanity, to oppoſe a ceremonious objection, and on that ground to wave all conſideration of matters ſo important to the general intereſts of the Britiſh empire. The deſtruction of Ireland might be the effect of neglecting this advice. The deſtruction of Ireland would cauſe the deſtruction of Great Britain. He felt this ſo forcibly, that he would not be ſo tardy as to wait for an opportunity of ſtating this in another

place, where he had parliamentary privilege to ſtate it. He ſpoke with a view of ſaving both nations. There was no point on which hew as more clear, than that without bringing forward any ſpecific motion he had a right to bring forward ſuch a diſcuſſion as he had introduced. He ſtood there not merely as a Peer of Parliament, not as a member of a judicial aſſembly, but in the capacity of an Hereditary Counſellor of the Crown. Their Lordſhips ought, therefore, particularly to attend to ſuch a ſubject as this, it belonged to them to conſider it as Hereditary Counſellors of the nation and of his Majeſty. He offered this advice to his Majeſty in that Houſe. He offered it to their Lordſhips, and he offered it to the country; and by ſo doing, he not only acquitted himſelf of any evil effect, but claimed a right to be conſidered as having performed a duty.

The *Lord Chancellor* ſaid, he roſe to enable his noble friend to ſet himſelf right as to a particular expreſſion, which had fallen from him, and which he conſidered as a mere ſlip, or inadvertency, but it was ſo completely founded in error, that if it went out to the public in the reports that poſſibly might be made of what had paſſed in the converſation of that day, it might make an undue impreſſion upon the public. It was a duty, indeed, particularly caſt upon him to anſwer ſome parts, of the ſpeech of his noble friend, and as he was up, he ſhould with their Lordſhips' leave, make a few, and but a few obſervations upon the ſubject in a general way. His noble friend had ſtated, that the noble Secretary of State had wiſhed to paſs the diſcuſſion by, upon a mere point of *form*. This he believed, as he had already ſaid, came by inadvertency from his noble friend, for he knew as well as any of their Lordſhips, that for the laſt fifteen years, it was not a matter of form, but an eſſential point and matter of fact, that the Parliament of Ireland was as fully competent by law, to make laws, to ſuperintend the adminiſtration of juſtice, to cenſure any who infringe the law, to enact any meaſure for the internal regulation of Ireland, and to do every legiſlative act, in like manner, as the Parliament of Great Britain ever could do formerly, or ſtill does for this country; and the more ſo, becauſe there the Parliament had a complete, entire, unappealable juriſdiction, which there was no power in this country to vary or alter; we could, therefore, derive no advantage whatever from caſting any reflections, or ſtating any ſuppoſed defects either in the adminiſtration of juſtice of the courts of law, or the acts of the legiſlative Houſes in Ireland. His noble friend, indeed, had been inaccurate when he ſtated theſe points to be points of mere form, for Ireland was completely independent of all power

power in this country with regard to internal regulation, and ſo far from it being a point of form for the Parliament of Great Britain to abſtain from any interference with the independent legiſlature of Ireland, it was the ſubſtance of the eſſence of public faith and juſtice. His noble friend had alluded to a caſe, which, no doubt, was well known to their Lordſhips as matter of hiſtory, the caſe of the Duke of Lauderdale. True it was, that the Duke of Lauderdale was a member of the Executive Government, but it was not for any thing that he did in his official capacity, that the vote to addreſs his Majeſty to remove him was founded. It was, becauſe he was one of the Cabal, as the famous adminiſtration of that period, 1673, a period of much mixed politics,* was then called. It was for being one of the Cabal, and not for any conduct of the Duke's in Scotland, that the Duke of Lauderdale fell under the animadverſion of Parliament. There was no attempt whatever in that

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* It was the year when the Lord Chancellor Shafteſbury joined the Whigs, and the Great Seal was given to Sir Heneage Finch, and the Commons had differences with the King, (Charles the Second) on the ſubject of the Duke of York's propoſed marriage with the Princeſs Modena. The circumſtance is thus related by Hume:—

"The Parliament of England was now aſſembled, and diſcovered much greater ſymptoms of ill-humour than had appeared in the laſt ſeſſion. They had ſeen for ſome time, a negociation of marriage carried on between the Duke of York and the Arch-Dutcheſs of Inſpruc, a Catholic of the Auſtrian family, and they had made no oppoſition. But when that negociation failed, and the Duke applied to a Princeſs of the Houſe of Modena, then in cloſe alliance with France, this circumſtance joined to ſo many other grounds of diſcontent, raiſed the Commons into a flame, and they remonſtrated with the greateſt zeal againſt the intended marriage. The King told them that their remonſtrance came too late, and that the marriage was already agreed on, and even celebrated by proxy. The Commons ſtill inſiſted, and proceeding to the examination of the other parts of government, they voted the ſtanding army a grievance, and declared that they would grant no more ſupply, unleſs it appeared that the Dutch were ſo obſtinate as to refuſe all reaſonable conditions of peace. To cut ſhort theſe diſagreeable attacks, the King reſolved to prorogue the Parliament, and with that intention, he came unexpectedly to the Houſe of Peers and ſent the Uſher to ſummon the Commons. It happened, that the Speaker and the Uſher nearly met at the door of the Houſe, but the Speaker being within, ſome of the members ſuddenly ſhut the door, and cried, "*To the chair, to the chair;*" while others cried, "*The Black Rod is at the door.*" The Speaker was hurried to the chair, and the following motions were inſtantly made: "That the alliance with France is a grievance, that the evil Counſellors about the King are a grievance, that the Duke of Lauderdale is a grievance, and not fit to be truſted or employed." There was a general cry, "*To the queſtion, to the queſtion.*" But the Uſher knocking violently at the door, the Speaker leaped from the chair, and the Houſe roſe in great confuſion.

Octavo Edit. 1789. *vol.* 7. *p.* 511, 512.

caſe by the Engliſh Parliament to interfere with the Scotch Parliament, or the internal regulation of Scotland. The preſent was a very delicate ſubject, and he was ſorry his noble friend had thought it neceſſary to introduce it into the Houſe. He had, however, in a manner that might have been expected by all who had the honour of knowing him, marked the perſonal character of Lord Camden with diſtinguiſhed, but juſt eſteem. Againſt that noble Earl in his high office, or againſt any part of his conduct, nothing was propoſed. But his noble friend had ſtated a number of facts upon the information of others. This information, from the nature of things, was ſure to be deceptive, for thoſe who look at ſuch ſubjects with a view of giving information of them, ſee things through a diſguiſed medium, and they never ſee more than one half of it; they ſee only with one eye; prejudice makes the other blind. Information, therefore, from ſuch perſons could never be relied upon with ſafety. There were, however, ſome points upon which reliance could be placed, and theſe were very mournful ones. It was true that many individuals had been aſſaſſinated in Ireland; true that many individuals were marked out by name to be aſſaſſinated. This, although his noble friend thought it aroſe from ſpleen and private malice, was to him a proof that there exiſted in Ireland a great conſpiracy againſt all thoſe whoſe duty it is to preſerve order. He was called upon to ſay this, and he was fortified in his opinion by the ſolemn declaration of the Parliament of that country, as alſo by a printed paper, by which it was ſtated that a certain number of individuals by name were marked out as objects of future aſſaſſination.

His noble friend had ſaid, there was a regulation in Ireland for putting out lights at a certain hour, which his noble friend conſidered as an inſult and a degrading badge of ſlavery. It depended, however, altogether on circumſtances whether it was ſo or not. It might be in the inſtance alluded to a humane as well as prudent regulation, and that it might be ſo, no man, he preſumed, was diſpoſed to diſpute. If there was good reaſon to ſuſpect that illegal and dangerous conſpiracies were carrying on in the houſes in queſtion, by enforcing the extinction of fire and candle, the inhabitants were prevented from incurring the guilt, and reſcued from the puniſhment which ſuch nefarious proceedings could not fail to entail upon them. With regard to the meaſure itſelf. He knew nothing of its being improperly inforced. It was a meaſure ſuggeſted to the parliament of Ireland, they had conſidered and determined upon that meaſure; it was uſeleſs to cavil at it, becauſe there

there was no power in this country to put an end to that regulation; there could therefore be no uſe in making it a ſubject of complaint here in any place of public deliberation, leaſt of all was it fit for the diſcuſſion of that Houſe, for their Lordſhips had no authentic information of the grievances of Ireland in the firſt place, no power to redreſs them, if they exiſted, in the ſecond; and therefore they could not paſs any opinion upon them regularly, nor attempt to do any thing with reſpect to them, without an utter ſubverſion of all law and eſtabliſhed authority.

His noble friend had complained that arms had been demanded. That might be a fact, and be juſtified, and he knew nothing to impeach it; it might be, and was a prudent meaſure if the diſorders in Ireland required it. Times of imminent danger might require ſuch a meaſure. His noble friend proceeded upon the ſuppoſition that Ireland was not governed by law. Was that true? Was Ireland not governed by law? Was there no redreſs for grievances in Ireland? Was there any fact, the recital of which would caſt any reflection on the adminiſtration of juſtice in Ireland? Was the Houſe of Lords of Great Britain the place in which the complaint, if there were any foundation for it, ought to be made? If there was any negligence, or any other defects in the courts of law; if the officers of them did not do their duty, it was there the application for redreſs ought to be made. He did not, however, believe there was any foundation for complaint in that reſpect. Thoſe who knew the officers of the courts of law there (and he had the happineſs to know moſt of them), who knew the reſpect they have in this country, and ſtill more, from being more intimately known in that, would tell his noble Friend that he ought not to fear any thing for the want of the due adminiſtration of juſtice in Ireland. Should there be any reaſon for complaint, the Parliament of Ireland was the only legal channel through which redreſs could flow. It was unjuſt to the Parliament of that country to inſinuate that it would not take care of its real intereſts, and his noble friend would forgive him if he ſaid it was not quite reſpectful to their Lordſhips to bring forward a ſubject on which they could not do any thing legally, ſuppoſing it neceſſary to be done. He was really ſorry that his noble friend ſhould bring forward points which implicated many high characters who had not an opportunity to anſwer for themſelves before their Lordſhips. He could not help expreſſing a hope that, in future, a little reflection would take place before any obſervations were made which might irritate men's

men's minds, but which reſted upon bare aſſertion, however reſpectable, and lead to no concluſion.

Earl *Moira* ſaid, he did not quote the caſe of the Duke of Lauderdale as being exactly the ſame as the preſent object of his obſervations. He quoted it only to fortify the principle on which he called for the interference of the Houſe.

As to the paper to which the noble and learned Lord, and the noble Secretary had alluded concerning the names of perſons who were marked out for future aſſaſſination, he confeſſed he ſuſpected it to be an invention to juſtify or to ſupport the meaſures which have been adopted in Ireland, and of which he had already complained. He ſuſpected this the more, becauſe no printer of a newſpaper could have had it from any authentic ſource, for no man concerned in a conſpiracy for aſſaſſination would communicate his own criminal intention, or that of his colleagues. He wiſhed to ſpeak of aſſaſſins as he felt, with the greateſt indignation and abhorrence; but he muſt alſo add, that he believed that they originated in Ireland from private malice and revenge, and would do ſo from any party that happens to be predominant, while the preſent dreadful ſyſtem continues. It was not by a general ſyſtem of terror that it was to be prevented. "If you wiſh to prevent it (ſaid his Lordſhip), awaken them to the ſenſe of the *meanneſs of aſſaſſination!* By ſtating to them only that it is cruel, you will produce no good, for, as they are actuated by paſſions which have been made furious, they cannot be deterred by any thing that can be ſaid of cruelty. Awaken them, I ſay, to a ſenſe of the meanneſs of aſſaſſination! Give them an elevated idea of their own condition! Teach them to feel the dignity of human nature undebaſed by guilt, and unſtained by the foulеſt of all crimes, as it is the meaneſt, the meanneſs of murder! That can only be done by convincing them that they live under a juſt and equitable Government."

Lord *Grenville* ſaid, he did not take the information to which he alluded, reſpecting the names of individuals who are marked out for future aſſaſſination, from any newſpaper, but from a printed hand-bill, which bore at the head of it a deſcription by name of a number of perſons who were known as witneſſes, informers, and ſpies, and were to be conſidered as proper objects for aſſaſſination and murder; the inference from which obviouſly meant every perſon who ſhould be concerned in bringing the United Iriſhmen to juſtice. He truſted he knew too much of the diſpoſition of men who belong to public aſſemblies to aſcribe to them all the ſame motives or the ſame views, but he was ready to ſay that the general object of many of the moſt active

active and leading members of the United Iriſhmen, was to overthrow the Government of that country, and that the actions of all of them, even without excepting thoſe who had the beſt wiſhes, tended to make that country a province to France; and it was notorious that almoſt every one convicted of violence and aſſaſſination, wore the badges of the Society of United Iriſhmen. His Lordſhip referred to the caſe of thoſe (who were tried for the attempt to murder Lord Carhampton, who had, much to his honour, actively diſtinguiſhed himſelf in repreſſing theſe ſcandalous outrages), as a proof that the aſſaſſins act upon a general ſyſtem, for one of theſe perſons had been a domeſtic of that noble Lord; being aſked why he did not perpetrate the deed when he might have repeatedly done it in his Lordſhip's houſe or park, he replied, "No, I ſhould never do it but with my party." The truth was, that all magiſtrates, witneſſes, and other perſons who were employed in detecting theſe mens deeds and bringing them to juſtice, were marked out as objects for aſſaſſination.

The queſtion of adjournment was then put and carried.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

WEDNESDAY, *Nov.* 22.

Several accounts from the Cuſtom Houſe were delivered in at the bar, and ordered to lie on the table.

The Houſe in a Committe went through the Bill for prohibiting the importation of Cambrics and French Lawns, &c. The report was ordered to be received the next day.

The Malt Duty Bill was read a ſecond time, and ordered to be committed the next day.

The Land Tax Bill was read a ſecond time, and ordered to be committed the next day.

BANK.

The order of the day for the Houſe to reſolve itſelf into a Committee, to conſider of a Bill for the renewal of the reſtriction of Payments of Caſh at the Bank being read, and a motion being made "that the Speaker do leave the chair,"

Mr. *Hobhouſe* roſe and ſaid, that he felt it a duty incumbent upon him to deliver his ſentiments on the meaſure before the Speaker ſhould leave the chair. It was ſtill, he hoped, in the recollection of the Houſe that, when the reſtriction on the Bank had been firſt propoſed, he had oppoſed the principle of it; and the grounds he ſtated for ſo doing were, that he conſidered the conduct of men ſeizing upon the caſh in the Bank as unjuſtifiable, and dictated by violence and rapacity; on that occaſion

occaſion he divided the Houſe, and was alone on the diviſion. As he had not ſince in the leaſt altered his ſentiments on the ſubject, he ſhould think himſelf guilty of inconſiſtency, as well as of criminal neglect, if he ſuffered a repetition of the meaſure to paſs unreſiſted, and therefore he would oppoſe it as he had done originally; he did not mean to go at full length into his reaſons, but would offer a remark or two upon it.

It had been ſtated in the Report of the Committee that the Bank was in a flouriſhing condition, and to attempt to controvert that ſtatement might appear invidious; but yet truth demanded of him to ſay, that it was not made good by the detail of the report; for if the ſurplus in November exceeded that in February by only 12,600l (it was ſo ſtated in the report), that could not be looked upon as any great indication of increaſing proſperity. In ſome private concerns, indeed, it might be reckoned conſiderable; but, in ſuch a concern as the Bank of England, it was not at all ſufficient to authoriſe the inference that it was in a flouriſhing condition. If it was a fact that they were in the proſperous ſtate aſſerted, the Bank had been guilty of great miſconduct in not making a proper uſe of it; for it ſhould be remembered, that in July power was given them by Parliament to make partial payments, and yet, while they were, by their own confeſſion, in a flouriſhing ſtate, they neglected to avail themſelves of it by paying more than before, though they could not plead the reſtriction in their defence. There was another part of the meaſure to which he had an inſuperable objection—the continuation of it to the end of the war. He reminded the Houſe that he had ſaid on a former occaſion that this would be the caſe, and now the Miniſter was making good his predictions, alledging as a reaſon for ſo doing, that the nature of the conteſt in which we are engaged demanded it, though this was no part of the grounds for the former reſtriction, and though in comparing the war now with its nature at that time, it did not appear there was any material difference. Why the nature of the war then made a reſtriction of ſix months only neceſſary, and its nature now made a reſtriction during the conteſt neceſſary, he could not diſcover; to him it appeared abſurd and irreconcileable to common ſenſe and ſound policy. After all, feeling all theſe objections with their full force, he was not inclined to oppoſe the Speaker's leaving the chair or to divide the Houſe upon it.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* ſaid, that he had before given his reaſons for continuing the reſtriction, and for thinking that reſtriction ſhould remain during the whole courſe of the war; he would not go over that ground again, or trouble the

the Houſe farther than to reply to what had fallen from the honourable Gentleman who had juſt ſat down. The honourable Gentleman had ſaid that the affairs of the Bank were not ſo proſperous as was ſtated in the report of the Committee, and had grounded this aſſertion on the partial ſtatement, that the ſurplus in November exceeded that in February only by a ſum of 12,660l. To this it was only neceſſary for him to ſay, that the general ſurplus of the affairs of the Bank, as far as reſpected their ultimate reſponſibility, (which was the true queſtion at iſſue,) was laſt year as great and flouriſhing as any gentleman did or could deſire it to be, ſo far as it related to the ſecurity of the creditors; to ſay that it only continues ſo, would ſurely be ſufficient for any purpoſes the Houſe could have in conſidering the ſubject; and to infer from its having ſince then increaſed only 12,660l. and that the Bank was not in a ſtate of proſperity, was, in his mind, not a very concluſive way of arguing. But the Houſe would recollect that the queſtion for conſideration at that time, was not the want of ultimate ſecurity of the Bank, but the want of a due proportion between the caſh in hand and the outſtanding demands. The argument then was entirely on the deficiency of caſh, and not on the nature and ſtate of the general funds. In the very next ſentence of the report to that which the honourable Gentleman had ſo induſtriouſly ſelected and ſo confidently urged in argument, appeared a ſtatement, that there was now in the Bank five times more bullion than there was laſt year. By ſome ſiniſter accident, however, this ſtatement eſcaped the reſearch of the honourable Gentleman; but could the Houſe find in it no ſymptom of proſperity? And would they not ſee that the objections of the honourable Gentleman were entirely reduced to that ingenious one, of the rapacity of Miniſters?

As to the plan of continuing the reſtriction for the whole term of the war, the reaſons for it being ſtated diſtinctly in the report of the Committee, it was unneceſſary for him to ſay a word more upon the ſubject; it would be found there diſtinctly ſet out, that the Bank was in a ſtate which in ordinary times would enable it to reſume its caſh payments and operations on the accuſtomed ſcale. But that the avowal of the enemy to attack us through our finances, and to ruin our public credit, was the motive (he preſumed a ſufficiently cogent motive) to make an additional term of reſtriction; and when it was remembered that no injury, nor even inconvenience, had been ſuſtained by the reſtriction hitherto,

the Houſe could not but think it a ſufficient encouragement to adopt that now called for.

Mr. *Allardice* declared his approbation of the reſtriction, but at the ſame time expreſſed his diſlike to any connection between the Bank and Government, or any dependance of the former upon the latter. When the honourable Gentleman ſtated that 12,660l. was the whole exceſs of the ſurplus of November above that of February, he was not aware, perhaps, of one fact, viz. that two dividends had been made in that time.

Mr. *Nicholls* ſaid, that he continued to be as diſſatisfied as at firſt with the reſtriction. The principle upon which it was now grounded was quite different from that upon which it was moved laſt year. Laſt year neceſſity was the plea; this year it appeared that the Bank had more than ſufficient to pay all its debts. If the bill, therefore, was adopted, it would be as matter of choice, not neceſſity; but whether it were of choice or of neceſſity, he had an inſuperable diſlike to its continuance during the war, ſince it would become matter of precedent to authoriſe every future Miniſter in future wars to ſtop payment. He did not like to ſee the Bank ſo cloſely connected with Government, and he heartily wiſhed he could once again ſee it perfectly independent. The ſtate of Ireland had been made one ground among others for the reſtriction, but how was the Houſe to judge of that? they had no materials before them; would Miniſters come forward and ſtate what the particular ſituation of Ireland was, that demanded a reſtriction of caſh payments in the Bank of England? If they did not, they had no right to aſſume it as a ground for any meaſure. If Miniſters would fairly declare what ſtate Ireland was in, and what conduced to its being in that ſtate, he had no doubt but the Houſe would give it due conſideration; in the mean time he diſapproved of the principles of the bill, and would oppoſe it, though he knew it was of little conſequence whether he approved of it or not.

Mr. *Wilberforce Bird* ſaid, that as one of the Committee he could aſſert that the report was founded in truth and juſtice, upon a fair conſideration of the ſtate of things. An honourable Gentleman (Mr. Allardice) had objected to any connection between the Bank and Government; by the report it would appear that they had lately been conſiderably diſſevered. In concluſion he declared it to be his opinion, that the reſtriction on the Bank had been the ſalvation of the country.

Mr. *Tierney*

Mr. *Tierney* ſaid, he had intended to defer ſpeaking upon the ſubject, to reſerve his opinion to the very laſt ſtage, and when the queſtion ſhould be put, "that the bill do paſs," and not before, to give his reaſons why he could not, on any account, aſſent to it; for he was too ſenſible how unavailing would be any attempt of his to modify or meliorate its proviſions in any of the ſtages of its paſſage through the Houſe, to think of taking up time with any efforts for that purpoſe; but as it appeared that gentlemen on the other ſide of the Houſe had come down for the purpoſe of ſpeaking, he would take that opportunity of ſtating his objections to the bill and to its principle. No man felt more forcibly than he did the delicacy and difficulty of agitating queſtions that affected public credit; no one was more convinced that they ſhould be touched but ſparingly, and handled with all poſſible caution, and therefore if he did not feel it to be a duty ſtrictly incumbent upon him to declare his ſentiments publicly, as well as to oppoſe the bill, he would have contented himſelf with giving the queſtion a ſilent negative. He was aware that in thus fulfilling his duty, he ſubjected himſelf to much miſrepreſentation, and to the obloquy that of late too much attached to every attempt to thwart the meaſures of Miniſters; but in defiance of all this, he would proceed to do his duty. He declared then, that as an honeſt man he could not aſſent to the meaſure, for he did not ſee why the Bank of England ſhould be governed by a rule of moral conduct different from that which is laid down for the regulation of other concerns, or how that which in individuals would be juſtly held fraudulent, ſhould in the caſe of the Bank of England be conſidered juſt and ſalutary. And he ſhould be glad to ſee the man who would heſitate to pronounce that the ſtoppage of payment for ſome time paſt at the Bank, would have been at leaſt diſcreditable, if not fraudulent, if it had happened in the caſe of a private trader. An order of council iſſued, directing the Bank to ſtop payment of caſh, with certain exceptions; a committee was appointed to enquire into the grounds and expediency of that act, and of the circumſtances that led to it. That committee made a report, ſtating an efficient and a remote cauſe for that procedure, but avowing at the ſame time, that the efficient cauſe would not have formed a juſt ground for the order of council, if it had not been preceded by the remote cauſe. If that remote cauſe were now in exiſtence, he confeſſed he ſhould heſitate to oppoſe the meaſure; but on the contrary, every one circumſtance that

had contributed to form that remote cauſe had not only entirely ceaſed, but circumſtances in all reſpects the very reverſe had taken place of them; for firſt, one of the cauſes aſſigned was, that the exchange with Hamburgh was unfavourable, and that gold was ſo high on the continent as to create a great drain of bullion from this country; but the preſent report ſtated that the courſe of exchange with Hamburgh was at preſent unuſually favourable for this country, and that muſt neceſſarily have a tendency to bring gold into this country. Another reaſon was, the neceſſity of reducing their diſcounts at the Bank; but this (to give the Bank all due credit) did not exiſt now; for they were extremely liberal in their accommodation to merchants. Another was, the neceſſary ſupply of foreign powers, and of our troops on the continent; but neither of thoſe now exiſted. Another was, that the balance of trade in our favour was diminiſhed; that too was changed. So that there was not one operative cauſe for the order of council that had not vaniſhed, and given way to circumſtances of a directly oppoſite nature; and yet, with all theſe oppoſite reaſons, Miniſters came forward deſiring the ſame meaſure. And here he thought proper to obſerve, as a circumſtance of an extraordinary kind, that the principal reaſon for reſtraining payment at the Bank, came from the Bank Directors themſelves; that they ſeemed to be moſt forward in it, and to outrun the eagerneſs of the Chancellor of the Exchequer himſelf; for before the right honourable Gentleman had thought it neceſſary to ſay a word about the matter, the Bank Directors came to the following reſolution: "That it is the opinion of this Court that the Governor and Company of the Bank of England are enabled to iſſue ſpecie in any manner that may be deemed neceſſary for the accommodation of the public. And that the Court has *no heſitation* to declare, that the affairs of the Bank are in ſuch a ſtate that it can with ſafety reſume its accuſtomed functions, if *the political circumſtances of the country do not render it inexpedient.*" And here he could not but remark that for a mere trading company to go out of its way ſo far as to ſuggeſt to Government a queſtion of political expediency, was unuſual and wanton; and indeed this they themſelves, in the next ſentence acknowledge that they feel: for they continue, "But the Directors, deeming it *foreign to their province to judge of theſe points*, wiſh to ſubmit to the wiſdom of Parliament, whether, as it has been *once* judged proper to lay a reſtriction on the payments of the Bank in caſh, it may

or

or may not be prudent to continue the ſame." Thus, he ſaid, the meaſure of non-payment originated with the perſons bound to pay. To ſpeak of the body of the Bank as a body, (for individually he reſpected them, and knew from perſonal intimacy, that there were many of them deſerving reſpect,) but as a body, he muſt ſpeak of them in terms of diſapprobation; they had received grace and lenity and indulgence from the public, and it was a hard return which they now made to the public. They ſhould have remembered with gratitude, that when they were obliged to ſtop payment, no diſpoſition whatever was ſhewn on the part of the public, to preſs, to thwart, or to harraſs them; on the contrary, every thing was done to aid and ſupport them. Aſſociations were formed for the purpoſe among the moſt reſpectable and opulent of the citizens of London, who unanimouſly agreed to ſupport the Bank, to receive it notes as caſh, and to fence it in from miſchiefs that were apprehended. One would think that the conſequence of this treatment would have been, that now, when they are declaredly in a ſtate of proſperity, they would call thoſe aſſociations together again, in order to ſhew how well they ſtand, and propoſe to do that which at all times it was their duty to do, pay their promiſſory notes in caſh, if required ſo to do; inſtead of which they aſſumed to themſelves the province of judging of political circumſtances, and pleading them againſt their creditors, and officiouſly ſuggeſted to Parliament the expediency of continuing the reſtriction. In an individual this would not be honeſt, and the man who ſhould practice it would certainly loſe his character. On thoſe grounds he would not agree to a renewal of the reſtriction; for if Miniſters were allowed to bring through the Houſe the ſame meaſure, on grounds ſo totally different, what was it but to ſay, that whether the courſe of exchange be unfavourable, or the courſe of exchange be favourable, gold goes rapidly out of the country, or gold comes rapidly into the country; whether there be a drain on the Bank, or a vaſt influx of bullion into it, the Houſe muſt ſanction the Bank in the propoſed meaſure, and juſtify them in ſaying to the public, "We, (the Bank of England) owe you money, and here we have money in abundance, but will not pay you."

Mr. Tierney then proceeded to ſtate, that it appeared from the report of the Committee that the Governor and Deputy Governor of the Bank, who were examined touching the *inconvenience* that might have ariſen from the reſtriction impoſed

poſed on the Bank, and touching the expediency of continuing that reſtriction, had declared, that *they were not aware of any ſuch inconvenience*; and that there could not ariſe any injury to the credit of the Bank, but on the contrary, advantage to the nation from continuing the reſtriction. This he thought a moſt extraordinary aſſertion; extraordinary indeed, for the Governor of the Bank of England to ſay that it could be attended with no inconvenience to break their faith ſolemnly and under their hand pledged, and to write on their Bank notes "*payable on demand*," while they were determined to refuſe that payment. If by no inconvenience they meant no pecuniary demands, no clamorous duns at their doors, no bailiffs to arreſt them in the ſtreet, they were right; but if they were animated by that ſpirit which diſtinguiſhed their forefathers, and rendered ſome of them, though but traders, not leſs illuſtrious than the firſt ſtateſmen: if they were actuated by that generous manly integrity which raiſed the character of Britiſh merchants high enough to cope with the firſt men of the world, they would find a very heavy inconvenience in their own feeling, in the goading reflection, that they themſelves, the Bank of England, was now under the cenſuring eye of all Europe, and that they are praying the Parliament to continue them in a ſtate of bankruptcy, which they themſelves acknowledge to be unneceſſary. But it appeared that now they were become deep politicians, and took upon them to inform the Houſe, that from the nature of the war, and the avowed purpoſe of the enemy to attack this country by means of its public credit, it will be neceſſary to continue the reſtriction. That the enemy would aim a blow at our credit and finances all would agree, for all modern wars have been without exception carried on upon that principle. Modern wars are made upon reſources rather than blood: but was this the way to prevent the enemy from ſucceeding? Moſt whimſical expedient! In order to leave to the enemy no credit to attack, they deſtroy credit themſelves. But at laſt they ſpeak plainly, and at laſt it comes out, that "it will diſtreſs *the financial operations* of the country:" and then they deliberately weigh and find "That it will be expedient to continue the reſtriction, with the reſerve of partial iſſues of caſh, at the diſcretion of the Bank, and that it may be ſo continued with advantage to the nation, and without injury to the credit of the Bank." This was the reſult of the examination of the Governor and Deputy Governor of the Bank of England, this was their advice. This precious plan,

plan, firſt originated in the diabolical, but fertile mind of that monſter Robeſpierre; but what had they to do with political conſiderations, or what had finance to do with the Bank of England? What was it that raiſed the Bank of England above all the Banks in the world, and fixed its credit upon ſo ſtrong a baſe as to reſiſt even the mortal aſſaults of the preſent time? What, but that it was unconnected with Government, and independent of Miniſters; and had only to purſue the plain ſtraight road of their own buſineſs, to act directly, to act ſtrictly, and to fulfil its engagements with probity, having nothing to do with financial operations. In other countries, where a connection ſubſiſted between the Bank and the ſtate, and where of courſe Miniſters had the power of diſtorting the operations of the Bank to their own crooked views of finance, the Bank never was ſafe. In England there never till now was ſuch a connection, and the Bank, of conſequence, was always ſafe; but it was much to be feared that hereafter men, in eſtimating the Bank, would look to the Court, and meaſure the ſecurity of the former by the ſtability of the latter, founding their opinions on that ſubject rather on the wiſdom of Miniſters, than the ſubſtantial property and integrity of the Bank Directors.

He ſaid, that he had already ſtated that his firſt ground of objection to the meaſure was, that it was not founded in common honeſty. There was another ground, and he would now ſtate it: he thought the meaſure led to a principle, that if effected, would be extremely prejudicial to the monied intereſt. And here he would repeat what he had before profeſſed, that if he was not in his conſcience convinced that no hazard would attend the reſuming of caſh payments, he would not ſay a word about it. The fear of an invaſion had been ſtated as one of the reaſons for not opening the Bank in the uſual way; but if an invaſion actually took place, he could not ſee how the withholding caſh, and of courſe diminiſhing the credit of the Bank, would ſerve it. He wiſhed ſome gentleman better qualified would point out to him the difficulty, or what objection there could be to keep in bank a quantity of caſh equal to the amount of the notes delivered out, which would eſtabliſh the credit ſo firmly, that even in caſe of invaſion every man being ſure of receiving caſh for his bills, would have no diſlike to accept the notes of the Bank. Some perhaps would ſay, that if caſh equal to the outſtanding notes were kept in the Bank, there would be no profit

profit on the buſineſs. But if he did not err it might be done with advantage, and with the effect of giving new facility as well as credit and vigour to the operations of the Bank. He would aſk the Bank Directors to be content only for one year without any profit, and every man being ſure of payment if he called, would never think of demanding caſh. If, while the Bank was unable to make caſh payments, the aſſociations already alluded to had kept up and ſupported and credited the Bank, was it to be doubted that they and all the people at large would continue to do ſo when they found the Bank had reſumed its accuſtomed modes of payment; and this would be infinitely better than the preſent meaſures: for ſuppoſe an invaſion, if the Bank were ſhut againſt payment, no one would take notes, for they could not be able to convert them into any ſubſtantial commodity; ſo that would not prevent the evil, nor facilitate the negotiation of Bank notes; and in the city, however prompt they may be to give loyalty loans, their procedure on the laſt loan ſhewed that they were not in the main diſpoſed to ſacrifice much to their loyalty. They would ſoon remind the Bank, and ſay, "We did every thing for you, we diſcharged our duty to you, and you have not diſcharged yours to us; but inſtead of that you applied to Parliament for a reſtriction, and thereby made that reſtriction your own act." If under theſe circumſtances, the right honourable the Chancellor of the Exchequer wiſhed to have the Bank notes circulated, he muſt go the full length, he muſt adopt the vigour with the policy of Robeſpierre, and make them a legal tender, elſe the Bank would be blown upon. If the reſult ſhould be fatal, which he both feared and deprecated, it would be a ſource of affliction to the Bank Directors, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer would fruitleſsly lament his having intrigued with them. He declared he much feared that the financial plan contained in the meaſure would unfold itſelf on Friday next, when the right honourable Gentleman was to open his budget. For his part, he could put his hand to his heart, and declare, that as an honeſt member, he never would vote a ſhilling to his Majeſty's preſent Miniſters. At all events, if money muſt neceſſarily come, he wiſhed it were to come in a fair way.

Major *Elford* ſaid, that in his view of the ſubject, the queſtion appeared to lie in a very narrow compaſs indeed; that certain circumſtances of public alarm had created ſuch a drain on the Bank in February laſt, as induced the executive power to iſſue an order to prevent its continuing its payments in ſpecie. That the meaſure was a bold one, and that time and ſubſequent circumſtances had ſanctified it as a wiſe one; that

that at the time this order had iſſued, various dreadful conſequences were predicted, none of which had come to paſs; that it was agreed on all ſides, that the policy of the enemy was to injure our public credit, and then the queſtion was ſimply, whether it was not more wiſe, more prudent, and more politic to continue during the war, a reſtriction which had been found to produce none of thoſe evils which had been foretold, rather than by diſcontinuing it, to run the riſk that ſome future occaſion might create a neceſſity for its being again impoſed, and of incurring thoſe ill conſequences by the ſecond reſtriction, which had been falſely predicted of the firſt. That on theſe grounds, he could have no heſitation in giving his hearty aſſent to the Speaker's leaving the chair.

The Houſe at length went into a Committee of the whole Houſe upon the bill, who went through the common clauſes.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* ſaid, that in purſuance of what he had already ſtated, he had to propoſe a clauſe, providing "That during the continuance of this reſtriction, it ſhall not be lawful for the Bank to iſſue any ſums of money by way of loan, or advance for the public ſervice, except on the credit of the duty on land and malt, and that any other advance which ſhall be made muſt be on the authority of a ſpecific act of Parliament, if any ſuch ſhall be made during the continuance of the preſent reſtriction."—Agreed to.

He then propoſed to limit the duration of the preſent act to one month after the concluſion of the preſent war by final treaty.—Agreed to.

The Houſe being reſumed, the report was ordered to be received the next day.

The order of the day being read, the Houſe reſolved itſelf into a Committee of the whole Houſe to conſider further of a ſupply.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* moved the following reſolutions for the enſuing year: That

£.	
7,150	be voted for the civil eſtabliſhment for the province of Upper Canada.
5,915	for Nova Scotia.
5,400	for New Brunſwick.
1,790	for the Iſland of St. John.
4,100	for the Summer Iſlands.
600	for Dominica.
6,157	for New South Wales.
168,000	for the relief of the ſuffering Clergy and Laity of France.
44,000	for penſions and allowances to the American Loyaliſts.
36,000	for bills that are or may become due for the ſettlement of New South Wales.

33,325 for maintaining convicts at home.
2,590 for bills on Douglas harbour.

All agreed to. The report to be received the next day.

Deferred Committees of Supply and of Ways and Means to Friday.

The bill for allowing the iſſue of ſmall notes was read a ſecond time, and ordered to be committed to a Committee of the whole Houſe the next day.

SCOTCH DISTILLERIES.

The order of the day being read for the Houſe to go into a Committee of the whole Houſe on the Scotch Diſtillery Bill; the Houſe went into a Committee accordingly.

Mr. *Roſe* ſaid, that the late act with reſpect to the diſtilleries of Scotland referred to a matter that ought to be much conſidered, inaſmuch as it related to a ſubject of great importance; it was paſſed under an underſtanding that much information was to be received from Scotland upon the ſubject, previous to making any permanent regulation. From the information which had been received, the ſubject appeared to be of much too complicated a nature to be finally decided now; he ſhould therefore move that leave be given to bring in a bill to continue the preſent act for a time to be limited.

Mr. *Addington* (the Speaker) ſuggeſted that this motion was irregular; that as this was a queſtion inclining to trade, the motion ſhould be made in the Committee in the form of a reſolution.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* then moved a reſolution, that the duties impoſed by the ſaid act be further continued for a time to be limited.

Mr. *Allardyce* objected to the continuation, obſerving that the duties were ſo exceſſively high as to encourage ſmuggling and frauds on the revenue; and hoped, if the bill was continued, it would only be for a limited time, and that the new duties would be finally taken off.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* ſaid, that the preſent meaſure was only intended to be for a limited time. That the duties on all diſtilleries in Scotland, muſt, in future, be much higher than they are at preſent, or elſe the ſtills muſt be ſtopped altogether; for the police of that part of the country, and the regard that ought to be had for its morals as well as health, required that there ſhould be a great reduction in the conſumption of ſpirits. The queſtion was a queſtion of revenue certainly, but the revenue muſt be relinquiſhed altogether, and the diſtilleries be ſtopped, if the con-

conſumption of ſpirits could not be diminiſhed in that part of the kingdom, for the exceſſes which the preſent uſe of them occaſioned was moſt enormous.

Sir *William Pulteney* was glad to hear of the continuation of this Act, and the intention to extend the duties. He had been informed that the proceſs of diſtillery was altered, and that three times the quantity formerly diſtilled was now produced from a ſtill of the ſame ſize. As it was a ſubject, however, not generally underſtood, he ſuggeſted whether the better way of proceeding would not be to appoint a Committee and examine witneſſes upon oath.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* ſaid, that would be a ſubject for future conſideration, and admitted the increaſed production of the ſtills, as, from the beſt information he could collect, he believed that one of the cauſes of the cheapneſs of ſpirits in Scotland was, that the proceſs of diſtillation was ſo much altered ſince the Act paſſed, that the diſtiller could produce treble the quantity of ſpirit from the ſame grain that he did before that period.

The reſolution was then agreed to, and the report was ordered to be received. Several public accounts were laid before the Houſe on the motion of Mr. *Roſe*.—Adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

THURSDAY, *Nov.* 23.

Mr. *Hobart* brought up the Report of the Committee on the Expiring Laws, the reſolutions of which were read and agreed to.

FINANCE.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* roſe to give notice, that he would ſome time before the receſs move to take into conſideration the report of the Committee of Finance, in order that the Houſe might have an opportunity of canvaſſing the various matters it contained, and conſidering whether it would not become the ground-work of ſome legiſlative proviſions, as well as whether it might not be proper to re-appoint a Committee to proceed farther in the buſineſs? He concluded with fixing that day fortnight for the purpoſe.

BANK.

A motion being made to bring up the report of the Committee appointed to conſider of a Bill for continuing the reſtrictions on the Bank,

Mr. *Huſſey* roſe, and objected to its being brought up. He ſaid he was one of the Committee, who reſolved that it would be ex-

pedient to continue the reſtriction, and he was firmly convinced that the reſtriction would have a ſalutary effect. He differed with the Chancellor of the Exchequer only on the period of its duration; he objected to its being continued to a month after a treaty of peace, and was averſe to its being different from the laſt Bill. He thought it would be uſeful that a matter of ſuch vaſt importance ſhould be brought often before the Houſe, and had not any objection to the period's being limited to a month after the meeting of the next Seſſion of Parliament. He really did not make this objection on any principle of hoſtility to Miniſters, but upon a perſuaſion that they run great riſk of injuring the credit of the Bank, for when it went abroad that the reſtriction was to continue for ſo indefinite a term, would there not neceſſarily enſue from it a decline of confidence? He therefore would oppoſe the Speaker leaving the chair.

The *Speaker* remarked, that as the honourable Gentleman's objection was only to a particular part of the Bill, the more regular mode of proceeding would be to let the report be brough up, and to offer the amendment when it came in the ſhape of a Bill before the Houſe.

Mr. *Huſſey* aſſured the Speaker that he highly reſpected his authority and advice, but could not agree to let the report be brought up without a queſtion, as the reſolution it contained to continue the reſtriction during the war was a moſt alarming meaſure.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* ſaid, that he was encouraged by what had fallen from the honourable Gentleman himſelf at the outſet of his objection, to hope that he would not reſiſt bringing up the report, for the honourable Gentleman had declared it to be his opinion that the reſtriction was neceſſary, though he objected to the period fixed for its continuance; and yet if the report was not brought up the whole was loſt, for the Bill muſt certainly drop along with it. He frankly owned that he completely differed with the honourable Gentleman on the ſubject of his objection, and had not the ſmalleſt apprehenſion of any bad conſequences ariſing from the continuance, though he gave him full credit for the fairneſs and ſincerity of his intentions. He reminded the Houſe, that at the earlieſt outſet of the buſineſs, he had fully explained his reaſons for taking that ſtep, and he had had no cauſe ſince to change his opinion, for he thought that the enemy, while they avowed their deſigns of attacking our finances, ſhould be made to know that, ſo long as thoſe deſigns continued, we would continue the reſtriction as a defence againſt them. He thought the more

more plainneſs there was in the tranſaction, the greater would be the utility of it, and that the continuance during the war would have a greater effect in giving confidence to our people at home, and diſappointment to the enemy.

The report was then brought up and read, and when the queſtion was put on the reſolution objected to,

Mr. *Huſſey* again roſe, and ſaid he was not all convinced by what had been ſaid by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. He was perſuaded that the reſolution to continue the reſtriction during the war would not weigh a feather with the enemy, while it would, he very much feared, be attended with very ruinous effects to this country.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* ſaid, he was inclined to believe the honourable Gentleman did not entirely comprehend the full nature and extent of the Bill. The Bill itſelf was certainly to continue in force during the war; but then the reſtriction was left open to the Bank Directors, who might, when they judged it ſafe to do ſo, reſtore things to their accuſtomed channel. Thus the Bill told the world that our finances and public credit were completely guarded; but at the ſame time told the people of England that it did not neceſſarily follow becauſe there was a power to withhold, there was a poſitive unalterable reſtriction for the whole time; but that, on the contrary, it was left in the power of thoſe perſons who were beſt qualified to form a judgment of the matter, to put an end to it whenever they thought proper.

The reſolution was then agreed to, and the bill was ordered to be engroſſed.

TEWKESBURY ELECTION.

Mr. *Martin* brought up a petition from the returning officer of the borough of Tewkeſbury, ſtating that, by an omiſſion in the forms preſcribed by law, the election of a member for that borough was rendered void, and praying for a new writ.

The *Speaker* expreſſed a doubt reſpecting the proceeding that might be had, or indeed whether the Houſe could proceed at all, as the law did not provide for any caſe in which, as in this, the returning officer had abſtained entirely from proceeding to election, and recommended it to the ſerious conſideration of the Houſe. On this a long diſcuſſion aroſe.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* ſaid, that the Houſe ſhould proceed with the utmoſt deliberation in ſo important a queſtion as the preſent. It would be better firſt to have the petition brought up, and then it might be determined whether it might not be proper to to take it into conſideration, according to the meaning of the Act for regulating controverted elections. But

if

if he conceived the ſubject rightly, he muſt conclude, that as there was no return to the writ which had been already iſſued, the Houſe was precluded from doing any thing at all in the buſineſs until the expiration of 52 days after the iſſuing of the writ.

Mr. *Martin* ſaid, there was a perſon then waiting outſide the Houſe who could give any information on the ſubject that might be thought neceſſary.

The petition was brought up, and ordered to lie on the table. The Acts of William and Mary, and of the preſent King, relative to elections, were then ordered to be read.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* then obſerved, that according to the laſt of thoſe Acts (that of laſt ſeſſions) which enjoined returning officers to return writs within a certain time, the Houſe could not proceed on the preſent petition till after the expiration of 52 days. He thought it better that it ſhould lie on the table for the peruſal of Members, who might make up their minds on the ſubject by ſome future day. But for the Houſe to come to any determination thereon, or to fix any time for taking the petition into conſideration, would be nothing leſs than laying down a precedent that would give a new interpretation to the Act for regulating elections, and bind the Houſe in future to conſider petitions of this nature the ſame as thoſe complaining of undue elections.

Mr. *Bragge* declared himſelf to be of the ſame opinion.

Mr. *Martin* then ſaid, that on Monday next he would make a motion grounded on the petition in queſtion.

Sir *John Sinclair* and the *Speaker* delivered their ſentiments upon it; after which the Houſe ordered that the petition ſhould be permitted to lie on the table, with an underſtanding that a motion would be made upon it on Monday.

Colonel *Stanley* brought up a petition from the Bench of Juſtices of the county palatine of Lancaſter, for moving the place of holding the Court of Quarter Seſſions to Preſton, inſtead of Lancaſter.

Mr. *Dent* expreſſed an intention to oppoſe the meaſure.

The petition was referred to the conſideration of a Committee.

Another petition to the ſame effect, from the Grand Jury of the county of Lancaſter, was preſented by Colonel Stanley, which was alſo referred to a Committee.

Mr. *Hobart* brought up the report of the Committee of Supply; the reſolutions of which were read and agreed to.

Mr. *Hobart* brought up the report of the Scotch Diſtillery Bill, which was read and agreed to alſo.

The

The Small Note Bill paſſed a Committee of the whole Houſe, and the Report was ordered to be received the next day, upon the motion of Mr. *Wilberforce Bird*.

The Land and Malt Duty Bills paſſed the ſame ſtages on the motion of Mr. Roſe.—Adjourned.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

FRIDAY, *Nov.* 24.

Their Lordſhips met at three o'clock, and heard Counſel in a Scotch cauſe.

Lord *Ribbleſdale* was introduced, and took the oaths and his ſeat.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

FRIDAY, *Nov.* 24.

Several Bills were forwarded in their reſpective ſtages.

FINANCE.—SCHEME OF SUPPLY.

The Houſe having reſolved itſelf into a Committee of Supply,

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* in ſubſtance ſpoke as follows:—In purſuance of the intimation which I gave upon a former day, I now riſe to ſtate to the Committee the general outline of the meaſures which are propoſed as the foundations for raiſing the ſupplies, and for meeting the exigences of the enſuing year. As the principle of that part of the intended plan to which I am moſt deſirous to direct the attention of the Committee, is new in the financial operations of this country, at leaſt for more than a century, as it is a principle ſo important in its nature, and ſo extenſive in its conſequences, it is not my intention to call for any deciſion upon its merit in the preſent ſtage of the buſineſs. All that I now mean to ſtate to the Committee, I wiſh to be conſidered merely as a notice, and a general explanation of a plan that is afterwards to be brought forward. Any minute conſideration and particular diſpoſitions I ſhall omit till the ſubject is ſubmitted to a detailed diſcuſſion, and content myſelf with a general view of the object propoſed, and a general outline of the mode by which it is to be carried into execution. After the facts which are already in your poſſeſſion, after the unanimous reſolution which the two Houſes of Parliament have paſſed upon the ſubject, it would be unneceſſary for me to dwell upon the cauſes which demand your exertions, and the nature of the objects which the ſupplies you are called upon to provide are intended to ſecure. The queſtion which

which you have to conſider is of no leſs importance than by what means you are to provide for the expences which will be neceſſary to enable you ſucceſsfully to reſiſt the avowed intentions of an arrogant foe, to deſtroy your liberties and conſtitution, to cut off the ſources of your wealth, your proſperity, your independence, and your glory. In pledging ourſelves to withſtand theſe haughty pretenſions, and to defend the bleſſings we enjoy, we have not acted lightly. In expreſſing our determination to ſupport the honour and the intereſt of the country at every hazard, we ſpoke equally the dictates of ſober reflection and the language of indignant feeling, our judgment was in concord with our ardour, we declared ourſelves ready to meet the difficulty in its fulleſt extent, and prepared to ſupport our reſolution in every extremity. I wiſh to be underſtood, therefore, that it is upon theſe principles that the plan which I am now about to explain is founded. I know that it is upon theſe principles that Parliament and the nation have pledged themſelves to act. By theſe principles, and theſe only, the meaſures which are to be ſubmitted to your conſideration have been framed, and it is upon theſe principles that their propriety ought to be judged.

Before I proceed to enter more largely into the principles of the plan which it is my intention to propoſe, I ſhall briefly take a view of the amount of the expences for which it will be neceſſary to provide. Theſe I ſhall ſtate under the uſual heads, avoiding, in the preſent ſtage of the buſineſs, all minute details, and conſidering only the amount of the ſupplies which will be required.

NAVY.

I ſhall begin then with the ſums that will be neceſſary for the ſervice of the navy. The Committee will recollect that there has already been voted for this branch the ſum of 12,539,000l.

It will likewiſe be recollected, that the eſtimates of the preſent year have been made out in a new form, intended with greater correctneſs than formerly, to preſent a full view of all the expence that would be neceſſary. Inſtead of the former allowance of 4l. per month, which was found to be inadequate, the full expence has been taken into view. Even in their preſent ſhape the eſtimates are not to be conſidered as ſo accurate as to exclude the poſſibility of any exceſs. All that can be ſaid is, that they are now more likely than at any former period to include the whole of the expence which this branch of the ſervice may demand. The amount voted then for this article is 12,539,000l. It is unneceſſary here to ſpecify the

the different heads to this branch; all that is requiſite is to point out the whole of the expence which we are called upon to deviſe meaſures to ſupply. Beſides this ſum there will be a ſum of navy debt, owing to the exceſs of laſt year above the eſtimate, amounting to three millions. This, however, will form no part of the expence for which it will now be requiſite to make a caſh proviſion. It will only be requiſite to provide a ſum equal to the intereſt, and in the preſent ſtate of the funds that proviſion cannot be calculated at leſs than 250,000l. By a regulation adopted laſt year to prevent the depreciation of Navy and Exchequer bills, by providing that the period of payment ſhould never be very diſtant from their date, there will be on their monthly iſſue of 500,000l. a floating debt of 1,500,000l. to be funded, ariſing out of the exceſs of the eſtimates for the year 1797. There will likewiſe be a ſimilar ſum of 1,500,000l. falling due in the year 1799, but for theſe no caſh proviſion will be neceſſary, nor are they included in the ſupplies to be raiſed. The ſum of 12,539,000l. is all that enters into the account of the ſupplies under this branch for the enſuing year.

ARMY ORDNANCE, &c.

The expence for the Army, excepting only barracks and extraordinaries, has likewiſe been voted. What the amount of the extraordinaries will be, it is impoſſible to aſcertain; but, ſo far as can be collected from the bills already drawn, this article may be taken at four millions, beſides the vote of credit, making an exceſs of above 1,300,000l. at the end of the year.

In judging of the probable amount of the demands of this branch of ſervice for the year 1798, it will be ſeen that there is no proſpect of increaſe at home; that the ſituarion of the war abroad promiſes to admit of a diminution; and that, from the general ſtate of affairs, many of the cauſes which contributed to ſwell the extraordinaries of the army ceaſe to operate. The amount of the extraordinaries, then, may be taken at 2,500,000l. The charge on the head of barracks may be eſtimated at 400,000l. The expence of guards and garriſons, and the general articles included under this head, has already been voted, amounting to 10,112,000l. The ordnance may be taken at 1,300,000l. and the various articles of miſcellaneous ſervice may be rated at 673,000l. There remain only two articles to be noticed, the ſum of 200,000l. appropriated for the reduction of the national debt, and about 680,000l. ariſing from deficiencies of grants. From the whole then the Committee will ſee, that the ſum now to be provided for amounts to about

twenty-five million and a half. Suppoſing the ſtatements under the head of the army and navy to be correct, the expence on theſe branches will be reduced to the extent of two millions and a half, and including the reduction on the head of extraordinaries, the ſaving upon the whole will amount to the ſum of 6,700,000l.

Notwithſtanding this diminution, however, there ſtill remains the ſum of twenty-five millions and a half to be provided for, as the ſupplies of the enſuing year. Before I proceed to explain the general plan propoſed for covering this expence, I ſhall ſtate the uſual articles which compoſe part of the annual Ways and Means.

WAYS AND MEANS.

Theſe are the growing produce of the conſolidated fund, and the land and malt. The former I ſhall take, along with the profit on the lottery, at ſo very ſmall a ſum as 700,000l. making with the land and malt the ſum of three millions and a half. There ſtill remains, however, the ſum of twenty-two millions to be ſupplied by ſome other means. The mode by which this ſum is to be raiſed, forms the great object of conſideration. The reduction upon the head of naval and military eſtabliſhment does indeed amount to a very conſiderable ſaving. The Committee will ſee with ſatisfaction that their expences admit of a diminution below what was neceſſary in ſome former periods of the war. Pleaſing as this circumſtance certainly is, I will not diſguiſe, however, that after the ſums which have already been added to the national debt, after the burdens which have already been impoſed, to raiſe ſo large a ſum as twenty-two millions, is no light matter. But the difficulty is to be examined with a firm determination to exert every effort which the magnitude of the occaſion demands, with a firm determination to produce the means by which the ſtruggle is to be ſupported with vigour and with effect, ſo long as theſe continue to be the only courſe by which we can maintain our national honour, and ſecure our national ſafety. After this decided reſolution, to render theſe ſupplies effective, the next point to be conſidered is the mode by which the expence is to be defrayed without danger to the ſources of our proſperity, and without inconvenience to thoſe who may be called upon to contribute.

Before I enter into the ſtatement of that plan by which it is propoſed to meet a conſiderable part of this expence in a manner rather new in our more recent financial operations, I ſhall mention one of the intended ſupplies which, under the reſtriction with which it will be guarded, I am diſpoſed to think will be

be viewed as altogether unexceptionable. After what I have heard from ſome Gentlemen on former diſcuſſions, I cannot expect that the meaſure to which I allude will encounter no oppoſition, but I am pretty confident that, though not univerſal, the approbation which it will receive will be very general. This meaſure, however, is conſiderably different from that which ſome gentlemen conceive. I propoſe that towards the ſupplies the Bank ſhall make an advance to government. The ſum which it is in contemplation thus to raiſe is nether very large in itſelf, nor will it be made in ſuch a ſhape as to deprive the bank of the certainty of repayment within a ſhort period, if it ſhall be conſidered expedient to take off the reſtriction on payment in caſh. That under all the circumſtances of our preſent ſituation that reſtriction is neceſſary I cannot entertain a doubt. I confeſs that, while the war continues in its preſent ſhape, it is my decided opinion that it would be unwiſe to diſcontinue that reſtriction. If, however, any unforeſeen events of the war, or if the return of peace ſhould ſuperſede that neceſſity, the advances which it is propoſed ſhould be made by the bank are to be upon ſuch conditions as ſhall render them available for the payment of their debt. If ſuch a meaſure ſhould meet with the approbation of parliament the bank will conſent to make the advance. If it is clear then that in the preſent ſituation of affairs the reſtriction is prudent, if under the conditions intended to be ſtipulated with regard to the manner of repayment, this advance will be attended with advantage to the public ſervice, without any detriment to the bank, I am at a loſs to diſcover why we ſhould decline an accommodation which, in the preſent circumſtances of the country, would prove ſo material a relief. The ſum of three millions then the bank will agree to advance on Exchequer Bills, to be repaid at a ſhort period, capable of being prolonged if nothing occur to render that extenſion inexpedient, but ſtill claimable by the bank if any change in their affairs ſhall render it neceſſary.

There now remains to be ſupplied the ſum of nineteen millions. According to the received ſyſtem of our financial operations the natural and ordinary mode of providing this ſum would be by a loan. I know that notwithſtanding the magnitude of the debt already accumulated, reſources are ſtill left for ſupplying the public ſervice by this means. I admit the funding ſyſtem, which has been ſo long the eſtabliſhed mode of ſupplying the public wants, though I cannot but regret the extent to which it has been carried, is not yet exhauſted. If we look, however, at the general diffuſion of wealth, and the great accumulation of ca-

pital; above all, if we conſider the hopes which the enemy have conceived of wearying us out by the embarraſſments of the funding ſyſtem, we ſhall find that the true mode of preparing ourſelves to maintain the conteſt with effect and ſucceſs, is to reduce the advantages which the funding ſyſtem is calculated to afford within due limits, and to prevent the depreciation of our national ſecurities. We ought to conſider how far the efforts we ſhall exert to preſerve the bleſſings we enjoy will enable us to tranſmit the inheritance to poſterity unincumbered with thoſe burthens which would cripple their vigour, which would prevent them from aſſerting that rank in the ſcale of nations which their anceſtors ſo long and ſo gloriouſly maintained. It is in this point of view that the ſubject ought to be conſidered. Whatever objections might have been fairly urged againſt the funding ſyſtem in its origin, no man can ſuppoſe that after the form and ſhape which it has given to our financial affairs, after the heavy burthens which it has left behind it, we can now recur to the notion of raiſing in one year the whole of the ſupplies which a ſcale of expence ſo extenſive as ours muſt require. If ſuch a plan is evidently impracticable, ſome medium, however, may be found to draw as much advantage from the funding ſyſtem, as it is fit conſiſtently with a due regard for poſterity, to employ, and at the ſame time to obviate the evils with which its exceſs would be attended. We ſtill may deviſe ſome expedient by which we may contribute to the defence of our own cauſe, and the ſupply of our own exigencies, by which we may reduce within equitable limits the accommodation of the funding ſyſtem, and lay the foundation of that quick redemption which will prevent the dangerous conſequences of an overgrown accumulation of our public debt.

Such are the advantages which the plan I am about to propoſe endeavours to combine. To guard againſt the accumulation of the funded debt, and to contribute that ſhare to the ſupport of the ſtruggle in which we are engaged, which our ability will permit without inconvenience to thoſe who are called upon to contribute, appears eſſentially neceſſary. The great object of ſuch a practical ſcheme muſt be to allot fairly and equally to every claſs that portion which each ought to bear. As I have already ſtated then, it is my intention to propoſe, not for your immediate deciſion, but for your mature deliberation, the plan of raiſing by a general tax within the year, the ſum of ſeven millions. I am aware that this ſum does far exceed any thing which has been raiſed at any former period at one time, but I truſt I have ſtated ſufficient reaſons

to

to ſhew that it is a wiſe and neceſſary meaſure. I am ſure that whatever the temporary ſacrifices it may be neceſſary to make, the Committee will feel that they can beſt provide for the ultimate ſucceſs of the ſtruggle by ſhewing that they are determined to be guided by no perſonal conſiderations, that while they defend the preſent bleſſings they enjoy, they are not regardleſs of poſterity. If the ſacrifices required be conſidered in this view; if they be taken in reference to the objects for which we contend, and the evils which we are labouring to avert, great as they may be compared with former exertions, they muſt appear very light in the balance.

It will be obſerved that there will be twelve millions out of the eighteen ſtill to be provided for in the way of loan. At preſent I ſtate this circuſtance merely in the curſory review I have taken of the whole ſupplies. In what manner it will be done muſt depend upon the views which the progreſs of affairs may afterwards ſuggeſt. Certain parts of this ſum would probably be raiſed on different terms. Whatever part of it might be covered by the produce of the ſinking fund may be borrowed as permanent debt, providing for its redemption on the ſame terms with the other permanent debt; other parts again may be borrowed upon a much earlier ſcheme of redemption. But to proceed to the mode by which it is propoſed to raiſe this ſome of ſeven millions.

It has been underſtood for a conſiderable time that a great increaſe of the aſſeſſed taxes was in agitation. I ſhall ſtate the reaſons why this branch of the revenue has been choſen as beſt calculated to combine the advantages which I have already explained as deſirable in the intended plan. The objects to be attained in the mode of executing this ſcheme are three-fold. One great point is, that the plan ſhould be diffuſed as extenſively as poſſible; that it ſhould be regulated as fairly and equally as poſſible, without the neceſſity of ſuch an inveſtigation of property as the cuſtoms, the manners, and the purſuits of the people would render odious and vexatious. That it ſhould exclude thoſe who are leaſt able to contribute or furniſh means of relief to thoſe whoſe ſituation moſt entitles them to favour and exemption; that it ſhould diſtinguiſh the gradation of claſſes; that it ſhould admit of thoſe abatements which, in particular inſtances, it might be prudent to make in the portion of thoſe who might be liable under its general principles. I am aware that no meaſure can be deviſed adequately to provide for all theſe objects in all their details and in every particular inſtance. No ſcheme can be practically carried into execution, in any financial arrangement, much more in ſuch a one

a one as the preſent, with ſuch perfect diſpoſitions as to guard againſt every poſſible inconvenience, and to render every individual application unexceptionable. Theſe general principles, however, muſt be kept in view in every practical plan, and the great queſtion in diſcuſſion will be, whether any means of apportioning the extent of the contribution can be found better calculated to preſerve them entire than the proviſions which I propoſe contains. It will at once occur that the taxes, known by the name of aſſeſſed, include ſo many objects different in their nature, ſo many objects in the preſent ſtate of ſociety of real neceſſity, ſo many of optional uſe and of luxury, ſo diverſified by modes, by the ſtate of families, that in general nothing can afford a better teſt of expenditure than the way in which theſe taxes are combined. One great objection that the poor who contribute to the aſſeſſed taxes, yet may be entitled to be exempted from ſuch a contribution as the preſent, will thus be obviated in a ſtriking manner. Thoſe who contribute to the aſſeſſed taxes compoſe a number of about 7 and 800,000 houſekeepers and maſters of families, including a population of nearly four millions, on whom the ſum will be raiſed. Who then are thoſe who will be entitled to exemption? Thoſe who already are not included at all, on account of their poverty, or thoſe who, for the ſame reaſon, are diſcharged from payment. Whether this deſcription includes the artificers and labourers who have a fair claim to exemption, there is at leaſt reaſon to believe from the beſt information that can be collected, 500,000 houſekeepers and maſters of families, covering a population of between two and three millions, are ſo comprehended. Such is the extent of the total exemption. The next object then is, to conſider the effect of the contribution upon thoſe claſſes on which it would be raiſed. The aſſeſſed taxes ſo far as can be aſcertained, amount to a ſum of about 2,700,000l. This ſum as collected is levied upon about 7 or 800,000 houſe-keepers, of whom it is aſcertained that 400,000 do not contribute more than 150,000l. This indeed, is a little encreaſed by the late additions, but in a very ſmall proportion, as theſe additions chiefly affect thoſe who belong to the ſuperior claſſes. The propoſed additional aſſeſſment then, upon the whole contributors, would amount on the whole ſum of aſſeſſed taxes, to ſomething leſs than a treble contribution. Why it will be ſomething leſs than treble, which would be about eight millions, will be explained in the ſequel. When we ſee that 400,000 houſeholders contribute only 150,000l. we ſhall ſee how ſmall a part of the additional ſhare will fall upon thoſe who are moſt entitled to mitigation. In this extenſive apportionment too, we ſhall diſcover the modifications which

which it may be neceſſary to make, and the means to adapt it to the ability of the contributors. The aſſeſſed taxes obviouſly divided themſelves into two claſſes. Thoſe which in a great meaſure applied to inhabited houſes, conſiſted of three duties, that which was known by the name of the Old Duty, the Window Duty, and the Commutation Duty, firſt impoſed laſt war, and regulated in 1788: and of the different per cents. ſince impoſed, which may amount to about 1,400,000l. out of two millions and a half. In this both the high and the low claſſes were included, but among the latter 400,000 contributed only 150,000l. The other conſiſts of optional conſumptions and luxury—the duty on ſervants, carriages, horſes for pleaſure, and that claſs of horſes employed in agriculture, the proprietors of whom, in the preſent ſtate of the country, one of the moſt opulent claſſes which it contains, could not be injured by ſuch an addition to the moderate rate which is now paid. It will readily occur that where there are houſes which do not contribute for the optional, or claſs of luxury, there the inhabitants muſt be beſt intitled to favour and mitigation. On theſe, then, the burden will fall much more lightly than on thoſe, ſuch as we ourſelves, and thoſe who contribute to both diviſions of the aſſeſſed taxes. There is another diſtinction likewiſe which will encreaſe the facility of applying the relief which may be found proper to beſtow. The Houſe Tax in the metropolis and other great towns, is more felt by the inferior claſſes than it is felt by the ſame claſs in the country. Perſons in the ſame circumſtances of life, who in the country pay only perhaps 2l. in towns may pay three or four times that amount. It is the advantage of this plan then, that it will be in the power of the Committee to make the contribution bear upon thoſe who are beſt able to pay, and diminiſh the burden of thoſe who are beſt entitled to relief. It forms another characteriſtic advantage of the plan, that the relief which it may be expedient to give to the poor, will not materially affect the productiveneſs of the tax. There is reaſon to believe from the beſt eſtimate that can be formed, that not more than 3 or 400,000l. is raiſed in all the metropolis. This includes, indeed, all who are entitled to relief, but it likewiſe includes all thoſe who are beſt able to pay. If great cities and populous towns contain a great number who, from their poverty, have a claim to exemption, they contain likewiſe a great proportion of the opulent claſs, who will be able to contribute in ſuch a manner as to ſupply what it would be unfair to exact from the inferior claſs. Thus the two claſſes together will ſupply what is required without oppreſſion

oppreſſion to the poor or defalcation of the tax. In this manner, following the gradations of ability, as they are clearly pointed out by the proofs of voluntary or luxurious contribution, and the claims to relief, as they are aſcertained by the nature of the taxes which individuals already pay, the full amount will be fairly collected, and the burden juſtly diſtributed. In this way the firſt claſs of contribution will, on the whole, double the amount of what is already paid, though in ſome caſes it may be more than double, in others conſiderably leſs. In this way 2,800,000l. may be obtained. Upon that claſs which comprehends the taxes on ſervants, pleaſure horſes, carriages, &c. it is propoſed to treble the aſſeſſment. In the higher claſſes, where the quantity of aſſeſſed taxes may be conſidered as a fair criterion of opulence, the rate on contribution may, in ſome caſes, be an addition of three and a half, and even in the higheſt claſs of all, a quadruple of the preſent tax.

On the ſecond deſcription there may be obtained about 3,900,000l. at the treble rate. Allowing 500,000l. for the higheſt claſs, the produce with the 2,800,000l. for the firſt claſs, makes more than ſeven millions. If it were treble on the whole, the produce would be more than eight millions; but it will now be ſufficiently underſtood that, from the modifications which it will be expedient to introduce in many caſes, inſtead of double there will not be one rate, in ſome not one half rate, and others ſtill leſs, to be exacted. Thus, from the treble allotment, there will be nearly one million to be divided in modification to alleviate the burdens of thoſe whom it may be wiſe to exempt. In this manner each claſs will mutually contribute to the relief of thoſe who are unable to ſuſtain an additional burden, and the 400,000 who now pay ſo ſmall a proportion will continue to be protected from any ſevere exaction by the extent which the tax will receive from the more opulent claſs of contributors.

Thus the advantage of ſuch an arrangement will allow ſufficient latitude of relief where relief ſhould be given without diminiſhing the productiveneſs of the tax. It will allow any exemption to thoſe who have *no means*, not to thoſe who are *unwilling* to contribute. Of the former there may be many in number but little in amount. Of the latter, whatever the amount may be, I am ſure the numbers will be few. I am ſure there cannot be a large proportion of men in any part of this country who will be unwilling to concur in thoſe meaſures which are felt ſo neceſſary for the public ſafety, or who can refuſe to contribute a part of their property for the preſervation

tion of all they poſſeſs. In ſuch a cauſe no man can find the extent of his contribution limited, but by the extent of his ability. In every claſs where the means exceed the actual neceſſity—in every caſe where the power of contribution exceeds the abſolute demand, no man can ſurely be ſo unmindful of the duties he owes to his country—no man can be ſo blind to the intereſts he has to preſerve, as not to feel that he makes the moſt frugal and generous option in contributing to defend the ſociety of which he forms a component part, and to maintain that ſtation which he occupies. I am aware that I anticipate the wiſhes of every man who hears me, in thus propoſing that the extent of the relief which the poor will receive, will be defrayed by the rate of contribution varying with the property and the ſtake which men hold in the country, by attaching upon the ſame claſs with ourſelves the additional burdens which the poverty of the lower claſſes will improve. In thus affording a proof of the ſincerity of the pledge we have given by our readineſs to make the ſacrifices which it requires, I feel that I am equally in uniſon with the general ſentiment of the Committee, as with the great principles of policy and of juſtice. Speaking for ourſelves, we thus diſclaim every little jealouſy of the extent of the burden we are called upon to bear. We prove to the world that we are not limited by this or that contribution; we demonſtrate that we calculate only the magitude of the occaſion, and conſider only whether the effort be equal to the importance of the demand. I truſt that the exertion will not be deficient, that the contribution will not be inadequate, but if it were found to be below the unexampled greatneſs of the cauſe, I am ſure that the utmoſt alacrity would be ſhewn to ſubmit to ſtill greater ſacrifices, and to diſplay more vigorous efforts. We have the ſatisfaction of knowing that, however heavy theſe burthens might be, if permanent, yet, as as temporary ſacrifices, they are light in the ſcale when weighed againſt this mighty criſis and extremity of defence, when compared with the horrors we are to ſhun, and the value of the bleſſings we have to preſerve. If I am not deceived in the enquiries I have made, the greateſt contributions will not exceed a tenth of the income of the higheſt claſs of thoſe by whom it is paid. No man ſurely will think ſuch a ſacrifice too great for ſuch a cauſe; he cannot think advantages too dearly purchaſed, if the effect of our preparation be to diſcourage the extravagant pretenſions of the enemy, to diſſipate the vain hopes they have built on our ſuppoſed financial embarraſſments, to animate confidence at home, to confirm the

ſolidity of our power, and to maintain the ſources of our proſperity.

Having thus explained the general nature of the plan propoſed, I muſt not omit to ſuggeſt the precautions which will be neceſſary to prevent the contribution from being eluded on the one hand, by a ſubſequent diminution of eſtabliſhment, and on the other, to make proviſion that a real change of circumſtances may not expoſe individuals to an oppreſſive exaction. It is evident, however, that in order to make the tax productive, it muſt proceed on a paſt, not on a future aſſeſſment; for, Sir, every Gentleman muſt feel, that if for the period this contribution is to be levied upon the people, the ſhare each individual is to contribute were to be regulated by future aſſeſſments, a great part of the benefit, there is now reaſon to expect we ſhall derive from it, would be frittered away by concealment and evaſion. It is therefore my purpoſe to propoſe, that not future but paſt aſſeſſments ſhall be made the baſis of the new contribution; becauſe, *prima facie*, the moſt impartial evidence that can be obtained of the ability of each individual to contribute to the exigencies of the ſtate, is the amount of his expenditure of income before he has any temptation to lower it, in order to elude taxation. On the other hand, Sir, as caſes may exiſt of ſome who, by accidental cauſes, are rendered unable to ſupport their preſent eſtabliſhment; of others, who having improvidently engaged in them repent of their imprudence and deſire to return to a ſituation better adapted to their real circumſtances; and of others, who, though able to pay their preſent aſſeſſment, can ſhew themſelves by the proportion they have to their income, to be unable to bear the additional weight of the new contributions, it is my intention, when the whole ſhall come in detail before the Houſe, to propoſe regulations for the relief of ſuch perſons, to be digeſted and modified in the beſt manner of which ſo complicated a ſubject will admit. But, while proviſions of this kind are to be made in favour of thoſe upon whom the aſſeſſment would be too ſeverely felt, the Houſe will foreſee that it will be impoſſible with any regard to the great and important object in view, to ſuffer the tax to be evaded by thoſe who, not deficient in ability, but wanting in inclination to contribute to the neceſſities of their country, would abandon the eſtabliſhments to which they have been accuſtomed, and diminiſh their expenditure, in order to avoid the tax. But if it be found that, in point of fact, they ſhall have reſigned their eſtabliſhments from inability to maintain them; and, if they follow up that reſignation

with

with a declaration to be preſcribed for the purpoſe, that the increaſed aſſeſſments would amount to more than a certain proportion, to be regulated on a future day, of their whole income, then they ſhall be entitled to relief Sir, I am aware that though the Houſe and the nation will, with few exceptions, concur with me in this, there will not be wanting thoſe who will cavil at this mitigating propoſition, and alledge that it will amount in its effects to a compulſory diſcloſure of property; but the Houſe will immediately ſee that it falls ſhort of that, and will view it in its true aſpect; that is to ſay, as a proviſion, intended to qualify, to mitigate, or to prevent any ſeverity or injury that may ariſe to individuals from the difficulty, or rather the utter impracticability, of drawing a preciſe line of demarcation between thoſe who, on account of the property they poſſeſs are bound, and thoſe who from inferior circumſtances are unable, to contribute to a ſupply for the exigencies of the ſtate: no man can ſay that ſuch a proviſion, coming with the effects of relief, is a hardſhip, and I am ſure no man can ſay that the tax would be efficient without it. Theſe, Sir, are the outlines of the plan which I mean to offer to the conſideration of the Houſe in more minute detail upon a future day. If, when the whole has been examined, it ſhall meet the concurrence of, and be adopted by the Houſe, it will be found diſengaged from many difficulties, embarraſſments, and expences, that lie in the way of other modes of taxation; for, Sir, the execution of it will entirely depend upon laws now exiſting, laws long in force, laws familiar to thoſe who will be the objects of its proviſions. To enforce it no new power will be delegated, no new office created, no new expences incurred.

Sir, I am aware that in contemplating a ſyſtem of finance which profeſſes to make property the baſis of its aſſeſſments, and to be as diffuſively, as generally, and as equally levied as circumſtances will admit, an idea will naturally ſuggeſt itſelf to every one, as it has to me: I mean that aſſeſſed taxes, however differently apportioned to the circumſtances of different perſons, and however certainly they may attach on perſons of oppoſite deſcriptions, are often eluded by a particular deſcription of men of large property; you will ſee I mean thoſe men who poſſeſs large capitals, and who by denying themſelves many of the enjoyments of life, hoard up money and exclude themſelves from aſſeſſment. How much this applies to the ſubject in conſideration I will not now diſcuſs, ſince it certainly applies no more to this than to any

former mode of taxation, for I know no act to make property the ſubject of taxation, while it is not rendered conducive to the pleaſure or convenience, or rendered viſible by the optional expenditure of the perſon who poſſeſſes it. If this objection has never ſtood in the way of taxation before, I am at a loſs to ſuppoſe how it can be made an objection to this, and ſhall be extremely obliged to any gentleman who will point out a mode by which property ſo held in hand can be ſubjected to taxation or aſſeſſment. The proportion this claſs of individuals bears to the maſs of the taxable part of the nation, is not ſufficiently great to add any weight to the objection if it were made, and I ſubmit it to the wiſdom and feelings of the Committee, whether in a caſe of urgency and importance like the preſent, nine-tenths of the community ſhall refuſe to contribute to the ſupport, the preſervation, the exiſtence of the ſtate, becauſe no means can be found to compel the remaining tenth to contribute alſo. Undoubtedly if it be now neceſſary to make great contributions, inſtead of incurring a large maſs of new debt, and if that be the beſt mode of carrying on the war, it would be greatly advantageous to be able to get at ſome mode of aſſeſſing all property in all individuals; and ſo far it is to be lamented that the deſcription of people of which I ſpeak, cannot be made ſubject to an aſſeſſment. But if, on the other hand, we can flatter ourſelves, as I own I do, with the hopes of being relieved ſometime from that neceſſity, then even though the hoards of the penurious elude our ſearch. it by no means follows that the nation will receive no profit from them, for on a general plan, though utterly inactive in the expenditure of the poſſeſſors, they become active in ſome other ſhape, or in other hands, and always find their level in the courſe of ſucceſſive ages: ſo that though the ſcrutiny to pry into wealth may for a time be baffled, the effects of that ſcrutiny never fail to be produced by time. If, however, I ſaw the means, or could ſuppoſe that means might be deviſed by which ſuch capitals could be made productive and uſeful to the ſtate in way of revenue, I do aſſure the Committee I ſhould conſider it an object too important at this time to be neglected; though I ſtill conſider them as making part of the ſtrength of the country, upon the average principles of general reſources. Yet, Sir, we might flatter ourſelves that independent of that compulſory power which the condition of ſuch property denies us, a due proportion of it would, at leaſt in ſome caſes, be forth-coming at the ſolicitation of ſelf-intereſt and ſelf-defence;

defence; for if this is a time, as I contend it is, when the people of this country are called upon, not to contemplate their wealth only for its enjoyment; not to indulge in prejudices or opinions, or in doubtful ſpeculations, but to take meaſures for the preſervation of their exiſtence now, and their ſecurity in future; and that for this purpoſe we are calling for money, not to be raiſed by loan with intereſt, to remain a heavy burthen on thoſe who are to follow us, but by demand on capital; then ought the hoards of the penurious to be opened; then ſhould thoſe who devoted to accumulation by ignorance of enjoyment, and early habits of frugality, have ariſen from the lower rank and meaneſt employments, by rigid frugality, and indefatigable induſtry, protected, foſtered, and encouraged by that happy ſyſtem of government, and thoſe equal laws which enabled them and permits any man to emerge from the bottom to the top of ſociety, and who in contemplating their poſſeſſions, can ſcarcely have a hope but that of tranſmitting to their poſterity thoſe bleſſings and comforts they deny themſelves; then ought they, I ſay, for the recollection of the benefits they have received, and for the ſake of thoſe to which they look forward, to conſider themſelves above all men bound to come forward in ſupport of that ſyſtem which afforded encouragement to their labours, nurture to their induſtry, vigour to their purſuits, and protection to their perſons, their property, and their acquiſitions; then ought ſuch men to reflect, if they have the means, that this is the occaſion on which they ſhould come forward; then ought they who have an intereſt ſo great in the country, to ſee that though it is impracticable to compel them, it is at leaſt neceſſary for them to contribute; and that the neceſſity of the times is the moſt urgent, as well as the beſt of all compulſions, and come forward not only uncompelled but unſolicited, to offer their contribution. That ſome will have this feeling, and act upon it, I will not doubt: that all will do ſo, I am not ſo ſanguine as to expect; but though they ſhould neither come forward voluntarily, nor be ſubject to coercion, that can hardly be ſtated as an objection to the plan, unleſs ſomething more unexceptionable can be preſented in its place.

Then, Sir, there remains another, and a leading conſideration: I have already ſtated the grounds on which I build my plan for raiſing ſeven millions of the nineteen that are neceſſary for the ſupply of the year. This leaves, as I have before mentioned, a ſum of twelve millions to be raiſed by loan.

loan. And here a point, ſeparate indeed in its nature, but not leſs important in its conſequences, properly claims your attention. I have ſtated that the ſum of ſeven millions, to be levied in a direct way by increaſed aſſeſſments, is intended to make the quantum of the loan more moderate. But I ſhall now ſtate another principle which would lay the ſecurity, the credit, the efficient powers, and the reſources of the country on a firm and immoveable foundation; a principle that will tend not to effect a diminution of our burthens for the preſent, but to prevent an accumulation of them for the future. The Houſe will recollect that by means of the ſinking fund we had advanced far in the reduction of the national debt, previous to the loans neceſſarily made in the preſent war, and every year was attended with ſuch accelerated ſalutary effects as outran the moſt ſanguine calculation But having done ſo, we have yet farther to go as things are circumſtanced; if the reduction of the debt be confined to the operations of that fund, and the expences of the war continue to impede our plans of œconomy, we ſhall have far to go before the operation of that fund, even under the influence of peace, can be expected to counteract the effects of the war. Yet there are means by which I am confident it would be practicable in not many years to reſtore our reſources, and put the country in a ſtate equal to all exigencies. It is impoſſible, Sir, but we muſt feel ourſelves bound by duty, if we wanted the encouragement of ſucceſs, to proceed in the buſineſs, and to complete the work which has already had ſo much ſucceſs; and even to provide, if it ſhall be found expedient or neceſſary, for more rapidly accompliſhing that deſirable object. Not only, Sir, do I think that the principle is wiſe, and the attempt practicable, to provide large ſupplies out of direct taxes of the year; but I conceive it to be equally wiſe, and not leſs practicable, to make proviſion for the amount of the debt incurred and funded in the ſame year; and if the neceſſity of carrying on the war ſhall entail upon us the neceſſity of contracting another debt, the principle I have in view is ſuch, that with the aſſiſtance of the ſinking fund to co-operate, we ſhall not owe more than at the beginning I cannot, indeed, take upon me to ſay, that the war will not ſtop the progreſs of the plan of liquidation; but if the means to which I look be adopted, it will leave us at leaſt ſtationary; it will leave us where we were: and beſides the ſalutary effect it will have upon our credit and reſources at home, it will produce the happy effect of demonſtrating

ſtrating to the enemy, that whatever the nature of the conteſt may be, or whatever its duration, our ſtrength is undiminiſhed, our reſources unexhauſted, and our general ſituation unimpaired; that the hopes they entertain of deſtroying the country through the medium of its finance, are as vain as their deſigns are wicked, and that whatever meaſures they may think proper to adopt againſt this country, they will find us not at all diſabled for the conteſt. But, Sir, it is neceſſary for me to be more explicit: and I will endeavour to make the point appear as clear to the Houſe as it now appears to me.

If I muſt borrow twelve millions, four of thoſe may be borrowed without making any additional debt, for the ſinking fund will pay ſo much: there then will remain eight millions, which would be an additional permanent capital if ſuffered to be funded: for theſe eight millions, therefore, I would make a different proviſion, that is to ſay, I would propoſe that the increaſed aſſeſſed taxes, the plan of which I have already laid before the Houſe, be continued till the principal and intereſt be completely diſcharged, ſo that after ſeven millions have been raiſed for this year, the ſame taxes in one year more, with the additional aid of the ſinking fund, will pay off all that principal and the intermediate intereſt. My propoſition, therefore, if carried into effect, would not only furniſh a current ſupply, but quicken the redemption of the national debt, without bearing harder on the people than they can conveniently ſuſtain. This would ſpeak a language to all Europe; this would ſpeak a language to the enemy, that by cooling the ardour of their expectations, and ſhewing them the abſurdity of their deſigns, will afford the beſt chance of ſhortening the duration of the war, and of leſſening the duration and weight of our taxes. If you feel yourſelves equal to this exertion, its effects will not be confined merely to the benefits I have ſtated in the way of general policy, and in a ſucceſsful determination of the conteſt, but will go farther; it will go to the exoneration of the nation from increaſed burthens, and to the relief of thoſe who are to follow us, from the weight of the expences of a war waged in defence of a ſyſtem which we have received from our progenitors, in truſt, to be tranſmitted entire to our ſucceſſors. Unleſs you feel you have a right to expect, that by leſs exertion you will be equally ſecure, and indulge the ſuppoſition that by ſtopping ſhort of this effort, you will produce a ſucceſsful termination of the war, you muſt ſet aſide

aſide all apprehenſions of the preſent preſſure, and by vigorous exertion, endeavour to ſecure your future ſtability, the happy effects of which I pledge myſelf will ſoon be ſeen and acknowledged. I am aware that it will be ſaid, (for it has often been ſaid) and I agree to it, that it would be fortunate if the practice of funding had never been introduced; and that it is not terminated is much to be lamented; but if we are arrived at a moment which requires a change of ſyſtem, it is ſome encouragement for us to look forward to benefits which on all former occaſions have been unknown, becauſe the means of obtaining them were neglected.

If, Sir, the whole ſum be provided for in the manner I propoſe, inſtead of being funded, the advantages will be greater than thoſe who have not been at the trouble to calculate it, can ſuppoſe. In the mode I propoſe, the whole, with the intereſt on it, will amount to no more than ſixteen millions. Raiſe that ſum, and you and your poſterity are completely exonerated from it; but if, on the contrary, you will fund, it will entail an annual tribute of 150,000l. for forty years, which makes a difference of not leſs than forty millions to thoſe who are to follow you. Theſe are the principles, this is the language, this the conduct fit for men legiſlating for a country that from its ſituations, its conſtitution, and its natural ſtrength, bears the faireſt title of any in Europe to perpetuity. You ſhould look to diſtant benefits, and not work in the narrow circumſcribed ſphere of ſhort-ſighted, ſelfiſh politicians. You ſhould put to yourſelves this queſtion, the only one now to be conſidered: "Shall we ſacrifice, or ſhall we ſave to our poſterity, a ſum of between forty and fifty millions ſterling?" And above all, you ſhould conſider the important effect ſuch firm and dignified conduct will have in the progreſs and termination of the preſent conteſt, which may without exaggeration be ſaid to involve every thing dear to yourſelves, and to include in it the fate of your poſterity.

The Houſe will now judge how far I have ſucceeded in finding a criterion by which to mark out the diſtinctions and the proportions in the taxes I have propoſed. They will decide how far I have ſucceeded in accommodating the different rates of increaſe to the circumſtances of the different claſſes in ſociety: they will determine whether I have given a plan that affords ſufficient modifications, and juſt mitigations of the ſeverity of the impoſts. If there be any thing defective, I wiſh to ſupply it; if there be any thing erroneous,

neous, I am deſirous to rectify; if I have exceeded, I am willing to retrench; it is a meaſure of unprecedented importance, and it muſt be my anxious deſire to be correct in it. I therefore court inveſtigation; but I earneſtly hope there will be no difference of opinion in the Houſe, as to the principle upon which the meaſure is founded. As I have not been able to find in any man of any party a trace of doubt as to the ſufficiency of our reſources, I think I have a right to aſſume that there can be no difference as to our right to employ them: at leaſt I can ſay that I have not heard a word of any avowed difference on that point, in any corner of the country. Atteſted thus I have produced a ſtate of reſources unimpaired even by this waſteful war; on any other account no difference can poſſibly ariſe upon this day. In the interval between this and the day on which I ſhall finally bring this ſubject before you, I will receive with attention any obſervations that Gentleman may pleaſe to ſuggeſt, and I hope all will agree with me that the queſtion for conſideration is not whether the burthens propoſed are heavy or unprecedanted, but whether there is any option left to us, whether they are not dictated by unavoidable neceſſity, and whether any better adapted to the circumſtances of the country can be deviſed to ſupply their places?

Sir, having ſaid ſo much, I will not follow it up with particulars, but move a reſolution conformable to the general deſign I have laid before the Committee. And I will poſtpone the particular parts of the plan to another day, the earlieſt that circumſtances will allow.

He then moved a reſolution to the effect before ſtated.

Mr. *Tierney* ſaid, I cannot think, Sir, of leaving the Houſe this night, without offering a few words in declaration of the ſentiments I entertain of the new, extraordinary, and wholly unprecedented meaſure which has this night been ſubmitted to the conſideration of the Houſe. Were I to deſert my duty on ſo critical and important an occaſion, I confeſs I ſhould feel myſelf juſtly diſgraced, and unable ever to meet my conſtituents, whoſe choice I ſhould alſo have diſgraced, and the protection of whoſe deareſt intereſts I ſhould, by ſuch a conduct, have ſhamefully abandoned. My abilities to perform the taſk I undertake, I am conſcious are very inadequate to its execution; but even were my abilities ſuch as I could wiſh them, from the ſide I take, their exertion, I fear, would be utterly ineffectual. The plan brought forward by the right honourable Gentleman is, without

queſtion, ſtrange and unexampled. He propoſed to raiſe money; he knew not how: and from ſome perſons; he could not tell whom. I congratulate him, however, on having been ſo far admoniſhed by the recollection of his former inaccuracies, not to come forward this night with his uſual poſitive and peremptory tone, in pronouncing what was to be the amount of the ſum which the ſervice of the year would require. I have moreover obſerved that the right honourable Gentleman, in ſpeaking of the Ways and Means of this year, has changed his mode, and lowered his uſual high tone. He has put words into the mouth of his Majeſty which he has not uttered with his own. However, this may be the reſult of his diſcretion. I am glad to ſee the revenue ſo high. [Here there was a cry of *hear! hear!*] I do not know what is the meaning of that cheer; I certainly do rejoice to ſee the revenue of this country ſo high, whether I have credit for it or not with the right honourable Gentleman or his friends—nor is that important. I ſee with pleaſure an account of ſeventeen millions and a half brought to the Exchequer, as ſtated by the accounts before us. But I muſt take notice that the Chancellor of the Exchequer has been erroneous in his calculations upon the expences of 1796, on account of certain charges incurred, &c. He took credit for two millions, and the ſum was only one million eight hundred thouſand pounds, and deducting the inſtalments on the duty upon wine, and other deductions, the produce, inſtead of amounting to that ſum, has not been more than nine hundred thouſand pounds, that is juſt one half of the ſervice for which he took credit. The right honourable Gentleman takes the Lottery and the Conſolidated Fund this year only at the ſum of ſeven hundred thouſand pounds; for this I thank him moſt heartily, for not attempting to miſlead the Houſe. Yet while I thank him for his candour in this reſpect, I am entitled to ſay that it is no great proof of his ſanguine expectation of the Conſolidated Fund, for which laſt year he took 1,740,000l. I muſt however thank him, for not miſleading the public in this particular.

The next point which I have to attend to is the ſum of three millions, which he purpoſes to take from the Bank. This ſtrikes me with apprehenſion and alarm. I ſay that of all the alarming circumſtances which muſt attend the adoption of the preſent plan, to this we ought moſt cautiouſly and ſuſpiciouſly to attend. For how ſerious and well-grounded muſt be our apprehenſions when we ſee the Bank openly avowing

ing a wiſh for the continuance of a reſtriction upon their caſh payments, and that at the very moment when the Bank Directors, and the Committee appointed to inveſtigate the ſtate of their affairs, tell us that they are now fully enabled to reſume their ordinary mode of operations; but that they will refrain from purſuing it, in order to facilitate and promote the ſucceſs of ſome new financial ſcheme, with which the Chancellor of the Exchequer thinks proper to entertain them and the Houſe. We thus ſee the Bank come forward with the greateſt alacrity to to meet the wiſhes and the wants of the right honourable Gentleman, and fully prepared to continue making advances to government, though to ſuch advances they have formerly aſcribed the derangement of their operations, the neceſſity of their ſtoppage, and the ſubſequent emiſſion of a greater number of notes than were ever before afloat in the nation. Can the continuance of that cauſe now ceaſe to produce the ſame effects with which it was before attended. I cannot but expreſs ſome anxiety to know upon what mode of reaſoning they entertain ſuch hopes, and upon what better grounds the Bank is induced at preſent to make advances to government of near three millions on the Land and Malt duties, and of three millions more on Exchequer Bills? I am alſo not a little curious to learn from the Bank Directors, how they can pretend to juſtify themſelves in again riſking to make advances to government, when they have but juſt eſcaped from the difficulties and calamities in which a ſimilar generoſity towards miniſters had ſo lately involved them? It would be of no great concern to me that they ſhould perſevere in this very liberal diſpoſition, unleſs the advances they were thus ſo unreluctant to make, were to be taken out of my pocket. They will not extend the ſame juſtice or generoſity to me—but they will refuſe to pay me my dividend in caſh, while they are ſo forward to relieve the wants of government, by which forwardneſs they themſelves aſſure the public that their former embarraſſments were produced. But this was a ſubject which the right honourable Gentleman has promiſed to diſcuſs on a future day; whenever he thinks proper to introduce it, I will not ſhrink from the diſcuſſion, but exert what poor abilities I may poſſeſs to ſhew it in its true light, without being deterred from the performance of my duty by the ſuperior and high ſounding eloquence of the right honourable Gentleman. I muſt even now reprobate, in as ſtrong terms as I am able, this new, this unnatural connection, I will call it, which has lately been formed between Government and the Bank of England. The conſequences that are likely to ariſe from ſuch a connection, has al-

ready propagated a conſiderable uneaſineſs and alarm throughout the whole country—the country cannot comprehend how the Bank, which as a corporate body, poſſeſſed of privileges and powers independently to conduct and tranſact its own affairs, ſhould now ſubmit itſelf to the direction and controul of his Majeſty's Miniſters; that they ſhould in conſequence of the effects of that acquieſcence in the wiſhes of government, be compelled to an emiſſion of paper to an extent unparalleled at any other period. Yet with all their experience of the miſchief ariſing from ſo unwarrantable a conduct, they were now ready to advance three millions on the ſame footing upon which they had made advances before, and ſtill further ſums from time to time, as the right honourable Gentleman has given us to underſtand. But this accommodation on their part was not to be afforded on the ſame terms as before—ſome new mode was to be adopted; but in this there was nothing new. Their partiality for government would induce them to riſk the hazard, though they had the beſt ſecurity to protect them from it; though they had the protection and ſecurity of law, and of acts of parliament on their ſide; but to the ſecurity and protection of the law, they think proper to prefer the ſacred ſhield of the word and promiſe of the right honourable Gentleman.

But I muſt now proceed to the great, to the prominent part of the right honourable Gentleman's ſpeech, where he tells us, that on a new financial plan he is to raiſe ſeven millon within the courſe of the year, and that the ſucceſs of this plan cannot fail to terrify the enemy and to fruſtrate their deſigns of ſtriking a fatal blow at our credit. For my part, I am far from being able to ſee how the propoſal or ſucceſs of ſuch a plan can ſtrike terror into the French. In my opinion, the impreſſion it will naturally make on them will be very different; they muſt regard with joy rather than with diſmay the diſcloſure made to them of our financial ſituation on this melancholy night. Will it not ſhew them that the right honourable Gentleman can no longer ſtand on his former ground; that he is obliged to ſhift it, and to confeſs he can no longer rely on the funding ſyſtem, but that he muſt call on the Bank for its ſupport, and rely upon the aſſiſtance of its paper accommodation? And at what period does he thus rely on the co-operation of the Bank? At the very moment when it ſtill confeſſes it muſt continue in a ſtate of bankruptcy. More ſerious conſequences muſt ſtill attend a financial experiment of this nature; for if it fails, we are far from being in the ſtate we were before—this the enemy will eaſily perceive, as we muſt painfully feel; for they cannot fail to obſerve that it is not from choice, but from

from neceſſity, that the right honourable Gentleman is driven to this meaſure; the very attempt makes it evident that he cannot have recourſe to any other means. But ſhould ſuch a meaſure be adopted at all, is it likely it ſhould be propoſed with ſucceſs by the man who has the face to bring it forward? Can he ſay to the country, you have tried me repeatedly; you are convinced of my tender regard for your intereſts; you cannot but know how prudently, how œconomically I have diſpoſed of the means which you have entruſted to my hands? Can the right honourable Gentleman, or any of his friends for him, riſe up and ſay, that he is diſtinguiſhed for his ſolicitude to ſave and ſpare the reſources of the nation? Muſt they not, on the contrary, confeſs that the preſent war has been carried on with a waſte of money, with a prodigality of expence, wholly unexampled in the proſecution of any other war; and that whether this prodigal expenditure of the public money ariſes from negligence in the ſubordinate agents of government, or from an inclination and diſpoſition to extravagance on the part of the right honourable Gentleman, the fact was clear, that never had any war been conducted with an expenditure ſo ſhamefully and extravagantly profuſe. But on this topic it was uſeleſs to dwell, it is ſo glaringly evident that it ſtood in no need of illuſtration or proof. But where is the preſent meaſure propoſed? Is it a meaſure than can be ſeriouſly introduced in a Houſe of Commons who can call themſelves the real repreſentatives of the people? Muſt the country obſerve, that, when there is a queſtion of procuring money, not only at the expence of their comforts, but even of the very neceſſaries of life, the right honourable Gentleman is at no loſs to diſcover the number of aſſeſſed houſes and the pecuniary circumſtances of thoſe who inhabit them (his exciſemen and other emiſſaries can furniſh him with abundant information on this favourite ſubject)? But, if the queſtion of parliamentary reform comes to be ſtirred, all is doubt and difficulty—there is no end to the obſtacles that obſtruct every ſatisfactory information on this ſecondary ſubject.

But, to revert to the queſton more immediately before us, I ſhould be glad to know from whence are to be drawn the ſums of money which it is now ſo neceſſary to raiſe? Is it to come from the ſuperfluous wealth which the expences of the war have not as yet exhauſted. Is it to come from the fruits of productive induſtry; or from the inert hoards which cunning men may have amaſſed? For my part, I can ſee nothing upon which the propoſed meaſure can faſten, but the profits of productive induſtry. Superfluous wealth it would be no eaſy

matter

matter to diſcover. What, then, would be the reſource of the right honourable Gentleman next year? The ſame neceſſities, and conſequently the ſame demands, were likely to recur; for, there could not be entertained any reaſonable hopes of peace as long as the perſons who adminiſter the affairs of this country ſhould remain at the helm of government. They may continue to negociate—they may make Lord Malmeſbury travel, but from their attempts peace cannot be expected.

The right honourable Gentleman who is at the head of adminiſtration is deſtitute of all the qualities that might probably lead to this deſirable end. He neither poſſeſſes the reſpect of neutral powers, nor do the French place confidence in the ſincerity of his pacific diſpoſitions. Nor does he ſtand in any more favourable point of view in the eyes of any of the European powers; and indeed what confidence can be repoſed in a cabinet ſo diſcordant in the principles upon which it acts, as that of which the right honourable Gentleman forms no inferior part? A cabinet which is known to agree in no ſentiment or principle but in their hatred and deteſtation of the French Revolution, and the principles upon which it was attempted to be eſtabliſhed. Can France confide in a cabinet, one half of which may be ſuppoſed ſincere in its wiſhes for peace, while the other remains obſtinately adverſe to their republican form of government? Will they not, on they contrary, perceive that one half of the cabinet thus formed muſt hate and diſpiſe the other? And can a cabinet ſo compoſed impreſs the enemy either with fear or with reſpect? Impoſſible. Can it look for reſpect from any other quarter of Europe? Have we not bullied, deceived, deſtroyed, or plundered almoſt all the European powers, or have they not experienced from us all four? How then ſhall we be viewed by their Plenipotentiaries at a future congreſs? Shall not ours be compelled to read in their faces nothing but ſcoffs, jeers and contempt? To one of thoſe powers we look as our great ſupport. We raiſed loans to ſupply its financial deficiencies, for which we were to be regularly paid the intereſt, and afterwards the capital; but in lieu of all theſe promiſes, we have as yet received nothing but a tin box. We have then to expect from no quarter either confidence or reſpect. Where, then, were the hopes that the preſent conteſt ſhould be ſoon terminated? There are none that I can ſee. But I am well aware that next year a greater ſum will be required; but the means of raiſing it I am not equally able to diſcover, for the preſent meaſure is not reſorted to as what we may regard as the cloſe of the conteſt. If we may believe a learned civilian, (Dr. Lawrence) the war may ſtill

continue

continue for fifteen years—we have therefore ſcarcely got one quarter forwards. What then muſt be the diſcouraging proſpect we have to contemplate if we but attend to the encreaſed expence which this conteſt has yearly coſt ſince its commencement? From four million and a half we roſe to eleven, from eleven to ſeventeen, and laſt Chriſtmas he came to the achme; for the right honourable Gentleman prompted by his own popularity and the love of the lives and property men for the war, got a loan voluntarily ſubſcribed to for eighteen millions, to which it well deſerved the name it obtained, that of the "Loyalty Loan." Of this loan he often ſpoke not unboaſtfully, and he ſaw that hatred or antipathy to the French, and their ſyſtem and principles of government, would enable him to go on for another year. But this ſpirit of loyalty ſoon evaporated in the city in a diſcount of ten per cent. It came practically home to the pockets of the Loyaliſts and friends of Miniſters; and their great leader could not ſtand this blaſt of ten per cent. diſcount, but came down to this Houſe for relief, though his profeſſional object, and that of his adherents, was to gratify their love and diſintereſted regard for their King and country. Such were your *bona fide* Loyalty men! But now we are called on to furniſh twenty-five millions and an half, and by diſplaying our facilities to raiſe ſuch enormous ſums, the right honourable Gentleman tells the Houſe that he muſt frighten the enemy; but he held preciſely the ſame language in the year 1796, and in three months the futility of that language was fully detected.

After having thus continued to exhauſt the country from year to year, he now calls for this exertion of vigour when the ſinews of vigour are relaxed. He now would perſuade us to a trial of ſtrength when all our engines are become languid and decayed. If ſuch were the hazards we had to run, why not have ſhewn this ardent zeal at the beginning of the conteſt? Why not then have drawn forth all our reſources when our vigour was unimpaired, and not attempt to rouſe them now when we are nearly ſunk into our decrepitude? The attempt muſt prove as impotent as the means of exerting them muſt be felt oppreſſive. I feel it therefore my duty to reprobate and oppoſe with all my might ſuch a meaſure, and it ſhall not go out to the public as if it had paſſed with unanimous aſſent. Indeed, Sir, I could not attempt to face my conſtituents and my country, if I did not ſtrain every effort to fruſtrate a plan that has carried diſappointment to all their hopes, and diſmay to their fire-ſides. Would they not aſk me where I was when a meaſure ſo fatal to their intereſts was propoſed, and if I could allow

allow it to paſs unceuſured while I had a tongue to reprobate it? Could I ſilently ſee purſued a ſyſtem built on that diabolical connection between the Bank and the Government, a ſyſtem of paper accommodation which was firſt ſuggeſted by the moſt profligate men in France, and which was followed up by their patriotic gifts, their forced loans and domiciliary viſits, the laſt of which the right honourable Gentleman ſeems not altogether indiſpoſed to imitate? And what terror can all this excite in France? None: they are well acquainted with the ſtate of our finances; they read it in letters too legible not to be underſtood. Their old financial ſpeculators, Cambon, &c. ſaw the ruinous conſequences of this paper ſyſtem, and were they now friendly to the meaſures of the right honourable Gentleman, they might point out to him how the French Government was led ſtep by ſtep to the adoption of that fatal ſyſtem on which its firſt rulers were tempted to ſet out. Such, Sir, is my ſincere opinion of the miſchievous tendency of the right honourable Gentleman's plan, and I ſhould have ſhamefully failed in my duty if I had heſitated to expreſs my abhorrence of it to the Houſe.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, in reply, ſaid, I ſhall endeavour to follow the honourable Gentleman who has juſt ſat down, in ſome of the obſervations he has thought proper to make. Knowing, as I do, the ingenuity of that Gentleman, and recollecting his declaration in this Houſe ſome time ſince, knowing that he ſtands pledged to give his Majeſty's preſent Miniſters every oppoſition in his power—when I compare that declaration, and apply it to his ſpeech to-night, a ſpeech certainly not deſtitute of ingenuity or of preparation, I own I am a little at a loſs to find in him that conſiſtency for which he expects to obtain credit—as a man wiſhing for nothing ſo much as the welfare of his country. Whatever may be thought of the ſpeech of the honourable Gentleman, either by the public or by his own conſtituents, I ſhall obſerve upon parts of his ſpeech as they appear to me. I will endeavour to follow him in his direct and his collateral topics, and in ſome which were certainly not direct; in others that I cannot ſay were collateral, becauſe they had no reference to the ſubjects now before the Committee, either collaterally or otherwiſe. He begins by complaining of exceſs, and he comments on the navy eſtimates, in which his zeal has miſled him. He talks of three millions, and a million and a half, as ſums I took credit for; whereas I ſtated the whole ſum to which he referred in this part of his ſpeech would be three millions, and that I ſhould provide for half of them by bills, and that a million and a half of them ſhould be outſtanding. But he then goes on to ſtate, that I made

made a miſtake of three millions upon the ſtatement of navy extraordinaries. Gentlemen aſſert things that have no foundation anywhere but in their own fancy, and they repeat them ſo often, and with ſo much confidence, that at laſt they become the dupes of their own artifice, and believe theſe aſſertions themſelves. Be it remembered, however, that in the courſe of every ſeſſion ſince the war began, that I have, on every occaſion, ſtated that the nature of ſuch extenſive tranſactions as thoſe of the army and navy was ſuch as to render accuracy in the eſtimate unattainable. I do not pretend to it at any time, but I always do all I can to approach it, and I do aver that there never was at any time of war more attention paid, than in the whole courſe of this, to prevent exceſſes beyond the eſtimate. True it is you have had more exceſſes in this than in any other war, nor is it marvellous, for it is a war of a different kind, and of a more complicated nature than any other you were ever before engaged in. But the honourable gentleman in his public zeal to detect the fallacy of my ſtatements, aſſures the committee, that in ſtating the ſum of five millions upon the article of the navy, I have committed an error of three millions. This he ſtates as being the exceſs upon one article, which amounts, I own, to only five millions; but the exceſs fairly applies to the whole ſum of ſeventeen millions, of which theſe five were a part, and inſtead of taking the whole, and conſidering that exceſs as applying to the whole, he applies it to one part, merely becauſe the whole of the ſum was voted by ſeparate votes on different heads, and compares that exceſs with one branch of the whole. I ſhall ſay no more than that I leave the Committee to judge of the fairneſs of ſuch a mode of reaſoning.

The honourable Gentleman ſays, I do not now ſpeak with confidence on the produce of the taxes, and yet he allows the revenue to be flouriſhing, in which too, it ſeems, he rejoices. He ſays I have put into the mouth of the King what has not been uttered out of my own this night. Nothing has been ſaid by me upon that ſubject to-night—I mean upon the flouriſhing ſtate of our revenue. No, Sir, it is not out of my mouth that expreſſion came to-night, and which the honourable Gentleman cenſures me for omitting, but out of his own; and when the honourable Gentleman thinks he ſees a ſmile from this ſide of the Houſe, he magnifies it into a horſe laugh in conſequence of what he advances. I am afraid he gives credit to ſome part of the Houſe for more attention than they deſerve. All theſe conſiderations induce me to ſuſpect, that if I had ſtated many things which he expected me to ſtate concerning the proſperity of the country, he was prepared with a long

ſpeech to contradict me upon that head. He went into a detail of the revenue in 1796 and 1797, from which the Committee is to derive nothing but a very deſponding inference. For the future powers of this country are, according to his deductions, to be very feeble. He is not, however, bound to abide by theſe ſentiments; and as he ſays he will take a view of the ſubject, and mature his judgment for the diſcuſſion of it in future, I hope a minute attention to it will alter his opinion. He has told us that the accounts are not yet before us. In this his vigilance has been eluded, for the documents neceſſary for the purpoſe are now upon your table, and by which, if he condeſcends to peruſe them, he will find that the report of the Committee of Finance, and which holds out to us a proſpect ſo flattering, is entirely juſtified. The honourable Gentleman dwelt for ſome time on the produce of the wine duty, and that of the Scotch diſtillery, and infers that they will not anſwer the eſtimate; in which inference he is too rapid, for neither of which has hitherto found its level. Theſe points I merely touch incidentally, not meaning to argue them now, that being foreign to the leading purpoſe of this night's diſcuſſion, and of which there is to be a detailed diſcuſſion hereafter.

The next point to which the honourable Gentleman refers is the ſubject of the advance from the Bank to Government. Upon this the honourable Gentleman has indulged in a ſpecies of eloquence, which is almoſt as new to him, as is his congratulation on the proſperity of this country. He ſays, that this reſembles the ſyſtem which was adopted in France, and leads to the deſpotiſm which under the name of Liberty is carried on there. What likeneſs there is between the Bank making theſe advances to Government upon the ſecurity that not more than a certain ſum, ſpecified in the outſet, can be applied for, the punctual payment, and at a ſhort time, ſpecificially provided for, and without riſk, can have with the French, of taking by requiſition without ſecurity of repayment, millions and milliards, I leave to him and to thoſe who are now convinced with him, of the rapacity of that ſyſtem, and who have ſo lately thought it prudent to declaim againſt the French ſyſtem, to diſcover. He ſays, that this is a dangerous connection between the Government and the Bank; and he ſtates the ſum of three millions to be of an enormous amount for the Bank to advance to Government. He had forgot, not to ſay, he never knew; for to a Gentleman of ſo much reſearch, that would be an extravagant ſuppoſition, but he ſeems to have forgotten that the advances of the Bank to Government have never been leſs during the preſent war, than they are now propoſed to be, under

under the very ſpecial nature and extraordinary circumſtances of the preſent war. I aſk, then, what does the honourable Gentleman mean by ſaying, that this is a dangerous connection between Government and the Bank? Does he mean to ſay, that the Reſtriction on the Bank ought no longer to continue? if he does not, I maintain that it is no dangerous connection whatever, ſince it will be of no inconvenience to the public while the Reſtriction continues, for the public ſecurity is preciſely the ſame as if this advance was not made by the Bank at all.

But it ſeems an honourable Gentleman could not face his conſtituents; that they would aſk him where his face was [where my tongue was, ſaid Mr. Tierney], if he did not oppoſe this meaſure on the moment it was propoſed, and yet he blames me for propoſing that it may be poſtponed for future conſideration. He ſays that the meaſure is of ſuch an alarming nature, that the ſenſe of the Houſe ought to be taken upon it at once; he ſays that I have a great deſire to impoſe upon the Houſe, and that I diſtruſt my caſe. I have heard, Sir, that great eagerneſs for the diſpatch of buſineſs is ſometimes evidence that the party bringing it forward has ſome diſtruſt of it; but that I ſhould propoſe a plan that would give him time to prepare a ſpeech, is an inſtance of diſtruſt, which, conſidering the extent of his ingenuity, I could hardly have expected to be accuſed of. I cannot help thinking, that it is a little extraordinary he ſhould firſt tell me that the meaſure I propoſe is unprecedented, and then tell me I am to blame for offering to the Houſe time to come to a deciſion upon it, inſtead of calling for a deciſion immediately.

The honourable Gentleman then tells us that this is a plan which cannot be effectual in the hands of his Majeſty's preſent Miniſters, for that they are not qualified to carry it into effect. That there may be, and are, in his opinion, others better qualified, I have no doubt, and I have as little doubt that he would be ready to propoſe them if it depended upon him; but if his objections go againſt the man, it is hardly fair, upon that ground, to call upon the Houſe to reject the meaſure. It ſeems I am not the perſon to make any propoſals of this kind to the Houſe. Why am I not the man? The queſtion is, not who propoſes the meaſure, but whether the meaſure ought to be adopted? But when the honourable Gentleman comes to argue the queſtion in that ſenſe, and when he comes to lay before you the unexampled profuſion of which he ſays I am the profligate author, I hope he will condeſcend to take in view the extent of the ſervice for which we have had to provide, its extraor-

dinary nature and character, as well as the great expence with which it has been attended, without forgetting the dearneſs of all the articles of proviſion, and various other things, at which it is not neceſſary at this moment to glance; but above all, at the extraordinary efforts, and correſponding expence. But there is another part of the ſpeech of the honourable Gentleman, which contains an important objection to my continuing in the official ſituation in which I now ſtand, becauſe, he ſays, while I remain in that ſituation, this country cannot have peace. If he thinks ſo, that is a good reaſon for his moving an addreſs to remove me. Suppoſing this Houſe to agree to that motion, there is no reaſon, I preſume, why this Houſe ſhould not take care of the intereſts of the public, and more why, ſuppoſing them to have no objection to the meaſure now before them, they ſhould not agree to it. But there is a reaſon for apprehending that this country cannot have peace while I and my colleagues continue in office. Why cannot this country have peace while we continue in office? Becauſe in truth we have not the confidence of the enemy. Sir, we cannot have the confidence of the enemy. The confidence of the enemy! No, Sir, that is impoſſible! We are not entering into the ſpirit of their rules, we are not diſpoſed to promote their principles; we do not wiſh to imitate their ſyſtem; we do not think it practical in England, however it may be made the ſubject of applauſe by thoſe who favour it in their hearts, and, for the purpoſe of oppoſing England's true intereſt, the occaſional theme of vindictive declamation, while it is wiſhed that their principles ſhould be adopted: which principles have been admired, and occaſionally extolled ſince the commencement of the Revolution, by thoſe who have oppoſed us. If he wants confidence in thoſe in whom the enemy can confide, ſuch as they do who have argued on what they call the juſtice of the cauſe of the enemy; who have abuſed the origin of this war, as much as they have obſtructed its progreſs; I cannot ſay that we can or ought to have ſuch confidence.

But the honourable Gentleman ſays again, that there is no confidence in us in any part of Europe, and he proves it by ſhewing that all our allies have deſerted us, and kept none of their engagements. This argument, if true, might go a good way towards ſhewing that we ought to have no confidence in them; but until he ſhews ſome inſtances of our want of good faith, I apprehend it does not prove that they have no confidence in us; and proves pretty nearly as much as the argument, that it is neceſſary that I ought to poſſeſs the confidence of his Majeſty's enemies in France.

I think

I think I am entitled now, in my turn, ſince the honourable Gentleman has oppoſed the whole ſyſtem of the plan which I have propoſed, and eſpecially as he is ſo much, and as it were excluſively the friend of his country, to aſk him, whether he has a better, or any in its ſtead? for he has not ſtated any. Perhaps he has not had time to digeſt a proper plan; if he has any in contemplation, he cannot fairly object to the propoſal which I make now, ſince he is to have time to prepare his own, which I truſt will be much better. But the honourable Gentleman ſays, that if this plan ſhould have been brought forward at all, it ſhould have been brought forward much ſooner. He acknowledges that in caſes of great danger, great efforts ought to be made. Now, I think that in our former ſituation we were not in ſo much danger as we are at preſent, if we do not make great reſiſtance, and therefore it appears to me to be more ſenſible to make great efforts in time when they are neceſſary, than to make them when the circumſtances of the time do not call for them, eſpecially when by your financial operations, you are likely to bring the conteſt to a happy termination. But the honourable Gentleman ſays, that this plan is to ſhew that we are at the end of our reſources. If he thought ſo, he might have ſpared himſelf the trouble of pronouncing a panegyric upon theſe reſources in the courſe of his ſpeech this night. The honourable Gentleman ſays, that this plan ſhews to the world that we are at the end of our funding ſyſtem. The manner in which perſons poſſeſſed of capital in different parts of the country have acted, in inveſting their property in your funds, is no proof that monied men think ſo; but proves, on the contrary, the confidence they have in your reſources, and, proves alſo, that wealth is generally diffuſed all over the country. This wealth is manifeſted in the improvement of your agriculture, in your buildings, in your canals, in your incloſures; all theſe, I ſay, prove that you poſſeſs at this moment, the confidence of monied men, that there is at this moment more wealth than there was at any former period in this country.

Mr. *Tierney* ſaid, in reply, with whatever preparation I may have come to this Houſe to-night, I think I may have credit for not having come prepared againſt a ſeries of miſrepreſentation in which the Chancellor of the Exchequer has choſen to indulge himſelf. The events of this night have ſhewn that either the right honourable Gentleman or myſelf came in a ſtate of preparation to the Houſe upon this occaſion;

ſion; who has prepared himſelf moſt againſt poſſible events, let the Committee judge. Much of what he has ſaid does not apply to me He appears to have got by heart a ſet of fine flouriſhing ſentences to chaſtiſe any body who ſhould doubt the excellence of his plan. This ſtrange rant was meant for ſomebody, not for me, moſt certainly, for in my life I never uttered a ſentence in this Houſe for or againſt the ſyſtem or principles of the French. He muſt therefore have meant what he ſaid upon that ſubject againſt ſomebody elſe. He has taken much pains to prove that what I ſaid againſt the productiveneſs of the revenue was ill-founded. I never ſaid a word upon that either, and therefore that part of his flouriſh muſt have been intended for ſomebody elſe. What I ſaid upon the ſubject was this: unleſs the right honourable Gentleman could ſhew that this impoſt could be had out of the opulence and ſuperfluous wealth of the country, it muſt be taken from the capital of ſome perſons whoſe capital employs the artificer or labourer in the country, and conſequently he muſt diminiſh the productive powers of the country. Not one ſyllable came from him upon the nature of what he had ſaid upon that ſubject, and to which he pretended his obſervations were to be conſidered as anſwers.

With reſpect to what the honourable Gentleman has ſaid concerning the confidence of the enemy, I can only obſerve that he kindled into a blaze without having had any fuel from me; away he went with his grand flouriſh to ſhew that he never had the confidence of his enemies. I never ſaid he had. I may claim credit for not being ſo very ſilly as to ſay ſo. I never did ſay ſo. What I ſaid was this: that the enemy knowing that he acted with a cabinet, one half of which was hoſtile to him in general principles of policy, and agreeing with him in nothing but hatred to the French Revolution, could never have any confidence in him with regard to his profeſſed pacific intentions. Why ſhould he attempt to faſten upon me an expreſſion ſo contrary to common ſenſe? I ſaid that he was not reſpected in any court in Europe as a Miniſter. He gives me a diſſertation on the laughter of his friends who ſit around him, and that he calls an anſwer.

He ſays, I ought to have pauſed before I ſaid we have come to the end of our reſources. There was no occaſion for any ſuch pauſe, for I never ſaid we were come to the end of our reſources, nor any thing like it: I ſaid, on the contrary, you have great reſources, and I ſaid I was glad to ſee it. I ſaid I thought that this plan would ſhew that you could fund

no

no more; that your funding ſyſtem appeared, in the eyes of the Miniſter, to be at an end. I ſaid alſo, and I ſay again, that I do not think your funding ſyſtem is at an end; but that funding is better than this plan.

I ſaid that he was not a proper perſon to bring forward this meaſure, and why? Becauſe I knew that as he had already deceived us in all his promiſes, the public could not confide in him in any new promiſe he ſhould make. He has made many promiſes. Has he kept any one of them? If he has not, is there any impropriety in my ſaying, that he is not now to be truſted?

He then comes to the ſubject of the Bank. He aſks, whether I have any evidence that their connection with Government is the cauſe of their non-payment? To which I anſwer, they themſelves have ſaid ſo. They ſtate that one of the cauſes, at leaſt, of their not being able to pay caſh, is owing to their advances to Government. This was in the firſt inſtance the caſe; it is otherwiſe now I admit, but then I would aſk any man whether if they are to advance three millions more, they may not be in danger of being again in the ſame ſituation? Upon this ſubject I feel a great deal, and if the Miniſter is not too fond of his own judgment, I will refer him to a book that is worthy of his attention, I mean the work of Monſ. De Calonne. I do not deſire him to read all that is written in France upon that ſubject, but I will venture to recommend that work to his peruſal. It was written upon the ſubject of a national bank, and for the information of the late King of France. That author ſays, amongſt many excellent things, that there ought to be eſtabliſhed in France, a bank like the bank of England; and to render it an excellent bank, his Majeſty was adviſed to take care that it ſhould have no connection with the government. The want of following that advice led the way to the deſtruction of the French finances.

I have no reaſon to retract what I ſaid with reſpect to the productiveneſs of the revenue in 1796 and 1797. I feel the ſame confidence as to what I ſaid upon the navy.

The laſt thing I have to ſay is, that if the Miniſter wiſhes to make another attack upon any man whom he is diſpoſed to cruſh, he ſhould remember, that a man may be in this Houſe in the ſame ſituation as a man is when he goes to live in a mill; he will be a good deal frightened at firſt, but he will ſoon become accuſtomed to the noiſe. So with me; after

after having a dreſſing or two more from that right honourable Gentleman I ſhall care nothing for his noiſe.

Mr. *Nichols* ſaid, there is one part of the Speech of my hon. friend to which I think there has been no anſwer given by his Majeſty's Chancellor of the Exchequer: that is, if this plan be perſevered in, there may be too great a circulation of paper. This is, in my opinion, a means of repreſentation of property, to which there ought to be a limit. It has naturally a limit in all well-regulated ſtates, and ſhould have in ours. I own I am afraid of too great a circulation of paper. Laſt year the Chancellor of the Exchequer ſaid, that the circulation ought to be limited. I think we are entitled to call upon him now to act upon that principle. At preſent there is no limitation. There may be iſſued now four times the quantity of paper that was ever iſſued. If this plan be perſevered in, of raiſing ſeven millions in the year, the Chancellor of the Exchequer may anticipate the whole of it in paper, and there may not be left in the Bank property to pay it, ſo that we ſhall have the ſame to provide for over again. This is an objection which has not been anſwered.

It is ſaid by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that a great deal of money is brought into the funds by monied men from all parts of the country. That is, in my opinion, a great grievance to the people of this country, for it operates to the ruin of trade to inveſt in the funds that money which ought to be employed in agriculture, in commerce, in the way of an active capital, not for the individual who owns it, but for the ſociety; and creates all thoſe evils which attended the monopoly of borrowing money, for it leads to the centering in a few individuals all thoſe loans and public contracts, by which a few enrich themſelves at the expence of the many. That monopoly of borrowing money appears to me to be for ſociety the worſt ſyſtem that the wit of man ever deviſed.

Theſe are my ſentiments upon the general view of this ſubject, although, to deliver them was not the main purpoſe of my riſing. I roſe for the purpoſe chiefly of giving notice, that if his Majeſty's Chancellor of the Exchequer thinks proper to perſevere in this plan, I ſhall think it my duty to move for a law to compel placemen and penſioners to give a large ſum of money out of their places and penſions towards the exigency of the public ſervice. It was a reſolution adopted in the reign of Queen Anne, that no perſon ſhould hold any place or penſion that exceeded the amount of 500l. a year; I do not know that I ſhould adhere to that ſtrictly, but I ſhall certainly proceed

proceed upon that principle. I think that thoſe who have declared their approbation of this war ought to be called upon to contribute in the preſent condition of affairs. I think that Peers and Members of this Houſe ought not to be excuſed from making large contributions. I will perform my duty, and therefore, if theſe ſeven millions be called for, I ſhall move as I have ſtated.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* once more roſe and ſaid, I congratulate the Houſe that the honourable Gentleman has given notice of his intention to do his duty in this Houſe, and I thank him for ſo conducting himſelf as a Member of Parliament, as to afford me an opportunity of anſwering him. He will allow me, however, to aſſign a reaſon for not anſwering his honourable friend upon the point to which he alluded. I did not hear the argument to which he referred, and that, I hope, he will recive as a reaſon for my not anſwering it.

The objection of the honourable Gentleman to the meaſure now before the Committee is of the threatening kind, for he ſays, if I perſiſt in the plan before the Committee, he will make his motion for the benefit of the public. It is a part of my duty, as I conceive it, to do ſo, and therefore, notwithſtanding his threat, I certainly ſhall perſiſt in propoſing the plan to the wiſdom of the Houſe. However, ſhould the honourable Gentleman ſucceed in his motion, I hope he does not mean to call excluſively on thoſe who vote for the war. I hope he will extend it to all Members of Parliament, and that neither he himſelf, nor his honourable friend, will ſhew themſelves backward to contribute; nor do I ſee why the honourable Gentleman ſhould doubt that I mean to call upon the opulent to contribute their full ſhare, for I think I remember ſaying in my firſt addreſs to the Committee, that I ſhould diſtinctly call on that claſs of which we ourſelves are members, to bear their ſhare of the burdens. But there again the honourable Gentleman threatens us with ſomething as it were againſt Members of Parliament? Parliament! What Parliament? That Parliament which voted unanimouſly an addreſs to the throne; I ſay unanimouſly, for ſo it was, as far as Parliament was attended. I hope the honourable Gentleman will not attempt to excuſe from his tax thoſe who have not attended to give their votes. I hope alſo he will not excuſe thoſe who did attend on the ſtatement of the caſe, and on the vote for the addreſs, and who went away from the Houſe without being prepared to declare on the queſtion, either the one way or the other.

Mr. *Carwen* ſaid, I feel it incumbent on me, Sir, in a few words, to expreſs what are the ſentiments I entertain reſpecting the meaſure now under conſideration. The principal ſentiment with which I am impreſſed, is the regret that we ſhould be reduced to ſuch a deſperate extremity. The meaſure now in contemplation is new in its nature, and its operation might be attended with conſequences the miſchiefs of which it is impoſſible to foreſee. The right honourable Gentleman who propoſed it, and the Houſe who ſeem diſpoſed to adopt it, have frequently been loud in their invectives againſt every innovation, eſpecially ſuch as had been adopted in France; they uſed this argument of the danger of novelty againſt the proceedings in France, and againſt any attempt at Parliamentary Reform at home. With what conſiſtency could they now adopt a meaſure equally objectionable for its novelty, and for its having been a favourite meaſure with the French, whoſe conduct on all occaſions they are ſo ready to cenſure. Neither, Sir, can I believe that the war now perſiſted in is a war of the nature which the right honourable Gentleman deſcribes it to be; a war for the extinction of our conſtitution, and of our very exiſtence as a nation; it is no ſuch war; it is a war for indemnities; and as ſuch it may be eaſily brought to a concluſion. We have at length found out perſons in France with whom we can treat, and we ſhould not deſiſt from negotiation from any light motive, or from the non-attainment of a trivial point. It is with ſorrow I have obſerved the right honourable Gentleman exerting his powerful eloquence to inflame the paſſions of the Houſe; it is with pain I have heard him exciting our hatred and indignation at the principles which the French profeſs; not from all that I have heard and read, I have not as yet learned why peace may not be attained. What do we require? Do not we aſk for indemnities at the expence of that very power for whoſe protection the war has been originally undertaken? Is it from the French we attempt to extort indemnities? No, but from Holland, whom we have dragged and dragooned into the war. The Dutch were plundered by the French, and the conduct of the French towards them we very juſtly condemned. By inſiſting on indemnities from that quarter, do we not imitate what we condemn in others? Do we not perſiſt in a conduct which neither juſtice nor policy can juſtify? Had I been in the Houſe when this ſubject was more immediately under diſcuſſion, I would not have heſitated to declare this to be my opinion.

opinion. We ſhould not ſtick too rigidly to indemnities; we at leaſt ought to compare them with the value of what we are going to ſacrifice in an uncertain effort to obtain them: did we ſeem diſpoſed to treat for peace in this temper and ſpirit, we very likely might ſucceed in our endeavours. But if the enemy ſtill rejected our pacific offers, then indeed all the energies of Great Britain ſhould be exerted in order to compel them to accept what they had ſo obſtinately and ſo perverſely refuſed.

Mr. Secretary *Dundas* ſaid, we are told by the honourable Gentleman who ſpoke laſt, that had he been in the Houſe on a former occaſion, he would have declared an opinion contrary to that which the Houſe then entertained. But I would aſk the honourable Gentleman why he was not then in his place, and why now he would come down to diſturb, by his individual opinion, the unanimity with which the Houſe aſſented to the addreſs that was moved to his Majeſty? Was it becoming in him now to attempt to contradict the general ſentiment of the Houſe? I cannot think it is, Sir; and above all, I would intreat and implore Members of this Houſe to deſiſt from ſtirring queſtions from which ſo much miſchief may ariſe, and which cannot tend to produce any one poſſible good. In the aſſembly of another country, of which they ſeem to think ſo highly, no man is permitted to riſe and ſpeak againſt the meaſures of their executive government; and will gentlemen here abuſe the proudeſt privilege of a Britiſh Parliament, and ſtand up an advocate for the French government, and plead the cauſe of our bitterest enemy. It is impoſſible the honourable Gentleman could have peruſed the papers laid on the table reſpecting the rupture of the late negotiation; it is impoſſible, I ſay, he could have read them with any attention, and afterwards utter the language we have heard from him this night. It is not on the mere ſubject of indemnities that the French government decline coming to an amicable adjuſtment—No: we ſtate our terms, but they will ſtate none in their turn; they even refuſe with ſurly arrogance to give us any anſwer at all. But this is not the ſubject now before the Houſe; I muſt therefore once more intreat Members of Parliament not to propoſe terms for the French before they are diſpoſed to propoſe any for themſelves, and thus to anticipate the claims and cauſe of the enemy.

Mr. *Curwen* ſaid, I cannot, Sir, but expreſs my ſurpriſe at leaſt, that the right honourable Gentleman ſhould take upon himſelf to ſay that I am an advocate for the cauſe of the enemy.

I wiſh that right honourable Gentleman to know what I truſt the Houſe knows, that I am as ſincerely attached to the intereſts of my country, as he can pretend to be. I hope it is not the intention of that honourable Gentleman, or of his friends, to attempt to overawe Members of Parliament, and to prevent them from delivering their free and unbiaſſed opinions. We are not yet, I hope, come to that; and as long as that privilege remains, I truſt I ſhall avail myſelf of it, with the freedom and boldneſs of an independent man.

Mr. Secretary *Dundas* and Mr. *Curwen* ſaid a few words in explanation.

Mr. *Vanſittart* ſaid, I can never, Sir, bring myſelf to agree to the very ignominious terms to which the ambition and inſolence of the French government ſeem deſirous to reduce us; can it be poſſible that any member of this Houſe would adviſe us to ſurrender all our conqueſts, the fruits of ſuch diſtinguiſhed valour, of ſo much blood and treaſure, and that without receiving the leaſt conceſſion in return? This, Sir, is a degree of humiliation to which I truſt the pride of England will never be compelled to ſtoop.

Mr. *Wigley* ſaid, he could not but confeſs that we were going to lay very heavy taxes on the people; but he truſted that they would be ſo modified as in a great meaſure to alleviate the burthens they muſt neceſſarily impoſe. He could not be induced to believe that the mode now adopted by the Chancellor of the Exchequer would be attended with the ſavings which he ſeemed to promiſe to the public.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, after a few words in reply to Mr. Wigley, gave notice, that on Wedneſday next, he would move, "That the propoſitions which he had that night ſubmitted to the Committee ſhould be then taken into further conſideration."

The bill for reſtricting the caſh payments of the Bank was read a third time, and paſſed.

The report of the ſmall notes bill was received, the amendments agreed to, and the bill was then ordered to be received the next day.

The report of the land and malt-tax bill were alſo received.

The Committee of Ways and Means was ordered to ſit on Monday; alſo the Committee of Supply.

Adjourned.

HOUSE

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

SATURDAY, *Nov.* 25.

Read a ſecond time the bill for continuing the act of the laſt ſeſſion, for the prevention of attempts to ſeduce his Majeſty's army or navy from their duty.

Read a third time and paſſed, the two bills for the annual duty upon land and malt.

As alſo the ſmall notes bill.

Adjourned.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

MONDAY, *Nov.* 27.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, with other Members, brought up from the Commons the bill for continuing the reſtrictions on the Bank, with reſpect to payment in caſh, &c.

Mr. *Hobart* and others brought up the land and malt bills.

Mr. *Burdon* and others brought up a private bill.

They were all read a firſt time.

Heard counſel on an appeal from Scotland.

Adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

MONDAY, *Nov.* 27.

The Bank Reſtriction Bill was read a third time and paſſed.

Mr. *D. P. Coke* moved for leave to bring in a bill ſimilar to that he had brought in laſt Seſſion, for regulating the trial of cauſes, indictments, and other proceedings in the corporate towns of the kingdom; which was granted.

Sir *John Sinclair* ſaid, he had a meaſure to propoſe for the adoption of the Houſe before they entered upon the conſideration of the propoſitions laid before the Houſe on Friday laſt by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. He thought the Houſe, before they adopted the right honourable gentleman's plan in its full extent, ſhould enter into as full an enquiry as poſſible; and he pointed our a proceeding in the time of Sir R. Walpole which would apply in the preſent inſtance: when Sir Robert brought in his Exciſe Laws, the Houſe ordered the Commiſſioners of Cuſtoms and Exciſe to attend, in order to their being examined. As the attendance and examination of the Commiſſioners, therefore, was not only conformable to the rules of the Houſe, but neceſſary in the preſent caſe, he believed no one would object to the motion he purpoſed to make the next day,

day, and of which he now gave notice, viz. That the Commiſſioners of Exciſe, &c. do attend the Houſe, &c. &c.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* ſaid, he could not conceive upon what grounds the honourable Baronet had flattered himſelf, that his purpoſed motion would meet with no oppoſition; certainly he had laid no reaſon before the Houſe to countenance the meaſure, for of the points to which an enquiry could with any obvious views be directed, not one was yet clearly before the Houſe; ſuch an attendance therefore would anſwer no purpoſe, and he fancied the honourable Baronet would hardly be able to ſhew a precedent of a meaſure of the kind grounded upon particulars that had not been previouſly ſtated; he therefore conceived it would be more regular for him to poſtpone at leaſt his motion. When the particulars of his plan of finance ſhould be laid fully before the Houſe, it would be then, but not till then, ſeen whether the attendance of the Commiſſioners would be neceſſary.

Sir *John Sinclair* roſe and ſaid ſomething which we could not hear, but being reminded by the Speaker, that he was out of order in ſpeaking, and as there was no motion before the Houſe, he ſat down again.

Mr. *Bragge* informed the Houſe, that as a return had been made on the writ for Tewkeſbury ſince that ſubject had been before the Houſe, he would now wave the motion he had intended to make, &c. at the ſame time he made another motion, viz. That the Clerk of the Crown do attend the Houſe with a copy of the ſaid writ and return.

After ſome obſervations by Mr. Simmonds, the motion was granted.

Lord *Belgrave* roſe to make his promiſed motion to explain and amend the Act for preventing Bribery and Corruption in Elections, but, before he did ſo, he obſerved, that doubts had been entertained reſpecting the conſtruction of the Act. The words of the Act were, "That perſons offending againſt the Act ſhould be incapacitated from being elected." One conſtruction of this proviſion was, that the perſon offending might, on re-election, hold his ſeat; the other, that he ſhall be incapable of ſitting for the ſame place in the ſame Parliament. The firſt of thoſe was in the caſe of Norwich, Mr. Hobart, who was firſt returned, had been petitioned againſt, and a Committee declared the election void; notwithſtanding which Mr. Hobart was again elected. The other was in the caſe of the Southwark election, Mr. Thelluſſon was returned: Mr. Tierney petitioned againſt him—a Committee declared he had violated the Act, a new writ was iſſued, Mr. Thelluſſon was

again

again returned; Mr. Tierney again petitioned, and a ſecond Committee declared that Mr. Thelluſſon could not legally be returned. When the Houſe ſaw that an act of ſo important a nature admitted of two ſuch contradictory interpretations, they would admit the propriety of putting it, by a ſpecial act, out of further doubt; he therefore moved, That leave be given to bring in a bill to explain and amend the ſaid Act.

A deſultory converſation took place, in which Mr. Yorke, Mr. Hobhouſe, Mr. Martin, Mr. C. Dundas, and Captain Berkeley bore a ſhare, after which the queſtion was put and paſſed.

The other orders of the day were then gone through, and the Houſe adjourned.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

TUESDAY, *Nov.* 28.

Heard Council in an appeal from Scotland, in which Hotchkis, writer to the Signet, truſtee on the ſequeſtered eſtate of Adam Keir, late banker in Edinburgh, was Appellant;

The Governor and Company of the Royal Bank of Scotland, Reſpondents.

The Interlocutor was affirmed.

Read the ſeveral Bills on the Table.

Mr. Fozard's Divorce bill paſſed the Committee of the whole Houſe, and was ordered to be read a third time on Thurſday. Adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

TUESDAY, *Nov.* 28.

Mr. *Hunter*, from the Tax Office, appeared at the bar, and preſented an account of the amount of the Aſſeſſed Taxes for one year, ending on the 5th of April, 1797.

Alſo an account of the amount of the Window Tax.

Alſo an account of the number of perſons who pay the Aſſeſſed Taxes, diſtinguiſhing the ſame into ſeveral claſſes.

Mr. *Fiſher* brought up an account of the different ſums of money that had been iſſued in conſequence of Addreſſes of this Houſe to his Majeſty, and which had not as yet been made good by Parliament.

Theſe ſeveral accounts were read, and ordered to be printed for the uſe of the Members.

Mr. *Hobart* brought up the Report on the Scotch Diſtillery Bill,

Bill, which, on the motion of Mr. Pitt, was ordered to be taken into further conſideration to-morrow.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* then ſaid, that foreſeeing it would be impoſſible that all the papers and accounts, which it was his deſire ſhould be before the Houſe, previous to his entering further into the detail of his Financial Operations for the enſuing year, could be in a ſufficient ſtate of readineſs before Friday next, he muſt beg leave to poſtpone till that day, his intended motion on the ſubject.

Mr. *Huſſey* ſaid, that as the right honourable Gentleman thought proper to defer the further conſideration of his Financial Plan to a later day, he truſted that the ſerious importance of the ſubject to which he now wiſhed to allude, would enſure to him the indulgent attention of the Houſe, to a few obſervations, which he felt it his duty to offer on the occaſion. He muſt, in the firſt place, obſerve, that when the right honourable Gentleman brought forward his new financial plan, he, contrary to all uſual and eſtabliſhed cuſtom, did not follow it up by moving any ſpecific Reſolutions. He had moreover inſinuated, that if his plan was objected to, the objections that were made to it ſhould have no weight, unleſs thoſe who urged them could ſuggeſt a leſs objectionable and more practical plan, than that which he himſelf had propoſed; if any ſuch plan were now to be propoſed, the right honourable Gentleman might alſo ſay, that the propoſal came too late. The dread of this obſervation ſhould not, however, deter him from declaring to the Houſe what is and had been his opinion on the ſubject. It was with ſorrow, therefore, he had to obſerve, that the Land-tax Bill had been hurried through the Houſe without any attention having been paid to it as a ſubject of new taxation—it was now in one of its laſt ſtages in another Houſe, where, if it was thought expedient, ſome obſtacle might be made to its further progreſs; if then, from any accident, it ſhould again be brought under the conſideration of this Houſe, it was his opinion the tax ſhould not remain as it now ſtood, at four ſhillings, but ſhould be ſo encreaſed as to compaſs every object which the preſent exigencies of the State rendered the accompliſhment of inevitable neceſſity. Land, in his opinion, afforded a better fund of ſupply than any other which could now poſſibly be reſorted to.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* ſaid he was not now diſpoſed to diſcuſs what was, or what was not, the leaſt objectionable mode of raiſing the neceſſary ſupplies—on that ſuggeſted by the honourable Gentleman, he would deliver no opinion, nor did he think that it was altogether orderly on the part of the honourable Gentleman, to have alluded to the duty and proceedings of another Houſe of Parliament.

Mr.

Mr. Alderman *Lufhington* preſented a petition from the Secretary of the African Company, praying that the Houſe would continue to grant to them the ſame pecuniary relief which they had for ſeveral years paſt been accuſtomed to grant, and that they would be pleaſed to encreaſe it in proportion to the encreaſed expences to which the Company had been expoſed in conſequence of the protracted proſecution of the war.

Sir *John Sinclair* begged leave to defer the motion which he intended to have brought forward that day, till the next, eſpecially as the right honourable Gentleman (Mr. Pitt) had poſtponed the farther developement of his financial project.—Agreed to.

The Deputy Clerk of the Crown having appeared at the Bar with the return lately made of the election of a Burgeſs to ſerve in Parliament for the borough of Tewkeſbury,

Mr. *Bragge* moved that the return be now read, which being read accordingly, he entered into ſeveral legal arguments, to prove that no election had properly taken place, as no proclamation had been made within the time preſcribed by act of Parliament; he therefore would now move, "That the Speaker do now iſſue his warrant to the Clerk of the Crown, for the election of a burgeſs to ſerve in Parliament, in the room of William Dowdeſwell, Eſq. who has accepted the place of Governor of Bahama Iſlands."

Mr. *Martin* ſeconded the motion.

The *Maſter of the Rolls* oppoſed the motion, as contrary to the ſpirit of Mr. Grenville's Bill; he himſelf had aſſiſted in drawing up that bill, and in his opinion, the preſent caſe was included in its proviſions. He would therefore move, as an amendment, to leave out the words that ſtood after "That," in the original motion, and to ſubſtitute in their ſtead, "Thoſe who queſtion the preſent return ſhould queſtion the ſame within fourteen days from the return of the writ into the Crown Office."

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* ſeconded the amendment, which after a few obſervations from the Speaker, the Maſter of the Rolls, and Mr. Bragge, was agreed to.

The *Speaker* ſaid, that he thought it material not to diſmiſs the preſent ſubject without intimating to thoſe concerned in it, that though the indulgence of the Houſe would not permit them to cenſure the Returning Officers for any thing like corruption or partiality, or any other unworthy and indirect motive, yet he felt it his duty to admoniſh them of the inadvertency and ignorance of the laws which they had betrayed on the preſent occaſion.

The Navy and Army Seduction Bill being read a third time and paſſed,

Lord *Belgrave* brought in a bill to explain and amend the 7th of King William. The bill was read a firſt time, and ordered to be read a ſecond time on Monday. Adjourned.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

WEDNESDAY, *Nov.* 29.

Heard counſel in an appeal from Scotland, in which Sarah Aglianby, otherwiſe Lowthian, widow, the relict of Richard Lowthian, of Staffold, Eſq. deceaſed, is appellant; and George Roſs, the nephew, and heir at law of the ſaid Richard Lowthian, John Maxwell, and Welwood Maxwell, Eſq. his truſtees, and other perſons, the repreſentatives of the ſaid Richard Lowthian, are reſpondents.

Read the bills upon the table.—Adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

WEDNESDAY, *Nov.* 29.

Sir *John Sinclair* ſaid, that it was his intention to have moved that the Commiſſioners of Taxes be called to the bar, to lay before the Houſe an account of all taxes for ſome time paſt, and to give to the Houſe ſuch other information as might be in their power to give, and neceſſary for the Houſe to receive; but there had happened that morning a circumſtance that had prevented him from making that motion. A paper, purporting to be the genuine act of the Executive Directory of France* was publiſhed, the object of which was to explain to all Europe its intention of invading this country, as being the beſt mode of bringing the conteſt to a concluſion; that it is their intention to eſtabliſh what they call the Freedom of the Seas, which was, in other words, the deſtruction of our naval power; and alſo to make this country pay the expence of the conteſt, which was, in other words, to make this country tributary to the French. Upon ſuch an occaſion, and under ſuch circumſtances, he felt it incumbent on him as a Member of that Houſe, and a well-wiſher to this country, not to preſs any thing that could tend to ſhew that there exiſted at this time any diſſention in the Houſe. Therefore, although he was extremely deſirous to have the information which he believed the Commiſſioners could ſupply the Houſe with, he ſhould not preſs his motion; he was contented with having freely and honeſtly ſtated his reaſons for declining it.

* Vide Appendix.

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The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* thought it neceſſary that he ſhould detain the Houſe by delivering a few, and they ſhould be very few, words upon this ſubject. The motives of the honourable Baronet for not taking a ſtep which, in his opinion, tended to diſturb that diſpoſition which marked the unanimity of the Houſe, he ſhould not diſpute, doubtleſs they operated with him as reaſons for declining his motion. But when the honourable Baronet aſſigned the laſt proclamation of the Directory as one on which his motives were founded, he could not help obſerving that the Directory had ſet forward by that proclamation nothing but what they had formerly and frequently avowed, and there was hardly a man in this country, or in Europe, to whom theſe ſentiments of the Directory was new. It was not the firſt time they had ſtated themſelves to be placed at the head of a conſpiracy to obtain what they call the freedom of the ſeas, that was the deſtruction of our naval power, and avowed an hatred to our Government, and had ſtated not only how much we ſhall be obliged to pay for our own defence, but for our ranſom; and theſe are their objects for continuing the war. He thought he might ſay that the honourable Baronet, although only convinced that morning of the object of the enemy, was only convinced of that which was the confirmed opinion of almoſt the whole of this nation long ago. He was glad, however, that the honourable Baronet was at laſt convinced; and he, in common with the Houſe, rejoiced that the Directory had renewed their avowal of this ſpirit by their laſt proclamation, becauſe it kept us on our guard, and let us know what we are to truſt to. At the ſame time it was but fair that he ſhould ſay, that if he felt the ſame neceſſity for the attendance of the Commiſſioners as the honourable Baronet did, if he drew the ſame inference with reſpect to the materiality of the information of the Commiſſioners as the honourable Baronet did, he ſhould certainly perſiſt in making his motion. He ſhould therefore be ſorry to find that the honourable Baronet ſhould be deterred from bringing his motion forward for the reaſons which he had aſſigned for declining. He ſhould add, however, that if the motion was brought forward, he ſhould oppoſe it; not becauſe he thought it dangerous in the view which the honourable Baronet had of it, but becauſe he thought it would be unneceſſary; not that he thought the Commiſſioners could give the honourable Baronet no information, but that the Houſe and every member in it was as competent to form a judgment of what ought to be done to ſupport the State as the Commiſſioners were. The ſubject was to be diſcuſſed upon a view of the general ſtate of all claſſes of perſons

in this country, which was matter for general reaſoning, upon which it was not reſpectful to the Houſe to ſuppoſe that the Commiſſioners of Taxes were better prepared to form a concluſion than Members of that Houſe. He muſt add, however, that the laſt proclamation of the Directory had not, in his opinion, altered the caſe in the leaſt degree.

Sir *John Sinclair* ſaid, he had not altered the opinion he had delivered as to the importance of the laſt manifeſto of the Directory. He had indeed read the other papers to which the right honourable Gentleman alluded, and from which he did not draw the ſame inference as from the laſt. He owned they did not make the ſame impreſſion upon his mind as they did on that of the right honourable Gentleman. However, as the Miniſter paid more attention to theſe papers than was poſſible for many other Members of the Houſe to do conſiſtently with their other avocations, it was reaſonable to ſuppoſe that he underſtood them better. But ſince the right honourable Gentleman thought that the motion ought not to be withdrawn, he had the authority of the right honourable Gentleman for ſo doing.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* hoped that the honourable Baronet would remember what he ſaid. He did not think the motion proper, and therefore, if it was made, he ſhould oppoſe it; for he had only ſaid, that the reaſon which the honourable Baronet alledged for declining it did not appear to him a good one.

The other orders of the day were deferred to Friday.—Adjourned.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

THURSDAY, *Nov.* 30.

The royal aſſent was given by commiſſion (the firſt time this ſeſſion) to the following public Bills:

The Land Tax, the Malt Tax, the Bank Reſtriction, the Scots Bank Notes, and the Cambrick Impoſt Prohibition Bills.

The Lords Commiſſioners on this occaſion were, the Lord Chancellor, the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and Earl Spencer.

The ſeveral Bills upon the table were forwarded in their reſpective ſtages.

SCOTS APPEAL.

Sarah Aglianby, relict of Richard Lowthian, of Staffold, *v.* John Maxwell, of Terraughly, Eſq. George Roſs, and others.

Mr. *Taite*, ſecond Counſel for the Appellant was heard on that ſide, as were Meſſrs. *Grant* and *Adam* on the part of the Reſpondent.

HOUSE

HOUSE OF LORDS.

FRIDAY, *Dec.* 1.

Heard counſel on an appeal from Scotland, and read ſome bills upon the table.

Adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

FRIDAY, *Dec.* 1.

The Houſe proceeded to ballot for a Committee to try the merits of the Newton Election petition.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* poſtponed his further propoſitions reſpecting the means of raiſing a Supply, to Monday next.—Adjourned.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

SATURDAY, *Dec.* 2.

The royal aſſent was given by commiſſion to the bill for continuing the act of laſt ſeſſion, for the prevention and puniſhment of attempts to ſeduce any of his Majeſty's forces by ſea and land from their duty and allegiance; and alſo to the bill for the better regulation of the iſſue of promiſſory notes.

The Lords Commiſſioners on this occaſion were the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the *Lord Chancellor*, and Earl *Spencer*.

The bills upon the table were forwarded in their reſpective ſtages, and ſome arrangements were made with reſpect to the hearing of appeals.

THE ROYAL PROCESSION.

The Duke of *Portland* preſented a Meſſage from his Majeſty, intimating his royal intention of viſiting the Cathedral of St. Paul, with his two Houſes of Parliament, on Tueſday the 19th inſtant, to return thanks to the Divine Providence, &c.

His Grace then moved a ſuitable Addreſs to his Majeſty upon the occaſion; together with a long ſtring of reſolutions, reſpecting the attendance of their Lordſhips, the order of the proceſſion, &c. &c. all which were unanimouſly agreed to by the Houſe.

Their Lordſhips are to attend his Majeſty on the above occaſion in their robes, agreeably to the precedent of Queen Anne's

Anne's proceſſion in 1706. This form was not adopted in the proceſſion of 1789.

After making the above orders, the Houſe adjourned to Tueſday next.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

SATURDAY, *Dec.* 2.

At half paſt two the Houſe met.

Mr. *Quarme*, Yeoman Uſher of the Black Rod, deſired the attendance of the Commons in the Houſe of Peers, to hear the commiſſion read for giving his Majeſty's aſſent to ſeveral acts of Parliament. The Speaker went to the Houſe of Lords, and on his return ſtated, that the royal aſſent had been given to the Small note bill, and the Scotch diſtillery bill.—Adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

MONDAY, *Dec.* 4.

Mr. *Roſe* moved for an account of the Aſſeſſed Taxes, for the year 1797, up to the 5th of April, 1798, as far as the eſtimates could be made. This account was ordered, and was afterwards preſented by a perſon from the Tax-office, and referred to the Committee of Ways and Means.

Lord *Belgrave* poſtponed the order of the day for the ſecond reading of a bill to regulate the Treating Act of William III. till the next day.

Upon the motion of the *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, the order of the day for calling over the names of the defaulters on Friday laſt, was diſcharged.

NEW FINANCE SCHEME.

The Houſe reſolved itſelf into a Committee of Ways and Means, Mr. *Hobart* in the chair, and the accounts preſented by Mr. *Hunter* from the Tax-office, on Wedneſday and Friday laſt, were referred to the ſaid Committee.

ASSESSED TAXES.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* roſe, and ſpoke to the following effect: Having upon a former day ſo fully ſtated to the Committee the leading principles of the plan by which it is propoſed to raiſe the ſupplies for the preſent year, what I have now to offer will be confined within a much narrower compaſs, and will conſiſt in a detail of the particulars of what

what has been already ſtated in the outline. Before I proceed, however, in this detailed explanation, I wiſh to recapitulate ſhortly to the Committee the general grounds on which the plan I have propoſed is brought forward, and the principles on which its expediency ought to be determined. It is univerſally felt that great and unuſual exertions are neceſſary; it is felt that this neceſſity is impoſed upon us by no act, by no choice of our own; it is manifeſt to the world that the ſtruggle we have to maintain, and the ſacrifices we are called upon to make, are rendered inevitable by the unſhaken obſtinacy, by the inveterate animoſity, and the inſatiable ambition of the enemy with whom we contend. It is now proved beyond diſpute, that the nature of the conteſt is ſuch, that whatever efforts may be required, whatever ſacrifices may be neceſſary, it is our duty to exert them to the fulleſt extent which the exigency may demand, and if we poſſeſs the ſmalleſt ſpark of the ſpirit of freemen, if we retain any remains of the character of Engliſhmen, we cannot heſitate in our determination. Since we are called upon to make ſuch exertions, we have likewiſe the ſatisfaction of knowing, upon a review of the means which we poſſeſs to ſecond the reſolution we are compelled to adopt, that in every criterion of real wealth, of radical ſtrength, of unimpaired vigour and reſource, to oppoſe the unjuſt pretenſions of an implacable enemy, there never was a period in which a nation was better prepared to maintain ſo important a conteſt. With ſuch means in our power, I would likewiſe bring to the recollection of the Committee the objects which we ought to keep in view in the mode we employ of bringing them into action. I would deſire you to recollect the importance of raiſing at leaſt ſome part of the ſupplies of the year, without making too large additions to the capital of the funded debt. It is on the embarraſſment of the funding ſyſtem that the hopes of the enemy are founded. If therefore we are deſirous to make the neceſſary exertion, in ſuch a manner as will beſt tend to diſappoint the hopes which the enemy have conceived, and to gain the object which we have in view, we ſhall find that it is our true policy to prevent ſuch an accumulation of funded debt in the market as would depreciate the public ſecurities at preſent, and entail ſuch permanent burdens as might cripple the exertions of the ſtate at ſome future period. Such then is the general outline of the object which the plan I have propoſed profeſſes to have in view. From the principle on which it proceeds, follows this natu-

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ral concluſion, that we are bound to attempt to raiſe within the year ſuch part of the ſupplies for the public ſervice, as will confine the funding ſyſtem within proper limits, and guard againſt the conſequences which might be apprehended from its exceſs. If too we look at the preſent ſtate of public finance, at the means of giving it vigour and ſtability, if we look at the means of ſtrengthening and perpetuating the reſources on which the greatneſs of the empire is founded, we ſhall be convinced that it is important to conſider in that part of the ſupplies which a loan may be employed to provide, what meaſures may be taken to prevent that accumulation, and whether ſome new modes of redemption may not be introduced to prevent a perpetuation of the burdens to be incurred. Proceeding upon theſe principles then it remains to be diſcuſſed, what criterion is to be taken in order to fix the plan by which the ſupply is to be raiſed. I formerly ſtated that for the purpoſe of fixing the proportions in which the burden ſhould be impoſed, an univerſal call for the diſcloſure of property would be inconvenient and imprudent. The queſtion then is, what is the beſt mode of fixing the proportions, according to which each individual ſhall be called upon to contribute? As a firſt criterion of the means and ability of thoſe on whom the burden ought to fall, I thought none more fair and reaſonable than the rate of the aſſeſſed taxes; a mode, however, ſubject to abatement and modification, according as particular applications might demand. As a reaſon for adopting this criterion, I ſtated that theſe taxes were drawn from a very numerous claſs, that they were paid by about 800,000 maſters of families, including a population probably of about four millions. This mode was likewiſe preferred, becauſe it exempts altogether from contribution two or three millions of the poorer claſſes, whom it would be a principal object in any meaſure of taxation, to favour and relieve. In the next place, the payment of theſe taxes, in their different combinations of neceſſary or more voluntary expenditure, may afford a fair criterion of the ability of the contributors, and the proportions in which they ought to be called upon. The third object to be conſidered, is, the means of modification which this principle admits in the caſes where its application might be oppreſſive or unequal.

What then is the manner in which the burden is propoſed to be diſtributed? From the conſideration of this point, the Committee will be able to judge, whether or not, it includes the

the means of affording relief and mitigation to thoſe claſſes whom it is an object of importance to favour. Gentlemen will recollect that I formerly ſtated the amount of the Aſſeſſed Taxes to be 2,700,000l. to this there will be ſome addition, as the whole of what had been impoſed laſt year, though in a train of collection, had not yet reached the Treaſury. This, from the receipts already collected, to the amount of four-fifths, might on the whole be eſtimated at 600,000l. From the completeſt information which could be derived from the papers upon the table, ſuch might be the amount of the produce of theſe taxes. They conſiſt of two kinds. The Houſe Tax, Inhabited Houſes, Commutation, or old Duty, with the addition at per cents. amount to 1,500,000l. The remaining 1,300,003l. ariſes from Male Servants, Horſes, Carriages, Dogs, and Watches. Upon the latter claſs, it is propoſed in general to triple the Aſſeſſment, and to modify the former in proportion as they are combined with the payment of thoſe of the latter deſcription. In the former claſs, it is now propoſed to include Dogs and Watches, though they are properly comprehended in the latter. The reaſon of this is that, although in proportion to their number, they might be conſidered as a teſt of wealth, yet, there are many caſes where one only is kept by perſons paying the Houſe Duty. It would be unequal, therefore, to impoſe the triple rate in caſes where Dogs and Watches were only kept in that ſmall proportion which does not furniſh any teſt of the ability of the contributor. This arrangement, however, will occaſion no defalcation. It will only extend the modification to thoſe caſes where it is moſt to be deſired, that the burthen ſhould fall as light as poſſible.

After taking notice of this diſtinction, I ſhall now proceed to ſtate what is the mode propoſed for fixing the rate, in thoſe caſes where it is not intended to impoſe the triple aſſeſſment. Where the Houſe, Window, Dog, and Watch Taxes, alone are hard, it is not intended to apply the triple aſſeſſment unleſs the amount be more than 3l. Where not more than 1l. of aſſeſſed taxes is paid, it is propoſed, that the proportion ſhall be no more than one half of the preſent rate. From 1l. to 2l. only ſingle rate, and from 2l. to 3l. a double rate. By conſidering the manner in which this mitigation applies, and the number of perſons whom it comprehends, the Committee will be able to judge of the extent of relief which it will afford. In order to place this matter in a more ſtriking point of view, I ſhall ſtate how many are comprehended in the claſs in whoſe favour it will operate. I have already ſtated that the whole contributors to the aſſeſſed taxes, are about 800,000, out of

these there will be 330,000 who will pay no more than half a rate, and consequently only one sixth of the general average additional assessment. It will likewise be found that 130,000 will pay only the single rate, and 70,000 only the double; so that there are 530,000 to whom the abatement on the first rate will apply. After reviewing the whole amount of the produce of the assessment, and the abatements which it may be necessary to allow, it will be seen, that the diminution upon the whole will be less than the amount of the sum originally reserved upon this head.

In order to attain the great object for which it is essential to provide, that of securing the efficiency of the means of raising the supply, and at the same time preventing the burden from pressing too severely on those whom it is important to relieve, another abatement will be found expedient. Before I proceed, however, I should next state, that it is proposed, to those who pay not only the House and Window, the Dog and Watch Tax, but also the other description of assessed taxes, should pay the triple assessment, taking 3l. to be the point at which this rate is to commence; it is clear that this class cannot apply to many who pay any considerable share of the voluntary or luxurious description of assessed taxes. Those who pay all the assessed taxes in all their respective heads, it is intended shall pay the triple rate. In this class there will be no abatement required, but on the contrary, the contributors will be subject to an increase in proportion as the quantum which they pay supposes their ability; at what rate of expenditure this encrease of contribution may be imposed, it is impossible to say with accuracy, but the best information which diligent enquiry can afford, will enable us to determine with a considerable degree of exactness. Those possessed of a thousand a year and upwards, will probably come under the description to whom the increased rate will apply; those under 30l. of assessed taxes being fixed at the triple rate; from 30l. to 50l. it is proposed that the rate should be three and a half instead of three, and where more than 50l. it is proposed to raise it to a quadruple assessment.

The plan thus is founded to distribute the proportion of contribution according to the rate of the present assessment, and the ability which the various modes in which these taxes are paid may be supposed to infer. Still, however, some farther connection will be necessary to prevent the burden falling too hard upon those classes which it may be wise and proper to relieve. It is well known that the amount of the House Tax presses much more severely upon the inhabitants of the Metropolis

tropolis and of large cities, upon particular trades, than upon the ſame claſſes in the country; that to perſons of the ſame income, in different ſituations, the burden would preſs with the moſt vexatious and intolerable inequality. The only mode of correction which this inequality will admit is to allow an abatement below the charge, on the claſs to which the parties entitled to it belong, upon a declaration, not that their income is confined to a certain ſum, but that it does not exceed that ſum below which it may be adviſable to allow ſome mitigation. In any caſe where the rate of the houſe-tax would exceed a certain proportion of a man's income, it is propoſed then that he ſhall be relieved by commiſſioners to be appointed for the purpoſe, in proportion to the rate of income correſponding to the claſs to which he will belong. Thus if any perſon makes it appear that he is not worth 60l. a year, he will be entitled to total exemption. Where the income is 60l. and below that ſum which it is intended to regulate, the amount of the aſſeſſment will not exceed one 120th part of the perſon's income, or ten ſhillings. Where from peculiarity of circumſtances, from the nature of the trade carried on in the metropolis and in large cities, perſons paying even half rate, it is propoſed that they ſhould be relieved in proportion to their incomes, till the amount of income roſe to 200l. a year. Thoſe whoſe incomes exceed 200l. a year, to receive no abatement from the triple rate, unleſs they can ſhew that this demand would exceed a tenth of their income. The ſhorteſt way then will be to ſtate the proportion of income and the rate of aſſeſſment to prove to the Committee the extent of reduction which the propoſed regulations will admit;

Perſons aſſeſſed to duties on Male Servants, Carriages, or Horſes, either ſeparately, or with other aſſeſſed duties, where the amount of the duties ſhall not exceed £30, ſhall be charged with a duty equal to three times the amount thereof.

Exceeding £50, to three and a half.
Exceeding 50, to four times.

Perſons aſſeſſed to any of the aſſeſſed duties now payable, and not aſſeſſed to the duties on Servants, Carriages, and Horſes, where the amount of the duty ſhall be---Under £1 per annum, ſhall be charged one half the amount thereof.

Under £2, ſhall be charged equal to the amount thereof.

Under £3, ſhall be charged twice the amount.

£3, and upwards, ſhall be charged three times the amount.

Perſons whoſe annual income is leſs than 60l. ſhall be exempted from the additional duties. And,

Where their income amounts to more than 60l. the duties to be reduced in the following proportions.

Incomes from 60 to 65l. ſhall be reduced to a ſum not exceeding one 120th part of 60l. or 10s.

70,	-	1-95th
75,	-	1-70th
80,	-	1-65th
85,	-	1-60th
90,	-	1-55th
95,	-	1-50th
100,	-	1-45th
105,	-	1-40th
110,	-	1-38th
115,	-	1-36th
120,	-	1-34th
125,	-	1-32dth
130,	-	1-30th
135,	-	1-28th
140,	-	1 26th
145,	-	1-24th
150,	-	1-22dth
155,	-	1-20th
160,	-	1-19th
165,	-	1-18th
170,	-	1-17th
175,	-	1-16th
180,	-	1-15th
185,	-	1-14th
190,	-	1-13th
195,	-	1-12th
Up to 200,	-	1-11th

200, and upwards, 1-10th, or 20l.

Perſons aſſeſſed after the 6th of April, 1798, to a greater amount than at preſent, to be ſubject to the additional duties therefrom.

Perſons not aſſeſſed within the year ending 5 April, 1798, who ſhall be aſſeſſed in a ſubſequent year, to be liable to the additional duties from the commencement of the year in which they ſhall be aſſeſſed.

Perſons ſurcharged to pay the additional duties for the amount of the ſurcharge.

The next conſideration is in what manner the relief ſhall be applied. So far as it is to be in proportion to the rate of aſſeſſed taxes, the ſubject admits of the eaſieſt calculation; but as to the application of the ſcale of abatement ſome mode muſt be fixed in which it is to take place. All that is propoſed to require then of the party claiming a mitigation, is no more than a declaration of his opinion of what his income may be. It ſeems adviſeable that this declaration ſhould take place before ſome perſons in each pariſh converſant with the circumſtances of the parties, and qualified in ſome meaſure

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to judge of the fidelity of the declaration. This declaration and the degree of relief ſhall afterwards be publiſhed, in order that there may be an additional ſecurity againſt fraudulent declarations. This ſecurity cannot be deemed a hardſhip upon any man, nor be conſidered a demand beyond what the country is intitled to impoſe. If a man conceives his aſſeſſment to be more than he is able to pay, he muſt be contented to declare what part of his income it will form, in order to be intitled to the relief which he claims.

In the firſt outline of this plan, I ſtated that a paſt aſſeſſment was propoſed to be taken as the future rate of payment. Upon conſideration, however, I am inclined to think that ſuch an arrangement will neither be adviſeable nor neceſſary. All that is deemed neceſſary to prevent evaſion, is a declaration upon oath, that the rate of aſſeſſment to which a man is ſubjected does exceed a tenth part of his income.

With regard to this declaration, it will likewiſe be neceſſary to provide that in the ſtatement of income the ſum which a man now pays to the aſſeſſed taxes ſhall not be included, perſons may, in ſome caſes, ſtand aſſeſſed in a much higher proportion than correſponds to their incomes. An innkeeper, for inſtance, from the number of windows for which he pays, might be compelled to pay in a very unequal rate, were he forced to include what he now pays in the amount of his income. The ſame thing will apply wherever the average proportion of the tax exceeds the real income of the party, ſo that it is unneceſſary to enter into the detail of the proviſions which are intended to remedy this inconvenience.

As to the mode of appointing the Commiſſioners who are to adminiſter the relief to thoſe who conceive themſelves entitled to it, the principal object will be that the perſons to whom this taſk ſhould be confided ſhould be acquainted with the neighbourhood, and with the parties who come before them for mitigation. There might even be no objection to thoſe who are now employed to fix the rate of the aſſeſſed taxes; or if this ſhould be deemed inexpedient, a number of houſe-keepers might be choſen out of that claſs which pays the higheſt proportion, and who would not be likely to ſue for relief for themſelves. Such a number might be choſen by lot to exerciſe this juriſdiction, and ſuch diviſions aſſigned as would enable them to act with information and knowledge. In this way a moſt reſpectable tribunal will be formed perfectly adequate to perform with fidelity and impartiality that duty which it is propoſed to entruſt to their care.

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Theſe ſeem to include all the points for which it will be neceſſary to provide in the way of regulation. In general, however, ſome regulation will be neceſſary to provide, that where perſons become liable to higher rates of aſſeſſment than they now pay, their contributions to the preſent plan will riſe in that proportion,

It remains now to be conſidered, as far as can be calculated, what, in all the circumſtances, may be the produce of the tax, I have ſtated that 2,700,000 l. is the amount of the aſſeſſed taxes, excluſive of the new burdens impoſed laſt year. On the ſuppoſition of a treble aſſeſſment on the whole the amount would be 8,160,000 l. From the amount at preſent is deducted 90,000 l. as the charge of collection. It cannot be expected that with the additional trouble that will be occaſioned an encreaſe of remuneration will not be required by thoſe who collect them, but certainly the ſame rate of poundage will not be neceſſary. As charges of management then two-thirds will be applicable to the tax. The general amount will thus be 8,400,000 l. judging from the obſervations which have been made from the produce and rates of payment for near four-fifths of the kingdom, and making allowance for the diminution occaſioned by the half rates, ſingle rates and double rates, the whole reduction will not be more than 900,000 l. or a million. This would be the whole diminution, without taking into view the balance on the ſide of produce which muſt ariſe from the 3½ quadruple rates paid as they are upon extenſive ſums. From the effect of this balance then the whole of the produce will be about eight millions. Still indeed there is another abatement to be taken into view. In the caſes where income does not amount to 60 l. a year there will be a total exemption, and proportional deductions according as the incomes of contributors fall below the ſums correſponding to the claſſes to which they belong. It is impoſſible to ſtate any ground upon which theſe deductions can be calculated. Their amount muſt be wholly conjectural.—So much, however, is certain, that means are thus provided for a very extenſive ſcale of relief in different progreſſive ſtages. Thus we are ſure that we obtain that eſſential object of preventing the burthen from preſſing with ſeverity upon thoſe claſſes who ought to be exempted or relieved. The ſum for which the whole produce is taken is ſeven millions. The ſum, which upon the ſcale already ſtated it will produce, is about eight millions, thus leaving ſeven or 800,000 l. to make any diminution which may ariſe from the abatements allowed, and to make allowance for ſuch modifications as circumſtances may require. Againſt any

diminution

ſlimination which may be calculated upon the above heads, it may not be improper to conſider the improvement which the aſſeſſed taxes will receive from the redoubled attention to their collection which may be expected to take place. Theſe taxes have in many inſtances been evaded to a degree beyond all conception. In conſequence of the enquiries which ſome late meaſures had occaſioned, very important diſcoveries were made of the evaſions practiſed in this branch of the revenue, which more recent inveſtigations have tended to confirm. Every Gentleman who looks at thoſe who pay in the rank with himſelf muſt be ſatisfied that more than the amount of the ſum requiſite to give every proper allowance to thoſe who deſerve mitigation, by putting an end to that evaſion which has been ſo extenſively practiſed, will be gained; and ſure I am there muſt be but one mind and one exertion to counteract and to defeat ſuch fraudulent attempts. The call upon the poſſeſſors of horſes in conſequence of the meaſures lately taken for the defence of the country, led to the diſcovery of very ſcandalous evaſions of the revenue. I have heard of inſtances of this kind in caſes ſo aggravated from the perſons involved, and the rank of life in which they ſtood, that it would be impoſſible for any man to learn the particulars without mingled feelings of ſhame and indignation. Many of the perſons guilty of theſe frauds are probably deterred from a diſcovery by a dread of the penalties they have incurred. Perhaps, therefore, it may be politic to hold out ſome encouragement to thoſe who ſhall give a fair account of the duties to which they are liable. This I ſtate merely to ſhew that there is reaſon to believe that the accuracy of collection which will now be eſtabliſhed, will ſerve in a very conſiderable degree to ſupply the deficiency which the application of relief to thoſe who require it may occaſion.

Nothing more remains but to ſtate one additional modification, for which indeed there is no ſeparate reſolution, but the propriety of which the Committee will perceive. It is a diſtinction in favour of thoſe whoſe eſtabliſhments are encreaſed by numerous families. It might be proper therefore to adopt ſome regulation for thoſe who have a certain number of children, and thoſe who have no children at all, and to proportion the ſcale to the largeneſs of family, when thoſe who have a certain number of children apply for relief. I would propoſe, therefore, that if entitled to that mitigation which they claim, they ſhould be reduced in a rate below that to which by their income they would belong, and that thoſe who have no families ſhould be placed in a rank above that which they would otherwiſe occupy.

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Having now explained the different points of regulation and modification which the ſcheme I have ſubmitted to the Committee will admit, I again deſire gentlemen to keep in mind that if I am right in my idea of the neceſſity of raiſing within the year at leaſt a certain proportion of the ſupplies of the year, the firſt queſtion that occurs is, How is ſuch a thing to be done? We are to enquire whether there can be a call upon income more general, more equitable, and more effectual, and at the ſame time more ſafe, than that which the plan before you contains? If a viſible criterion muſt be ſelected, can there be any one more comprehenſive, more capable of modification, more applicable to the caſes which may call for exception or relief, than that which is now ſubmitted to your opinion? Thirdly, can any ſyſtem of correction be deviſed that better meets the inconveniencies which might ariſe from individual applications than the preſent? Such are the queſtions for your deciſion. The effort to be exerted is doubleſs a great one. Seven millions, in whatever mode it is to be raiſed, is a great ſum to be taken out of the pockets of the people. We muſt determine by ſome effort or other to provide the ſum which the public ſervice requires. Do we think then that to raiſe ſeven millions in this manner is an effort that ought not to be made, if by ſuch an effort we ſhall be enabled to maintain the conteſt with more ſucceſs, and to purſue it to a more ſpeedy termination than by any other mode of exertion. If we are ſatisfied on theſe points we ſhall not liſten to any general objections, ſuch as thoſe that large contributions are always great grievances to the people. What we ſhould conſider is, whether leſs ought to be taken to maintain with vigour, and to proſecute to a ſucceſsful termination, a conteſt for the preſervation of the whole, for the ſafety of ourſelves, and for the intereſt of poſterity? We ought then to examine the ſubject carefully, jealouſly and accurately, but with a fixed determination not to be deterred by the magnitude of the ſacrifice; with a firm determination to follow up the principle of mitigating the burthen where relief ought to be applied, and of acting up to the full extent of the pledge which we have given; with a firm determination to exert every effort that may be required by the novelty of the criſis, in which we are placed, and the magnitude of the objects for which we contend. Having ſaid ſo much, I ſhall detain the Committee no longer but move the firſt reſolution.

Mr.

Mr. *Hobart* then proceeded to read the firſt reſolution.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* ſaid, that though it was not perfectly regular, he ſhould propoſe to read all the reſolutions, before the Committee proceeded to the diſcuſſion of any of them.

Mr. *Hobart* then read the reſolutions as follow:

"That it is the opinion of this Committee, that towards raiſing the Supply granted to his Majeſty, every perſon aſſeſſed to any of the duties now payable on Male Servants, on Carriages, or on Horſes, either ſeparately or together, with any other duties now placed under the management of the Commiſſioners for the Affairs of Taxes, ſhall be charged annually, during a term to be limited, with an additional rate or duty, in proportion to the amount of the duties (except the land-tax) to which ſuch perſon is aſſeſſed, according to the laſt yearly aſſeſſment or aſſeſſments, made in purſuance of any Act of Parliament now in force, prior to the 5th day of April, 1798, and the proportion thereof ſhall be as follows, viz.

"Where the amount of the ſaid duties now payable ſhall not exceed thirty pounds, a duty equal to three times the amount thereof.

"Where the amount of the ſaid duties now payable ſhall exceed thirty, and ſhall not exceed fifty pounds, a duty equal to three times the amount, and one half the amount thereof.

"And where the amount of the ſaid duties now payable ſhall exceed fifty pounds, a duty equal to four times the amount thereof.

"And that where any perſon ſhall be ſo charged to any ſuch aſſeſſment made for a leſs term than a year, the additional rate or duty ſhall be computed on the aggregate amount of the ſums contained in ſuch aſſeſſments, and of ſuch further ſum to be added thereto, as would be payable thereon if the ſame were made for a whole year.

"That it is the opinion of this Committee, that towards raiſing the Supply granted to his Majeſty, every perſon aſſeſſed to any of the rates or duties now payable, and placed under the management of the Commiſſioners for the affairs of Taxes, ſuch perſon not being aſſeſſed to any of the duties on Male Servants, Carriages, or Horſes, ſhall be chatged annually during a term to be limited, with an additional rate or duty in proportion to the amount of the duties (except the land-tax) to which ſuch perſon is aſſeſſed, according to the laſt yearly aſſeſſment or aſſeſſments, made prior to the 5th day of April, 1798, in purſuance of any Act of Parliament now in force; and the proportion thereof ſhall be as follows, viz.

"When the amount of the ſaid duties ſhall be under one pound, a duty equal to one half the amount thereof.

"Where the amount of the ſaid duties ſhall amount to one pound, and ſhall be under two pounds, a duty equal to the amount thereof.

"Where the amount of the ſaid duties ſhall amount to two pounds, and ſhall be under three pounds, a duty equal to twice the amount thereof.

"And when the amount of the ſaid duties ſhall amount to three pounds or upwards, a duty equal to three times the amount thereof.

"And that where any perſon ſhall be ſo charged by every ſuch aſſeſſment made for a leſs term than a year, the additional rate or duty ſhall be computed on the aggregate amount of the ſums contained in ſuch aſſeſſment, and of ſuch further ſum to be added thereto, as would become payable thereon, if the ſame were made for a whole year.

"That it is the opinion of this Committee, that every perſon charged to the additional rate, or duty, to be impoſed towards raiſing the Supply

granted to his Majeſty, ſhall upon proving to the ſatisfaction of Commiſſioners to be appointed for that purpoſe, that the amount of his or her annual income, after deducting the amount of the duties contained in the laſt aſſeſſment of the duties now payable, is leſs than the ſum of 60l. be exempted from the ſaid additional duty; and in all caſes where ſuch annual income amounts to 60l. or more, ſuch perſon ſhall be entitled to ſuch an abatement of the additional duty to be granted, as may be neceſſary to reduce the ſame in each caſe reſpectively, in the proportion herein after ſtated, that is to ſay—

"Where the ſaid annual income ſhall appear to be not leſs than 60l. but under 65l. to a ſum not exceeding 1-120th part of the ſame,

65	but under 70,	-	1-95th
70	75,	-	1-70th
75	80,	-	1-65th
80	85,	-	1-60th
85	90,	-	1-55th
90	95,	-	1-50th
95	100,	-	1-45th
100	105,	-	1-40th
105	110,	-	1-38th
110	115,	-	1-36th
115	120,	-	1-34th
120	125,	-	1-32dth
125	130,	-	1-30th
130	135,	-	1-28th
135	140,	-	1 26th
140	145,	-	1-24th
145	150,	-	1-22dth
150	155,	-	1-20th
155	160,	-	1-19th
160	165,	-	1-18th
165	170,	-	1-17th
170	175,	-	1-16th
175	180,	-	1-15th
180	185,	-	1-14th
185	190,	-	1-13th
190	195,	-	1-12th
195	200,	-	1-11th.
	200, and upwards,		1-10th, or 20l.

"And where the ſaid annual income ſhall appear to be not leſs than 200l. every ſuch perſon ſhall be intitled to ſuch an abatement of the additional duty now granted as may be neceſſary to reduce the ſame in each caſe reſpectively to a ſum not exceeding 1-10th part of the ſaid income.

"That it is the opinion of this Committee, that towards raiſing the Supply granted to his Majeſty, every perſon whoſe laſt aſſeſſment ſhall be increaſed by any ſurcharge to be allowed, ſhall be charged, in reſpect of ſuch increaſed aſſeſſment, in the like proportion as if ſuch ſurcharge had formed a part of the original aſſeſſment.

"That it is the opinion of this Committee, that towards raiſing the Supply granted to his Majeſty, every perſon who ſhall by any aſſeſſment to be made after the 5th day of April, 1798, be aſſeſſed in reſpect of the duties now payable, to a greater amount than the amount contained in the prior aſſeſſment, ſhall be charged with a further additional rate or duty, in proportion to ſuch latter aſſeſſment, from the commencement of the year in which ſuch latter aſſeſſment ſhall be made.

"That

"That it is the opinion of this Committee, that towards raiſing the Supply granted to his Majeſty, every perſon not aſſeſſed within the year ending on the 5th day of April, 1798, to any of the duties now payable, and who ſhall be aſſeſſed to any of the ſaid duties in any ſubſequent year, ſhall be charged with the like additional rate or duty, on the amount of ſuch aſſeſſment, from the commencement of the year in which ſuch aſſeſſment ſhall be made, and ſubject to the like abatement as if ſuch perſon had been aſſeſſed to the ſaid duties within the year ending on the 5th day of April, 1798."

Sir *William Pulteney* very much approved of the principle of Mr. Pitt's plan of finance, and highly commended his giving time to the Houſe to digeſt and conſider the great outlines before he entered into the detail of its particular proviſions and modifications. As the diſcuſſion of the latter, therefore, was now not before the Houſe, he would for the preſent conſider the former, and make ſuch obſervations as occurred to him on the general ſubject. However, he would firſt obſerve that in all caſes of taxation the ſame line of conduct ſhould be purſued as that adopted on the preſent occaſion by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, he meant that of giving the people full time to conſider of it before it came for ultimate deciſion before the Houſe. Any other courſe would ſeem to betray a ſuſpicion that the country was not willing to contribute to the ſupplies, than which no ſuppoſition could be more falſe or unfounded. Originally, indeed, before the funding ſyſtem aroſe, and rendered the furniſhing of ſupplies lighter to the people, by raiſing them on loan, and burthening them only with the intereſt, the people feeling the weight to lie more immediately on themſelves, were not ſo well contented—but now the people were better informed of the neceſſity, as well as more able to ſupport the weight of ſupplies; and on this occaſion it muſt be a great ſatisfaction to the country to know that there was no intention to take them ſhort on ſo intereſting and momentous a buſineſs.

He ſaid he approved of the mode adopted by the Chancellor of the Exchequer of providing the ſum of ſeven millions by direct taxes, for he had always thought that the ſupplies ſhould be raiſed within the year. He alſo gave the Miniſter great credit for the modifications he had propoſed, as they would lay the tax in ſome degree equally upon the people—unqueſtionably it ought chiefly to lie on thoſe who could beſt afford it; but in ſpite of every effort there muſt neceſſarily be ſome inequality in ſuch an extended as well as complicated arrangement. No ſyſtem of taxation could poſſibly be deviſed that would not, in ſome inſtances, bear heavier, and in others lighter, than equal juſtice required—ſome eſcaping it by being circumſtanced in a way that excluded them from the preciſe

lines chalked out by the law, and others evading it deſignedly. Smugglers and fraudulent traders, for inſtance, evaded the payment of duties which the fair dealer paid. This was an objection, no doubt, not to the tax, but to the defective means of execution which of neceſſity attached to it. No more then could the impracticability of fairly apportioning the preſent tax in all caſes without exception be urged as an objection to the tax itſelf. All that could be hoped to be effected by human induſtry and human ſagacity was to come near the deſired object, and he dared to ſay the Chancellor of the Exchequer had ſpared no pains to do ſo. But this part of his plan and the improvement that might be made upon it were ſubjects to be diſcuſſed when the clauſes ſhould come ſeparately before the Houſe.

Having ſaid ſo much in juſtice to the Miniſter, he owed it to truth to declare it was his opinion that after all the care which had been taken by the Right Honourable Gentleman, there was yet a material defect in the plan. It would be found to fall much heavier than if a larger compaſs had been taken: the great difficulty would reſt on thoſe who having a genteel income, live up to it—and this was a very numerous claſs. Where then would they find money to pay the great increaſe of taxes? yet pay them they muſt, or elſe their goods would be ſold. What then could they do?—borrow? no, they would not be able to borrow, for Government by giving the enormous intereſt of near 8 per cent for a loan would make it impoſſible—the diſtreſs of this claſs, therefore, would be great, and in ſome inſtances ruinous. The ſupply to be raiſed was nineteen millions, and he conceived that it would fall lighter on the people at large if inſtead of borrowing twelve millions, and raiſing ſeven directly by taxes, the whole was raiſed by taxes within the year without any loan at all; for as there would be no loan at eight per cent. to raiſe the rate of intereſt, individuals would be able to borrow at five per cent. and in that way pay the temporary impoſt, which even in that diſadvantageous way would be better for them than to pay through the medium of Government eight per cent. for it. This was a ſubject to which he had given much conſideration, and he was ſure the ſcheme was not only practicable, but far from difficult, and would be attended with no diſtreſs to the country. But if the miniſter ſhould perſiſt to carry his preſent plan in all its parts into execution, it muſt be extremely oppreſſive, ſince if twelve millions were to be borrowed at eight per cent. who would be able to borrow at five? and how could money be procured to pay the taxes by thoſe who lived up to their income?—as to the

the plan he propoſed it would be a noble one, and ſuch as he was convinced would enable the miniſter to carry on the war for many years on a great plan with vigour, and, conſidering the preſent opulence and circumſtances of the country, with increaſing proſperity. He did not ſay this upon light grounds; he had well conſidered and canvaſſed the ſubject, and could undertake to ſhew a plan extenſive, practicable, and benefical; he not only would ſhew but demonſtrate its expediency, and would moreover undertake to devote his whole time to farwarding and bringing it to perfection without fee or reward.

Another objection occurred to him—would not the public aſk whether this money would be better diſpoſed of than that which they had granted before? The miniſter had talked of a reduction in the navy and army to the amount of ſix millions; he believed, nevertheleſs, that there would not be a man leſs than before in the army or navy. But, the people would aſk, why this reduction was not made before? and be inclined to ſuſpect that their repreſentatives by granting money inattentively produced only frauds. He declared he meant what he ſaid to benefit the internal regulations of the country, and not to vex miniſters, and he hoped the Houſe and every member in it would think as he did, that this was no time for party diſſentions, and that let who would be miniſter, it was the duty of all to join in oppoſing the enemy. The tone now aſſumed by the enemy called on every Briton to reſt his all on the conteſt. It was not the difference of an iſland more or leſs in a negociation, that impoſed upon England this neceſſity, it was the tone of the enemy which left no option, no alternative. As to a defenſive war, he entirely diſapproved of it—to think of exhauſting the enemy's reſources, by acting on the defenſive only, was idle and hopeleſs: their means were not to be calculated by the finances of other people, or their duration eſtimated by the reſources of England, who paid ſome regard to her credit. France, with her modes of ſupply, would not ſoon be exhauſted, and a war confined to defenſive operations againſt her, would probably be a war of many years. As to allies we had none but Portugal, whom we muſt ſupport in the war, not look up to for aſſiſtance; while France was increaſed in power to a degree beyond any thing to which ſhe had aſpired even in the reign of Louis XIV. Yet even then miniſters awakened all Europe to repreſs the dating ambition and dangerous aggrandiſement of that monarch; while we, though in much greater danger, have not been able to preſerve one ally, or rouſe

rouſe any potentate to an effectual ſenſe of the danger in which Europe ſtands from the inordinate ambition and unprecedented power of the enemy. From what did this ariſe? England was not now, nor ever was, in a ſtate to alarm continental powers, nor ever was ſuſpected of ſiniſter intentions; boaſtful, perhaps, but known by all to be direct, warm-hearted, and honeſt, and however high the tone ſhe held might be, that tone was allowed becauſe her intentions were neither feared nor ſuſpected: the French, however, in order to prejudice the minds of the continental powers againſt Great Britain, charged her with enriching herſelf by the loſſes of others; but how could that be? So far from injuring, ſhe ſerved other nations, ſupplying them with thoſe things with which they had neither ingenuity nor induſtry to ſupply themſelves: ſupplying them with her cloth and other manufactures, ſo that this charge of the enemy was falſe and inſidious. There muſt be ſome cauſe then for her loſing her allies. And he could not ſee why an effort ſhould not be made to rouſe the different ſtates of Europe to a ſenſe of their danger, particularly to rouſe Swizerland and Hamburgh; all modes of annoying the enemy ought to be adopted, as well courting of foreign alliances as ſtrengthening ourſelves at home by a well deviſed and vigorous ſyſtem of finances. For this reaſon he would repeat that the whole ſum ought to be raiſed by direct taxes in order to prevent the miſchiefs that would accrue to the claſs he had already mentioned, and to the lower mechanics and manufacturers. Coachmakers, for inſtance, would materially ſuffer, becauſe gentlemen who now lived up to the whole amount of their incomes would be induced by the tax to lay down their carriages; whereas, if the money market was not raiſed by a large loan at high intereſt, the gentry would be able to borrow, and of courſe would not lay their carriages down. This was his view of the ſubject, which he would diſcuſs on a future day more fully.

Earl *Temple* ſaid he aſſented heartily to the general ſcope of the plan, and gave the miniſter great credit for the modifications by which he had adjuſted the proportions of different claſſes; but at the ſame time he could not help lamenting that the plan was not more diffuſively and largely extended. He felt what he had at riſk, and ſhould conſider himſelf for his own part very happy to give up a large part of it to the preſerva ion of the reſt, and he regretted that while ſome great capitaliſts would eſcape, much of the burthens

then would be extremely heavy on ſome of the beſt and moſt reſpectable men in the kingdom—he meant gentlemen of two, or three, or four hundred a year in the country.

Sir *Robert Mackreth* ſaid, that he wiſhed to ſee the ſyſtem of taxation completely changed. Sums to an immenſe amount, which had been laid out in mortgages, ſhould not be exempted from taxation. It was well known, that no leſs than 600,000l. had been laid out in that manner by one perſon only, for which five per cent. was received; yet the landed property, which produced only four or four and a half, was conſiderably taxed. He therefore wiſhed, that money ſecured in that way ſhould be liable to contribute to the exigencies of the State. [Sir Robert here went into a new and detailed plan of taxation, through which it was unable to follow him, from a frequent diſturbance.] He was of opinion, that the whole of the revenue could be collected in a more effectual and leſs expenſive way; that the Crown and Foreſt Lands ſhould be ſold, and the product applied to the benefit of the Sinking Fund; but that if we continued to go on in the way of public expenditure, as we had hitherto done, that it would be totally impoſſible for the reſources of the country to meet the preſſure of the public wants.

Mr. *J. Nicholls* ſaid he could not approve, and of courſe could not agree to the plan of the Chancellor of the Exchequer; he diſliked it becauſe he thought it was neither juſt, expedient, nor neceſſary, in whatever aſpect it could be viewed. If it was intended as a tax upon luxury, it was unjuſt as retroſpective—for a tax upon luxury from its very nature ſhould operate proſpectively, and ſhould allow the party an option to indulge in the luxury or decline it. If it was meant as a tax upon property, it was unjuſt, for expenditure was not the criterion or true teſt of property; innumerable were they who lived genteelly, not upon fixed permanent property, but upon the gains of their profeſſions or employments, and was it not unjuſt to put ſuch perſons on the ſame footing as thoſe who have large landed property or other property. As a tax upon expenditure it was not equal, for according to the ſtatement of the right honourable Gentleman, he who paid thirty pounds a year taxes would have an income of about nine hundred or a thouſand a year, while the higher claſs of taxes was diſtributed with ſo little attention to the proportion it ſhould bear to the magnitude of property taxed, that if the latter were to be judged by the former, that is to ſay, if the property was to be eſtimated by the amount of the tax, no man in England would be found to poſſeſs more than twelve or thirteen thouſand a year. He

ſaid

ſaid it was not a little extraordinary that the right honourable Gentleman ſhould on this occaſion, for the firſt time, decry the Funding Syſtem: it came with a very bad grace from a Miniſter who had nearly doubled the burthens of the nation during his adminiſtration, having in one year only added no leſs than eighty ſeven millions and a half in three per cents. to the National Debt. Why did the right honourable Gentleman, thinking ſo ill as he did of the funding ſyſtem, add ſo enormouſly to the National Debt? Why did he not before this avail himſelf of his new plan of Finances? before he had incurred ſuch an inſupportable weight of debt? It was not expedient, he ſaid, for it could not on any account be deemed expedient to cruſh the little orders of ſociety. The right honourable Gentleman had boaſted that he would ſpare the lower orders, but when the progreſſive effects of the tax, were duly conſidered, they would be found big with ruin; they would be found to cruſh the middle orders directly, and the lower ranks remotely; he need only mention the coach-makers as an inſtance; he had converſed on the ſubject with an eminent and intelligent coach-maker, who gave him ample information to juſtify what he had ſaid; he was aſſured that the artizans in that branch of manufacture were not on an average of the hours of their work, employed more than three days in the week. If this tax was carried into effect they would not have employment for a ſingle day, but would, like the body of watchmakers, be deprived of all means of ſubſiſtence, and caſt upon their reſpective pariſhes for the benefit of the poor's rate. Another circumſtance too tended to render this oppreſſion more galling and more extenſive; it came forward at a time when there were no means of borrowing; and here he reminded the Houſe how bitterly he had on a former night been reproached by the Miniſter, for having charged that right honourable Gentleman with wholly engroſſing to himſelf the monopoly of borrowing; yet it appeared he was right; for there were many who were not aware of the miſchief this ſyſtem of borrowing at exorbitant intereſt did to the country; it not only exhauſted it of its produce, but withered its powers of production—the money continually drawn from the country to be put into the funds was an incalculable calamity to the nation, ſince it was drawn from thoſe who would otherwiſe have employed it beneficially to themſelves and their country, in trade, to be placed in a ſtate of barren and unproductive inertion. The intereſt of money in the funds was ſo very high that all the money in the country was continually tranſmitted to the metropolis, which every Gentleman preſent, who underſtood

derſtood the ſubject well, would allow to be extremely injurious to the country at large. In other countries their ſyſtems were of a very different kind; in other countries, inſtead of clogging the borrowing of money with difficulties, they had inſtituted funds, called *Mounts of Piety*, for the purpoſe of accommodating their citizens with loans of money at a moderate intereſt.

On the whole it muſt be allowed by all impartial perſons that it would be neither wiſe nor juſt, nor prudent in the Houſe to commit an act that would deſtroy the happineſs of thouſands; for after all, how could the right honourable Gentleman hope to enforce the payment of thoſe taxes? Would he put the defaulters in jail? If he did not, would he take their goods? Yes—but how would he convert thoſe goods into caſh? How contrive to ſell them? In a time of ſuch deep and general calamity where would he find purchaſers? He had thus ſhewn, he hoped, to the ſatisfaction of the impartial, that this meaſure was neither juſt nor expedient. He would now ſhew that it was not neceſſary. It was certainly not neceſſary, becauſe the continuation of the war was not neceſſary. [General noiſe through the Houſe. After a pauſe he proceeded and ſaid,] If he was not allowed to aſſign his reaſons in the Houſe, as he was about to do, he muſt ſubmit them to his conſtituents by ſome other means. [A general cry of *hear! hear!* He continued and ſaid,] That he could not bring himſelf to believe the continuation of the war neceſſary, unleſs he firſt ſaw a ſincere and earneſt endeavour to obtain the bleſſings of peace, which he by no means did believe had ever been put in practice, or even taken ſeriouſly into contemplation by his Majeſty's miniſters. Neither would he ever repoſe a moment's confidence in them, or give his conſent to the continuation of the war, or believe it to be neceſſary, without better grounds than thoſe aſſerted before him, and unleſs miniſters did relinquiſh their preſent opinions, wiſhes and deſigns with regard to France; in fact if they did not practically renounce them, it was impoſſible to believe that they had entered, or would enter, on the negociation ſincerely. And he would ſtate his reaſons for thinking ſo. His Majeſty's miniſters, at leaſt ſome of them, did confeſſedly and avowedly agree *in toto*, with the principles and opinions of the late Mr. Edmund Burke. What thoſe opinions were he ſhould be able partly to ſhew by reading an extract from a publication of that right honourable Gentleman's. Mr. Nicholls read the following extract of Mr.

Burke's letter to the Duke of Portland, in 1793, once ſurreptitiouſly publiſhed, page 71, paragraph 42; it was in theſe words:

"This charge the party of Mr. Fox maintained, article by article, beginning with the firſt: namely, the interference of peers at elections, and their nominating in effect ſeveral of the Members of the Houſe of Commons. In the printed liſt of grievances which they made out on the occaſion, and in ſupport of their charge, is found the borough for which, under Lord Fitzwilliam's influence, I now ſit. By this remonſtrance and its object, they hope to defeat the operation of property in elections, and in reality to diſſolve the connection and communication of intereſts which makes the Houſes of Parliament a mutual ſupport to each other. Mr. Fox and the Friends of the People are not ſo ignorant as not to know, that peers do not interfere in elections as peers, but as men of property. They well know that the Houſe of Lords is by itſelf the feebleſt part of the conſtitution; they know that the Houſe of Lords is ſupported only by its connections with the Crown, and with the Houſe of Commons; and that without this double connection the Lords could not exiſt a ſingle year. They know that all theſe parts of our conſtitution, whilſt they are balanced as oppoſing intereſts, are alſo connected as friends; otherwiſe nothing but confuſion could be the reſult of a complex conſtitution. It is natural, therefore, that they who wiſh the common deſtruction of the whole and of all its parts, ſhould contend for their total ſeparation. But as the Houſe of Commons is that link which connects both the other parts of the conſtitution (the Crown and the Lords) with the maſs of the people, it is to that link (as it is natural enough) that their inceſſant attacks are directed. That artificial repreſentation of the people being once diſcredited and overturned, all goes to pieces, and nothing but a plain French Democracy or arbitrary Monarchy can poſſibly exiſt."

From this it would appear, that in the year 1793 Mr. Burke ſat in the Houſe of Commons through the influence of Lord Fitzwilliam. The liſt referred to in that book mentioned above 156 members who were in the ſame ſituation. This aſſertion Mr. Burke had not denied, and therefore he ſhould take it for true. Mr. Burke then went on to juſtify that principle; he ſtated that peers did not interfere as peers, but as men of property. But property did not give peerage, though property was neceſſary for a ſeat in the Houſe of Commons. But the reſult of all was, that this was a government of which the repreſentatives of the Commons might be nominated by peers; and this was the government which he was afraid would be overturned. The right honourable Gentleman oppoſite to him would not, he was ſure, ſay that this was the conſtitution of the country; the very ſtanding orders of the Houſe ſhewed that it was a violation of their privileges for a peer to interfere at an election; and if it was a violation of their privileges, it muſt be a breach of the conſtitution.

Lord

Lord *Temple* called him to order. His Lordſhip obſerved that he could not diſcover what relation the mention made by Mr. Burke of Lord Fitzwilliam had to the buſineſs then before the Houſe.

Mr. *Nicholls* contended that he was perfectly in order. He was aſſigning his reaſons for thinking the war unneceſſary, and one of thoſe reaſons was, that no ſincere endeavours had been made by his Majeſty's Miniſters to procure peace; he had quoted Mr. Burke, in order to ſhew that ſuch were the opinions of ſome of his Majeſty's Miniſters, that they could not meet peace becauſe it would deprive them of their unjuſt power. Peers who poſſeſs the nomination of boroughs were not very likely to wiſh for a peace, which they knew would ſoon be followed by a ſurrender of that influence which they had unjuſtly obtained, and which the people would not then allow them to retain.

Mr. *Dent* ſaid he could not ſuffer the honourable Gentleman to proceed. He had never heard ſuch language uttered in that Houſe. No member of the Houſe of Peers, he believed, had ever ſpoke in ſuch terms of the Houſe of Commons, and it was not decent to make ſuch an attack upon the other Houſe of Parliament in that place. The honourable Gentleman's ſpeech was diſorderly, and extremely improper.

Mr. *Tierney* ſaid, the honourable Gentleman (Mr. Nicholls) was perfectly in order. He was ſhewing that one of the moſt important reſolutions of the Houſe had been violated, and one to which they had all agreed *nemine contradicente*. He alluded to the ſtanding order againſt the interference of peers in elections for members of Parliament.

Mr. *Dent* inſiſted that Mr. Nicholls had ſpoken diſreſpectfully of the Houſe of Peers, and that therefore he ought to have been called to order.

Mr. *Nicholls* ſaid he had never ſpoken of the Houſe of Peers as a body, but only of the peers who were proprietors of boroughs. He ſhould continue to ſpeak of Lord Fitzwilliam in that character, though he was far from intending any thing perſonally diſreſpectful to his Lordſhip. He would put it to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, whether, if Mr. Burke's ſtatement was true, Lord Fitzwilliam was not guilty of a high miſdemeanour. It would be recollected that Mr. Burke was the author of Mr. Haſtings's impeachment, and as Lord Fitzwilliam ſtood in judgment on it in the Houſe of

Lords, his Lordſhip might, on that account, be conſidered both as accuſer and judge.

Sir *William Young* truſted that he knew ſomething of the conſtitution and practice of that Houſe, in which he had ſat for ſeveral years, and he declared that he had always conſidered it diſorderly to mention a noble peer by name, who perhaps might be within hearing. Above all, it was highly indecent to ſtate upon the authority of a printed book, that a noble peer had done an action which amounted to a breach of the privileges of that Houſe.

Mr. *Nicholls* ſaid the evidence of the book completely proved, that Mr. Burke ſat in that Houſe in conſequence of the influence of Lord Fitzwilliam. Mr Burke, it was well known, was the author of the impeachment of Mr. Haſtings; and Lord Fitzwilliam, as a member of the Houſe of Peers, ſat in judgment on that impeachment. But there was another violation, not only of the privileges of the Houſe, but of one of the moſt important regulations belonging to the Conſtitution. Supplies were always underſtood to originate in that Houſe, but when peers appointed 150 members of the Houſe of Commons, the ſupplies voted to the crown might in juſtice be conſidered to originate in part in the Houſe of Peers.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* roſe—He ſaid he had ſat too long to witneſs the violation of every principle of order and decency. The queſtion before the Houſe did not relate to Parliamentary reform, nor to the influence of peers in elections; and it was very remarkable that this topic ſhould be brought forward in a Committee formed for the purpoſe of conſidering of ways and means to make good the ſupply voted to his Majeſty. He could not conceive under what head of the honourable Gentleman's argument he meant to apply the obſervations he had made reſpecting Lord Fitzwilliam. It ſurely was not neceſſary that a book written by a perſon now deceaſed, ſhould be referred to for the purpoſe of ſhewing the neceſſity of a reform in Parliament.—This could have nothing to do with the making good the ſupplies. There was only one way in which the honourable Gentleman's argument could apply, and he had long expected to hear him give it that turn. If he ſhould bring his argument to that point, he would then be allowed to be in perfect order, namely, that as the French Directory had ſtated in their declaration that they were friendly to a reform, the

the war was unneceſſary, becauſe it tended to prevent that radical reform which they were ſo anxious to promote.

Mr. *Nicholls* perſevered in his aſſertions, that a further continuation of the war was unneceſſary; and that the attempts which his Majeſty's miniſters had made at a pacification ſhould not, in his opinion, be regarded as ſincere—at leaſt ſuch of them as had adhered to the original motives of the war and had been the confederates of Mr. Burke, muſt ſtill be anxious for the proſecution of this fatal conteſt. With thoſe another ſet of men were combined in their averſion to a termination of hoſtilities; to their power alſo the return of peace might be formidable: the men he alluded to were thoſe who compoſed the interior cabinet; until ſuch men retire from power there can be no hopes of the reſtoration of tranquillity. This was his firm opinion; and this opinion he felt it his duty to deliver, whatever might be the interruptions to which he found himſelf ſubject in the Houſe, or whatever might be the miſrepreſentations and obloquy which it might draw on him from other quarters. He would therefore perſiſt in his oppoſition to a tax which was impoſed for the avowed purpoſe of continuing the war, and for preventing the return of peace, and with it a Parliamentary reform, which would at length ſtrip the peers of the power they had uſurped over the rights of the Commons of England. The preſent new mode of taxation he muſt ſtill continue to reprobate, as unjuſt, inexpedient, and unneceſſary; and a tax upon property in general he imagined would be far preferable in every reſpect. He would even wiſh that an additional four ſhillings ſhould be laid upon land, though he himſelf muſt have conſiderably ſuffered from ſuch a tax, as the principal part of his property lay in land: but ſuch ſelfiſh conſiderations ſhould create no obſtacle to the performance of his parliamentary duty; nay, he was ready to ſuffer much heavier perſonal burthens, ſooner than give his aſſent to a mode of taxation that muſt ſo cruelly cruſh the middle claſſes of ſociety, who in all countries muſt form the chief ſtrength and ſupport of ſociety at large.

The *Secretary at War* ſaid, he could not but obſerve, (what he believed muſt have been obſerved by almoſt every Gentleman in the Houſe) that the honourable member who ſpoke laſt had completely failed in making good either of his aſſertions, namely, that he had been perfectly in order throughout the whole of his ſpeech, and that the train of arguments he had endeavoured to introduce, were properly connected with the

the ſubject under diſcuſſion. Indeed the ſpeech of the honourable Gentleman had ſo wildly branched out into ſuch a variety of irrelevant and extraneous matter, that it would be wholly to no purpoſe either for him or for the Houſe to follow the honourable member through all his diſcuſſions. He would, therefore, content himſelf with a few ſhort remarks on what ſeemed in any ſhape to touch upon the queſtion; for almoſt the whole of his obſervations were entirely out of the ſcope and view of the buſineſs before the Committee. Among many other aſſertions, he declared it to be his avowed and ſincere opinion, that the war, neither in its beginning, nor in its intended continuance, was neceſſary; but, however extravagant ſuch an aſſertion might appear at any time, it muſt undoubtedly appear peculiarly ſo at the preſent moment, and under the preſent circumſtances; but ſhould the honourable Gentleman ſucceed in making out that point, ſure he was at, that both the Houſe and the public muſt feel themſelves highly indebted to his exertions. But to what was it that he attributed the continuation of the war? Was it not to the inſincerity of his Majeſty's Miniſters in their endeavours at a pacification? If they had been ſincere in theſe, their pretended pacific attempts, the honourable Gentleman contends, that the reſtoration of Peace muſt have been the conſequence; for, whenever in ſuch caſes people are ſincere, they can never fail of accompliſhing the wiſhed for object. But ſurely, the honourable Gentleman muſt have been not a little off his guard, in hazarding this obſervation, as it muſt be equally hard on the candour of the French Directory, whoſe conduct on all occaſions, ſome Gentlemen, were ſo anxious to defend. Had the French Directory been ſincere in their wiſhes for Peace (as doubtleſs the honourable Gentleman ſeems to think they were), then Peace would have neceſſarily been obtained.

The honourable Gentleman next directs his attack againſt thoſe who had at the beginning of the French Revolution expreſſed their diſapprobation of the principles upon which it was grounded, and of the objects which it had evidently in contemplation, and he now called on thoſe who held thoſe opinions, and very pointedly on himſelf (Mr. Windham) to renounce thoſe opinions as obſtacles to the reſtoration of Peace. And at what moment was it that he wiſhed them to renounce their opinions? Was it not at the very moment when thoſe opinions were founded on ſtronger reaſon than ever; when they were ſupported by a long train of facts, and confirmed by every day's experience? Was it not at a moment when the French

ſyſtem

ſyſtem was working the ruin of their own country and all the other countries that permitted themſelves to be dazzled by its falſe allurements and deceived by the high ſounding words of Liberty, Equality, &c. &c? Was it not at the very time when it glaringly appeared to be the favourite object of that inſidious and deſtructive ſyſtem to graſp at general aggrandizement and univerſal Empire? Was it not at a moment when they breathed againſt us a ſpirit of peculiarly envenomed hoſtility, and when they openly and unreſervedly declared, that the exiſtence of our Government was wholly incompatible with the exiſtence and predominancy of the French Republic? Their conduct, indeed, from the commencement, has uniformly ſpoken that language; it ſpoke it in terms by no means ambiguous, or that could leave a ſhadow of doubt as to the ſcope of their deſigns. But not content with their expreſſing and manifeſting them by their conduct, they have now, to the ſhame and confuſion of thoſe who have all along ſtooped to be their advocates, they have now broadly and openly declared their ſentiments in a late Proclamation, the tendency of which it is not difficult to underſtand. The doubts, therefore, which ſome Gentlemen continue to entertain of ſuch being the ſentiments and deſigns of the French Rulers, muſt now be preſumed, be relinquiſhed and caſt away.

Such, however, was the light in which he had always viewed them; his opinions were at firſt grounded on conjecture, and on the unambiguous tendency of the French proceedings, but they were now fully confirmed by their acknowledgement, and by a complete knowledge of the fact. Our ruin as a nation, and the deſtruction our Conſtitution, from which principally were derived all our national advantages, was the main object to which they now directed the whole of their exertions; it was the laſt great labour which remained for their valour and ambition to atchieve. After taking this view of the avowed deſigns and efforts of the enemy, deſigns and efforts which their own language ſo unequivocally declare, how could he be precipitate in his endeavours at peace; how could he think of relaxing our efforts to obviate, counteract and fruſtrate the hoſtile attempts which their rancorous animoſity was aiming at our deſtruction? How could he but deprecate the return of peace, if Parliamentary Reform was to be its immediate conſequence, and that too a Parliamentary Reform to be endeavoured at and effected on the principles avowed by the honourable Gentleman, who took the preſent occaſion to call on Members of that Houſe, and particularly on him (Mr. Windham), to renounce opinions which were firſt founded on cool and deliberate reflection,

ſection, and which now ſtood fully confirmed by facts and experience? But on theſe topics he was not diſpoſed any longer to dwell. He would now come to what the honourable Gentleman ſeemed to regard as the great queſtion; namely, that he, and thoſe who thought with him concerning the inevitable effects of the French Revolution, were ſtill ſtaunch in the aſſertion of thoſe opinions, and that this perſeverance on their part muſt prove an invincible obſtacle to the attainment of peace. Theſe ſentiments he, for one, would not renounce, however he might again have his ears ſtunned with the Rights of Man, with the loud ſounding names of Liberty, Equality, &c. &c. and all thoſe hackneyed phraſes that were now exploded, and their ſubſtance at leaſt extinguiſhed even where they firſt took birth, and of which, when he truſted that we ſhould now hear no more in this Houſe, ſaw the enemy eager and determined to attack us with every ſpecies of hoſtility which it was in the power of the bittereſt enmity to exert, when he ſaw them determined to annoy us by every ſpecies of hoſtility, heightened and enflamed by their jealouſy of our wealth, our proſperity, the flouriſhing ſtate of our commerce, the rank we hold in the political world, and the real liberty we enjoy, muſt not the ſupport they have heretofore received by ſome Gentlemen in this Houſe now become a ſtanding diſgrace? Muſt not all ſides now agree that the enemy is reſolved to bear down on us with all the activity and rancour both of rivals and of enemies? When he viewed all this, it ſurely was impoſſible for him to diſclaim his firſt opinions, whatever the honourable Gentleman or others might think of ſuch perſeverance. Would not the peace which was ſo anxiouſly looked for be replete with danger to the country; and did not the honourable Gentleman give ſtill further proof of this danger by telling us that this peace would be followed up by a Parliamentary Reform, or in other words, with a Revolution? Mr. Windham was proceeding to ſhew the impolicy and danger of making peace with France, when he was interrupted by

Mr. *Wilberforce*, who called him to order on the ground that he was deviating into extraneous matter as much as the honourable Gentleman who had preceded him.

Mr. *Windham* contended that he was ſtrictly in order, and that he was only following the arguments of the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Nicholls). He then would aſk, what had our ſincerity to do either with retarding or accelerating this great object of peace? Was it not the nature of the terms propoſed, that muſt decide that point, and not the nature of our ſentiments?

ments? If the terms were deemed ſuitable, would not peace have followed, whether the Directory thought us ſincere or not? Why did they not carry on the negociation to a point that might prove this ſincerity? He could ſee no connection between our ſincerity and the attainment of peace, nor could the honourable Gentleman prove that there exiſted any. He muſt alſo beg leave to touch on the notion, that the enemy would make no peace with the preſent miniſters. What did the honourable Gentleman mean? Does he wiſh to chooſe miniſters recommended by the enemy? this would be an odd recommendation. Mr. Windham took up the queſtion in a moral point of view, and aſked, if we were to ſet at nought all the principles of religion, morality, of prudence, and of policy, that had hitherto been a bond of union between all the States of Europe, and which had moulded them together into one family? And for what was all this to be ſacrificed? Was it not in order to conciliate the enemy, to promote the cauſe of parliamentary reform, to introduce among us univerſal philanthropy, and French liberty? in a word, to ſtoop to every thing which would argue a total oblivion of every ſentiment that ſhould actuate us as men, and diſtinguiſh us as Engliſhmen? He hoped for his part, that there was no man in that Houſe or *out* of doors, who was prepared for this degradation; ſuch had always been his opinions, and he now ſaw nothing to induce him to retract them.

Mr. *Plumer* concurred with Mr. Nicholls in pronouncing this new mode of taxation unjuſt—if it was to be impoſed on luxuries it ought to have no retroſpective operation, but an opportunity be left to retrench them—nor was it only unjuſt, but in many of its modifications it would prove oppreſſive to the middling claſſes. He would only add a word with regard to peace and parliamentary reform:—he would not heſitate to ſay, that he, for one, was a friend to both; and he had the happineſs of feeling himſelf in a ſituation that would not permit his wiſhes for the attainment of thoſe two objects to be attributed to any ſiniſter motive, or to want of love and attachment to his country: without a parliamentary reform, he did not think that his country could be ſaved.

Mr. *Hobhouſe* ſaid he was happy the Chancellor of the Exchequer had given time for the conſideration of the ſcheme of aſſeſſment which formed the ſubject of that night's diſcuſſion. Delay had enabled him to give it much conſideration, and he had viewed it as variouſly and as coolly as he was able. With the leave of the Committee he would therefore ſtate the reſult of his examination. He ſhould not, however, enquire whe-

ther we, or the French, were the aggreſſors, or led to the war in which we were engaged; nor whether miniſters were ſincere in bringing forward propoſals for peace. He did not think the diſcuſſion connected with peace. In reviewing the annals of a very recent period in our hiſtory, he could not help contraſting the language of the Miniſter in the former Seſſion with the language he held in this. Formerly the Eaſt-India Company were rated in the Ways and Means at 500,000l. now they are nothing. Then it was uſual to make pompous diſplays of exports and imports, but on this occaſion, that theme had been dropped, and he was led to ſuppoſe, that as we had no Continental Allies, we had no exports, or their amount was too inconſiderable to be mentioned. There was nothing ſaid in this Seſſion of the advantage of ſubſidies; not a word to prove that one million employed in that way was better than three millions employed upon the ſervice of our own troops. Nothing of France being on the verge or in the gulph of bankruptcy. Inſtead of this, we were in fact called upon to defend our credit againſt an arrogant and powerful foe. He was not able to ſay, whether the eſtimates were accurate as far as they extended, but thought them much under-rated. To provide for the expenditure, of which eſtimates had been laid before the Houſe, it was ſtated in the Ways and Means, that the land and malt tax amounted to 2,750,000l.; in addition to this, we are to raiſe 700,000l. on the growing ſurplus of the conſolidated fund and the lottery. He would here remark, that the lottery alone had hitherto been rated at 500,000l. annually, and as to the conſolidated fund, inſtead of being accumulated, there was a deficiency of 200,000l. Another reſource was, the borrowing three millions of the Bank, and a more ſingular tranſaction, perhaps, never came before a legiſlature. He was one of thoſe who was averſe to any connection between the Bank and the Government, and when he referred to the printed correſpondence of the right honourable Gentleman (Mr. Pitt) with the Directors of the Bank, complaining of being embarraſſed by their ſupplies to Government, he could not but wonder to find them now ſo ready to advance a ſum, that moſt enormouſly exceeded what prudence, and a regard to the welfare of the country would have warranted. He could not therefore approve of raiſing that ſum in ſuch a way. He now came to the moſt important part of the ſubject; the ſeven millions to be raiſed by an aſſeſſment on the aſſeſſed taxes. The right honourable Gentleman had aſſigned two motives for adopting this ſcheme of Finance. Firſt, the impreſſion it would make on the enemy, by ſhewing them that our reſources were great, and

every

every way adequate to the criſis. But he could not think the enemy would regard ſuch a plan of aſſeſſment as any proof of our proſperity; they were more likely to conſider it as nothing but a meaſure ariſing from the preſſure of greater diſtreſs. The next motive was with regard to poſterity. The right honourable Gentleman had ſaid, that it was always deemed neceſſary and wiſe to ſacrifice a part to ſave the whole; and that unleſs the country were called upon in this hour of difficulty and danger to the aſſertion of its dignity, by a diſplay of its wealth and power, poſterity might not have tranſmitted to them that beſt and moſt glorious of all our bleſſings; a free Conſtitution. But Mr. Hobhouſe did not think it was taking great care of poſterity, to tranſmit to them our inheritance of taxes, and the burthen of a debt accumulated to ſatiate the ambition or the avarice of a Prince or Miniſter. Another objection he had to the propoſed aſſeſſment was, that it left no option, but compelled men to pay for what they would wiſh to lay aſide, and which only the abſence of all apprehenſion of ſo ſevere a contribution had encouraged them to adopt. The Miniſter had exultingly anticipated that few would be unwilling to contribute to the defence of the country in a ſtate of danger; but that any may contribute, he has found it neceſſary to modify the Aſſeſſment, and this is making the people ſay, we would and we would not contribute. Another obſervation he would make, and it related to the large capitaliſts, by annuity. He conſidered them very proper objects of the aſſeſſment, being as much as any claſs of men intereſted in impreſſing the enemy with terror, and a reverence for our inexhauſtible reſources. To this it might probably be objected, that it would be difficult to aſcertain the amount of capital poſſeſſed by each individual. But was it not as eaſy to take the declaration, or oath of a capitaliſt, as any other member of the community? As to the idea that capitaliſts would not come forward to the relief of the State, if any man ſeriouſly entertained it, it appeared to him, to be founded on ignorance of the human mind. Another objection he had founded on the palpable inequality of the rate of contribution, and degrees of property. While ſome of the very rich would pay only a few pounds, the poor tradeſman would be overwhelmed with taxes. From the nature of ſome trades, a great many buildings muſt be occupied by a man whoſe income is ſmall. On ſuch the aſſeſſment would fall oppreſſively heavy. This was fit matter of regulation. But really the meaſure went, Mr. Hobhouſe ſaid, to ruin all. It would prove vexatious to the tax-gatherers, and he was afraid might be accom-

panied, in ſome of its ſtages, with a turbulence that might lead gentlemen to deplore the number of killed and wounded.

An honourable Baronet had alluded, in the courſe of his ſpeech, to builders. He, too, had occaſion to conſider the circumſtances of ſome of that deſcription. In a letter which he had received from Briſtol, he had met with important information on this ſubject. From it he could collect, that a builder who has ſaved perhaps 100l. by ſpeculation, not unfrequently borrows 700l. and gives ſecurity on his houſes for the payment. Theſe builders take upon themſelves by leaſe to pay all taxes; but it would be hard indeed if they were aſſeſſed according to the right honourable Gentleman's plan, while the occupiers of the houſes eſcaped all contribution. Having ſtated this, he hoped that in the further ſtages of the buſineſs, ſome regulation would be adopted that ſhould embrace that claſs of tradeſmen. It was indeed deſirable to make it eaſy for the poor; as it was vain to ſuppoſe that a ſcheme of taxation ſo heavy and irkſome would not affect the lower orders of the people; they would be ſufferers in a thouſand ways from its operation. The Britiſh nation had always been diſtinguiſhed for the liberality with which its charitable foundations are endowed, as well as the ſpirit in which benevolent ſubſcriptions are always promoted. But this tax would prevent the diffuſion of that philanthropy for which the nation had been ſo diſtinguiſhed. Thus, therefore, would the poor ſuffer intolerable injury from the meaſure. So it was with reſpect to the tax upon wine; perſons who before it was impoſed, were able to afford occaſionally to give wine as a medicine to the poor, could not, after its attachment, extend their benevolence. If it be an evil to pay intereſt of loan, it muſt be ruin where capital and intereſt are raiſed at once. He believed that inſtead of the tax proving productive, it would produce much defalcation of revenue. The old taxes would decreaſe becauſe people who may, by this retroſpective aſſeſſment, be now forced to pay a heavy contribution, will take care not to continue the uſe of the articles on which the aſſeſſed taxes attach. But forced loans were every way injurious to a country, and unſafe for a Miniſter. In Holland they attempted a forced loan of a fifth part of property, and although intereſt of money was ſo low as three and a half per cent. added to the Dutch coming forward with great alacrity, it was found that the produce of ten per cent. on all their property, fell much ſhort of one half the ſum intended to be raiſed. Thus had they attempted the raiſing their loan from one-fifth of the property, it muſt have proved infinitely unproductive. This is eaſily accounted for. More perjury than was committed

committed on the occaſion never diſgraced human conduct. Hence muſt all forced contributions occaſion a great deal of immorality in a ſtate. It has been ſaid that the expence of collecting the aſſeſſment will be inconſiderable; but he could not think the expence would be ſmall, if every where in this metropolis and throughout the country declarations are employed. The next branch of the right honourable Gentleman's project is the twelve millions by loan, to be ſet off by four millions of ſinking fund, and eight millions by aſſeſſed taxes. But theſe proviſions would, he contended, prove wholly inadequate. Our good and faithful ally, the magnanimous and great Emperor, had left us burdened with the payment of the intereſt, and the loſs, perhaps, of the capital, of the Imperial loans. He wiſhed to know how this intereſt was to be provided for. Mr. Hobhouſe next conſidered the ſtate of the revenue; it was, he ſaid, uſual for the right honourable Gentleman to miſ-ſtate the revenue; he had rated the old taxes at fourteen millions; but by a paper in his hand, they amounted only to thirteen millions and a few thouſands. What he had eſtimated at twenty millions, only produced ſeventeen millions; theſe were not unimportant proofs of the incapacity of the country to bear taxes. This was the more melancholy, ſince in many parts of the country, the warehouſes were full of unmarketable goods, and the workmen turned off for the want of the means of employing them. Commerce was not leſs oppreſſed. Upon the whole, therefore, he could not but conſider the propoſed aſſeſſment injudicious, unequal, and oppreſſive. But if he could even think more favourably of the plan, he ſhould with great reluctance put money into the hands of his Majeſty's Miniſters. They were the authors of all our calamities. By interfering in the internal affairs of other ſtates, they had plunged us in a ruinous war; a war which they might frequently have terminated. They have attempted to bully other potentates into a compliance with their projects, but have withdrawn their mandates on the ſlighteſt ſhew of reſiſtance; they have borrowed money on bad terms to ſubſidize faithleſs allies. They have ſent money out of the country without the conſent of Parliament, and the Parliament at the time ſitting. They have introduced and perſevered in a ſyſtem of *eſpionage*, of ſetting brother againſt brother, and man againſt man. They have deſtroyed the credit of the Bank, and made it bankrupt, while the national faith has been ſhamefully violated. They have cut off the people from liberty of ſpeech, and all the means of acquiring political information. They have ſown deep the

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ſeeds of our deſtruction, and now are about to reap the harveſt of plunder and peculation.

Mr. *Pierrepoint* ſaid, I believe I am ſpeaking the ſentiments of every Engliſhman when I ſay I feel great regret at the very heavy burthens which are about to be laid upon the people of this country. But I fear there is no remedy for it. I ſhall only aſk a ſingle queſtion, and I beg the moſt ſerious attention and conſideration of the Committee to it: Is there juſtice, is there frankneſs, is there propriety, that part of theſe heavy burthens ſhould not be felt or borne by any part of the Royal Family, or their dependants? If they were to come forward, it would have a good effect; although the ſum could be but ſmall, it would endear them to their country.

Colonel *Wood* thought that the reſources of this country were abundant, but that the preſent plan was defective, inaſmuch as the higher orders were not called upon to contribute their due proportion. He underſtood that the reſources of this country were in perſonal property extremely great; that property he conceived to be worth from ſix to ſeven hundred millions; the landed property full as much; the Eaſt and Weſt India property being added to them, the whole would amount to upwards of twenty hundred millions, which at a tax of one per cent. would produce twenty millions. He wiſhed very much, if that were practicable, that ſuch property ſhould be called forth to aid the ſtate, upon equitable principles.

Mr. *Dent* was not prepared to give any opinion upon this plan, but wiſhed to hear it diſcuſſed in the detail.

Mr. *Burdon* ſaid, the queſtion now was, not what might appear agreeable to men's wiſhes, but what was neceſſary to be done. A gentleman over the way, (Mr. Nicholls) had begun by putting entirely out of ſight the neceſſity of the war. He ſhould rather have pointed out ſomething like a reaſon upon which he denied that neceſſity. He had ſaid much againſt the neceſſity of the war, and declared his determination to oppoſe the meaſures of Adminiſtration; but he had long conceived what was now evident from the language and manner of the French: they had now thrown off the maſk, and it appeared that their views were moſt pointedly directed againſt this government. They were indeed the ſame plans they had ever kept in view at all times regarding the fate of this country, and regarding the general balance of Europe,

Europe, although it had appeared ſtill more by their late conduct than at any former period. That honourable Gentleman had conſidered it his duty to his conſtituents to oppoſe the preſent meaſures, to oppoſe the war, and to oppoſe Adminiſtration. He felt it to be a ſacred duty both to himſelf and to his conſtituents, to ſupport them. He conſidered himſelf, not as that honourable Member had ſpoken of himſelf, as the repreſentative of a few; or like a right honourable Member, (Mr. Burke) now no more, from whoſe work he had read an extract, and whom he deſcribed as repreſenting a ſingle individual in that Houſe. He conſidered himſelf as the repreſentative of the people at large. He thought it his duty to ſupport the war; he thought it his duty to ſupport the preſent Adminiſtration, becauſe he thought they would cruſh the enemy; and he thought they would not cruſh the lower ranks of ſociety, as that honourable Member had ſtated. He by no means agreed that the withdrawing a ſmall part of the capital of individuals, neceſſarily prevents their capital from being employed in the conduct of their own concerns. It is at their option to diſcloſe or not to diſcloſe their circumſtances, and therefore it did not neceſſarily deſtroy the ſource of induſtry, or ſubtract from capital ſo as to prevent the lucrative employments of their reſpective vocations. Every man on whom the tax was liable to weigh at all heavily, had the means of relief by a partial diſcloſure of his circumſtances, that is, by a diſcloſure to a certain point of what his income was. With regard to his Majeſty and the Royal Family coming forward, as the honourable Member had propoſed, this ſurely was too trifling an object in the article of finance and of national reſources, to merit conſideration. His Majeſty's utility conſiſted in the execution of his office, and of the laws of the country. It was too trifling an object to look to as matter of ſupply, and he was ſorry ſuch an obſervation ſhould have fallen from the honourable Gentleman.

Mr. *Pierrepoint* roſe, merely to ſet the honourable Gentleman right, in regard to what had fallen from him reſpecting the Royal Family. He ſaid that it was not juſt that the Royal Family and *all their dependants* ſhould be exempt from the tax. Such an exemption, when the country was ſo generally oppreſſed, was really ſhocking.

Mr. *Elliſon* ſaid, that if the honourable Gentleman oppoſite to him (Mr. Nicholls) would prove the tax to be unneceſſary, he ſhould go away extremely relieved. But how did he

he attempt to prove that aſſertion? By ſaying that the war itſelf was unneceſſary; and he was ſo far of a contrary opinion in this reſpect, that he was proud to ſay that he was one of thoſe who had ſupported it from the beginning. It was a war in which the enemy had been originally the aggreſſor, and had continued the aggreſſor throughout: and it was a war which had been ſupported by the bold manly conduct of that Houſe, and ſanctioned by the wiſdom of Parliament. Another honourable Gentleman had declared on a former evening, that he could not go from that Houſe, and look his conſtituents in the face, unleſs he oppoſed the meaſure to the utmoſt of his power. He was bold to ſay, he ſhould bluſh to face his conſtituents, if he did oppoſe it. He recollected that we had to do with an enemy who, while they themſelves were the aggreſſors, conſtantly declared us to be ſo, and conſtantly proteſted that they would even make us pay the expences of the war. It was a war upon which the proſperity and even the exiſtence of the country depended. It was a war to ſupport which he was ready, not only to give up one-tenth, but one-half of his property. He recollected that our anceſtors had bequeathed us a conſtitution, which was better than any wealth or inheritance they could have left us poſſeſſed of. They had left us a conſtitution for which he would ſacrifice the laſt ſhilling of his property, and the laſt drop of his blood; and he ſhould then conſider that he left his children a better thing than all the accumulated wealth he could tranſmit them.

Gentlemen had heard a great deal about the uſurped power of Adminiſtration, and about the reform of Parliament, as if the preſent conteſt were a conteſt merely for the reform of Parliament, and not for the very exiſtence of the country. Gentlemen had heard of the loſſes of coach-makers and of manufacturers. There was not a man in that Houſe, and he ſhould be very ſorry it ſhould go out of that Houſe, that there was a man in it, who would go farther to protect the property and proſperity of the country, than himſelf. He believed that there ſtill exiſted in this country the ſame ſpirit as formerly: he believed that ſpirit poſſeſſed a kind of elaſticity which would riſe till it conquered this enemy.

The laſt declaration of the honourable Gentleman was one which had converted an honourable Baronet in that Houſe; and in regard to this he would dwell more upon the effect than the ſubſtance. It had been well ſtated by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that the real object of the war aroſe from

from the hatred, the jealouſy, the animoſity, and the ambition of the enemy; and the point which they conſidered as their rallying point, was the deſtruction of this country and government. If happineſs and peace, and ſocial comfort, were ever to be introduced again into the world, this nation he hoped, would be the rallying point around which they would aſſemble.

With reſpect to the plan of finance now propoſed, he was decidedly for it, becauſe he thought it a neceſſary meaſure. If it ſhould be found neceſſary hereafter for every man to declare the amount of his property, he ſhould, for the ſame reaſon, ſupport that meaſure. In that caſe, every thing that was property ought to be taken into the account; land, mortgages, ſtock, funded property, all were equally property, and ought equally to pay for protection.

Inſtead of blaming the meaſure now propoſed, if the honourable Baronet could diſcover a means whereby to raiſe the whole ſupplies within the year, as he had ſaid was practicable, he and every man would thank him moſt cordially for his plan. By ſuch a mode of employing his abilities, he was ſure he would render his country a very important ſervice. Till ſuch a plan was propoſed, he ſhould approve that now before the Houſe. That plan was ſuch as to relieve a large portion of the ſubjects, by the modifications which the Chancellor of the Exchequer had ſo judiciouſly introduced, and which were ſuch as to admit of any neceſſary degree of alleviation to the ſubject. He was of opinion that his Majeſty's Miniſters had throughout the war conducted the veſſel of the ſtate with great wiſdom; and he doubted not they would ultimately bring it ſafely into the haven of peace. But while the commanders were piloting us with ſecurity, it became the duty of the mariners to be firm upon their poſt. Let us look over the mode of relief which the Chancellor of the Exchequer had propoſed for the lower claſſes. It was ſuch as effectually to relieve thoſe who were leaſt able to contribute to the exigencies of the ſtate; and in this view of the ſubject, he was confident that it was ſuch that every man muſt be ſatisfied that the Houſe had done their duty.

Mr. *Tierney* ſaid, after the conſiderable length of time which the honourable Gentleman who ſpoke laſt took to anſwer what had been ſaid by my honourable friend, and alſo what I ſaid myſelf on a former occaſion, eſpecially as he had an opportunity of ſpeaking with me in private, I expected ſomething more explicit from him. He alluded to

the caſe of the *lives and property men*, and to the opinion I gave upon that ſubject. I hold the ſame opinion of them ſtill. He has not ſtated that opinion correctly; I never did ſay that my objection was to the loyalty loan; but when that loyalty fell to a diſcount, they ſeemed inclined to with they had withheld their efforts, and afterwards deſired to be reimburſed for loſſes, the riſk of which they never intended to incur.

The Honourable Gentleman was alſo pleaſed to allude to what I ſaid concerning the misfortune of being preſent when this plan was opened. I did ſay that having the misfortune to be preſent, and God knows I feel much reaſon to lament I did not turn my back on this Houſe with thoſe who have done ſo, for ſurely that is the wiſeſt courſe to take, when a Houſe, calling itſelf the repreſentation of the people, reverſes all the well-known, eſtabliſhed, and acknowledged rules of taxation. But having the misfortune to be preſent, I did aſſert that I could not face my conſtituents without being prepared to aſſure them I had done every thing in my power to oppoſe the preſent plan. Whether the inhabitants of the borough of Southwark, or the inhabitants of the city of Lincoln will be beſt ſatisfied with the conduct of their repreſentative may be ſoon diſcovered. From what I have already heard, and from what I feel, I apprehend that honourable Gentleman will not long be popular with his conſtituents. I did not mean to ſay any thing this night on the conduct of the Miniſter in the management of the preſent war. I cannot now, however, help obſerving that it was a little ſingular that my honourable friend ſhould be called to order in ſpeaking on the preſent war, and that a right honourable Gentleman who followed him ſhould have ſpoken for half an hour upon nothing elſe. That, however, was not the fault of his friends, for I think I could perceive uneaſineſs in ſome of them while he was ſpeaking. Indeed that right honourable Gentleman is in a ſituation of ſome embarraſſment. He has been for a long time their opponent, and is now under the neceſſity of maintaining that nothing is more conſiſtent than the whole of their conduct. I do not wonder that the Chancellor of the Exchequer ſhould be alarmed at ſome of the expreſſions of his right honourable friend: they are extremely different in their diſpoſitions; the Secretary at War is a man of plain manners, and of rigid attachment to his principles, and we are ſure to have from him a true deſcription of his feelings; however, when he

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ſpeaks again, as we have an opportunity of hearing him but ſeldom, I hope he will be provided with a better ſet of reaſons to ſupport his doctrine than thoſe which he has laid before us to-night. I conſider him as a perſon who wiſhes to fill up the gap occaſioned by the abſence of Mr. Burke; but unfortunately we ſee nothing remaining of that ſtateſman but his violence. So at leaſt do I feel it, and ſo I think this country will. What other impreſſion can the ſentiments of the right honourable Gentleman convey? He tells us plainly it is of no importance what the French may think concerning the ſincerity with which we attempted to negociate. He avows, as becomes him ſince he feels it, that the war was entered into with a view to oppoſe French principles. He tells us plainly that he ſaw at the commencement of their Revolution, that their principles were hoſtile to all law, all order, all religion, and all ſubordination in ſociety. I leave it to him to explain why, under ſuch a conviction, he, as one of the Cabinet, conſented to ſending an Ambaſſador to treat with perſons who cheriſhed ſuch principles. I leave it to him, for it concerns him and not me, to explain why he ſubmitted to the opening a negociation under ſuch circumſtances, and which muſt either be fruitleſs or he muſt abandon his own principles. Theſe principles, however, it is manifeſt he has not abandoned, for he has told us this night, that he has not altered his opinion. He told us moſt diſtinctly and emphatically, that French priciples were hoſtile to all law, all order, all religion, and all ſubordination in ſociety; for, ſays he, conciſely and in a pithy manner, "I thought ſo once, but now I know it." By which he conveys to us an idea that the French Revolution was at firſt, in his opinion, a dreadful diſorder; but that now he has the comfort of declaring it incurable.

When the queſtion of Reform in Parliament was mentioned this night, I obſerved great uneaſineſs, and indeed it was treated by ſome as matter of impertinence to introduce it. I know no reaſon why it ſhould be ſo conſidered, nor of any irregularity in mentioning it, when heavy burthens are about to be impoſed by this Houſe on thoſe whom it is our duty faithfully to repreſent. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, when that ſubject was propoſed by an honourable friend of mine, oppoſed it indeed; but how? Not by ſtating that he was an enemy to all Reform, but that it was a queſtion which could not be prudently agitated until the war was at an end. I always underſtood him to profeſs at leaſt that he is a ſtrenuous advocate for Reform. [Here the Chancellor of the Exchequer ſignified ſome diſapprobation. Mr. Tierney proceeded:] I do not

know whether I am too charitable towards that right honourable Gentleman, when I conceive him to be incapable of an entire dereliction of his original principles; they certainly were the cauſe of all the popularity he ever had. If now he thinks it good to abandon them, it is his own concern. But the right honourable Secretary at War is ſo far from approving or encouraging a hope of any Parliamentary Reform, that he ſtates plainly one great reaſon with him for continuing the war is to prevent Parliamentary Reform; for he tells you that Reform cannot be had without a Revolution. Here is an aſſurance of continuing the war to a period which no man can calculate without horror. The people of this country and the enemy learn from the ſpeech of the Secretary at War to-night, that there is one man at leaſt, in his Majeſty's Cabinet, who thinks that the war muſt be perſevered in, and with a candour which does him honour, he ſtates that the principles and ſyſtem of the French are totally incompatible with the ſafety of this, and of every other country, and that the motives which he had originally for abetting the war ſtill animate his mind and influence his conduct. The honourable Secretary is manly and open. I could ſee, however, that his colleagues did not think him perfectly diſcreet. He told ſomewhat too much. He made it known that they were not ſincerely diſpoſed to peace, and he juſtified the jealouſy of the French Government with regard to the intentions of our Miniſters. He was interrupted, indeed, in his diſcloſures, for his leſs ingenuous friends ſaw the dilemma into which he had got. If he thought that no peace ought to be made with principles ſo dangerous, and that he never wiſhed for peace, upon what ground of honour and conſiſtency did he give his conſent to two negotiations with the Directory for peace? After this night, who ſhall ſay that the diſtruſt of Britiſh ſincerity was unfounded? And after this, who will ſay that we ſhall ſoon have peace? While he is conſiſtent with himſelf therefore, and conſiſtent with himſelf I have no reaſon to doubt he will be, the people of this country and the enemies of this country have his aſſurance, that there is in the King's Cabinet one man at leaſt who is not ſincerely deſirous to obtain peace for the people of this country, for fear that they ſhould thereby obtain a fair repreſentation in Parliament.

I feel myſelf called upon, otherwiſe I ſhould not, to make ſome obſervations in addition to thoſe I have already made on the meaſure which is now before you. I hold it to be an act of legiſlative imprudence in thoſe who propoſe this meaſure, and indeed to be unparliamentary language, to ſay to thoſe who oppoſe

oppoſe their meaſures, "produce better yourſelf, Sir." If I had the talents, be it recollected that I have not the information requiſite for that purpoſe. I cannot examine all nor any of the collectors of the revenue. The right honourable Gentleman can; his reſources, therefore, ought to enable him to produce a good plan. My duty confines me to oppoſing a bad one. That duty I diſcharge as well as I am able. I am ſtruck with the inſufficiency, with the inequality, and above all with the injuſtice of the preſent meaſure. I ſay, therefore, that before I am called upon to contribute my ſhare, and before I ſhew my zeal as the Miniſter demands it, I ſhould be ſatisfied that thoſe who are higher in the ſcale of ſociety than myſelf are to contribute their due proportion, and that thoſe who move in a lower ſphere are not to be ruined, elſe it is my duty to oppoſe the meaſure. I own it does not ſeem to me that the Chancellor of the Exchequer will be able to ſtrike ſuch terror into the French as he pretends he will do by the adoption of the preſent plan. True it is he boaſts ſufficiently of the flouriſhing ſtate of our revenue, and of the readineſs of the people to ſupport him in the war, but yet he will not truſt to their zeal. He does not expect to get a ſhilling of his boaſted revenue without an exciſeman at every man's elbow. Is this the way to ſtrike terror into the French? Certainly it is not. I ſhall be ſubject again to miſrepreſentation; that I know; but I will perform my duty. We live in times when men who wiſh to ſerve their fellow-creatures can never be ſaid to be well prepared to perform their office, if they are to be deterred by the clamour that may be raiſed againſt them.

With reſpect to what has been ſaid by an honourable Gentleman concerning the propriety of the King's ſetting an example.—[Here there was a call to order.]—Well, then, I will ſay, concerning the propriety of the different branches of the Royal Family ſetting an example, I own it is an idea which I approve of, for it would be ſome conſolation to me to feel that theſe illuſtrious perſonages, as well as their attendants, are bearing part of the burthens at the moment when I am called upon to vote away the comforts of my own family, and of my conſtituents. There is not one among us who ought not to feel as I do upon this occaſion; and the Chancellor of the Exchequer ought to be aware of the effect he was likely to produce by the words which he lately put into the mouth of his Sovereign. His Majeſty declares that "he will make common cauſe with his people, and that they muſt ſtand or fall together." I was glad to hear this ſentiment. But how does the Chancellor of the Exchequer intend carrying it into effect?

He

He propoſes a triple aſſeſſment upon all aſſeſſed taxes, the only ſpecies of tax to which no part of the Royal Family, nor any of their moſt menial dependents, contribute any thing. I do not like to uſe diſreſpectful language, but this mode of proceeding really appears to me to be calculated to bring that right honourable Gentleman's Royal Maſter and family into diſregard. This plan takes not a ſingle farthing out of the pockets of the meaneſt of his houſehold. Every individual from the higheſt to the loweſt in all the Royal houſeholds, will be totally exempt from this duty. It is not for the ſum; it is to the principle of the exemption that I object. It is the appearance of the thing that makes it odious. I will go further, Sir, and ſay, that not only ſhould the Royal Family contribute to this new burthen, but your "lives and fortunes men" ſhould be made to come forward. They have now an opportunity of manifeſting the ſincerity of their zeal. It was chiefly by their ardour the war was carried on. I am ſorry I ſee no particular attention paid to them, and that they are not called upon to contribute in proportion to that ardour. I ſee ſeveral honourable Gentlemen in this Houſe, one in particular, who I think ought to contribute largely. He is ſo laviſhly bedaubed with places and ſinecure emoluments, that he, I am ſure, ought to contribute largely; nay, he has occaſionally ſaid he would. I believe that not one of theſe places or ſinecure emoluments will be affected one ſingle farthing by this triple aſſeſſment; for the Secretary of State inhabits the houſe, and rides in the carriage of the Treaſurer of the Navy, and the Preſident of the Board of Controul is ſeen in the ſame vehicle.

This meaſure is defended, at leaſt it has been attempted to be defended, as a tax, the principle of which is an impoſt upon luxury. I conceive that if it be ſo, its having a retroſpective effect is unjuſt. It was a principle in our legiſlation, not to compel a man to pay for luxury unleſs he choſe to indulge in it. It was always, until very lately, underſtood in England, that a man was not bound to pay even for his luxuries, unleſs he conſented to enjoy them. But now, with a ſpirit of plunder, for indeed it is nothing elſe, every man is called upon to pay the enſuing year for luxuries which he enjoyed in the laſt, even although prudence may have induced him to abandon them. Laſt year I kept two carriages, now I muſt pay for eight. This may appear to ſome as a trifling mode of reaſoning, but it appears to me to be juſt. There are many men to whom it is eſſential to keep up an appearance. They would ſtrain many points in private, they would regulate their private concerns by good domeſtic management, for the ſake of not

not appearing leſs advantageouſly in public than formerly; by this plan they are not permitted to do ſo. My objection goes ſtill farther, it reaches the common mechanics. A poor man accuſtomed to wear his ſilver watch, was aſked ſome time ago by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, "will you give up your watch, or pay me half a crown a year for leave to wear it?" The poor man accuſtomed to the uſe of that article, neceſſary in many caſes, even to exactneſs in buſineſs, would anſwer, "Yes, I will pay you half a crown for leave to wear it;" but now he is to be called upon for a double aſſeſſment upon that leave, and finds it actually mortgaged to its full value.

But the Chancellor of the Exchequer calls this a tax upon income, and that he deems a juſt principle. He ſays that the expenditure in general is a good criterion of wealth. In theſe principles he was powerfully ſupported to night by an honourable Baronet who ſpoke ſo warmly in favour of his plan. That honourable Baronet proceeded further than the Miniſter; he went even beyond your "lives and fortune men." He ſeemed to think, that not only 7,000,000l. might be raiſed within the year, but that 21,000,000l might. I can aſſure that hon. Baronet I am glad to find him ſo ready to contribute to ſuch an impoſt as this. Let him, and men like him, come boldly forward, with their great wealth to ſupport the ſtate, and they will indeed ſtrike more terror in the enemy than any plan to tax the middle order can poſſibly produce. But as I underſtand the honourable Baronet is proprietor of a greater number of houſes than any man in England, I rather ſuſpect he will find this impoſt a little heavier than he has hitherto conceived it to be, and conſequently will have to pay more, than with all his patriotiſm, he intended to contribute.

My chief objection to this plan is, that there is in it no fair criterion of income. I keep, as I have ſaid already, two carriages. I am now to pay for eight. [Here the Chancellor of the Exchequer ſaid that no perſon was to be charged with more than five.] Well then I muſt pay for five. I may keep five ſervants; others keep a much larger number.—I ſay there is no equality, taking property to be the baſis in the principle of this tax; for thoſe who keep a much larger number are not charged according to their relative condition in ſociety. It is not to the number of ſervants which a man may keep, nor to the number of carriages, ſo much as to the manner in which they are kept, that we ought to apply the principle of this tax. I order my carriage to be patched and vamped, and my ſervants are hired to perform uſeful offices. A man of a larger fortune has his carriage, ſplendily decorated, and has two or three new coaches

coaches every year. His ſervants are employed in taking care of an enormous maſs of plate, of ſplendid furniture, in preparing coſtly entertainments, and in the general diſplay of his prodigious wealth, and of his taſte and faſhion. Such a man, I ſay, ought to be called upon to contribute upon a much higher ſcale than ſuch men as me, according to the principles upon which this meaſure is profeſſedly introduced.

But let us conſider the effect which is likely to follow this meaſure upon the middle claſs of ſociety. I apprehend much danger in that view of the ſubject. If you prevent the middle orders from keeping up that appearance to which they have been accuſtomed, you will deſtroy that noble pride which has been ſo much the guardian of their morals, and drive them to a ſtate which leads directly to a deſperate contempt of prudence. This conſideration is very important in a national view.

The right honourable Gentleman miſconceives the effect of taxation altogether. It is evident from his conduct in impoſing the duty upon wine. His firſt duty upon that article was a good one. It certainly was a fair object of taxation. But by the additional duty he occaſioned a defalcation in the revenue which cannot be eaſily made up. It now appears that it produces leſs than it did before the firſt impoſt. I did not, upon a former occaſion, nor ſhall I now enter into the detail of the right honourable gentleman's budget, becauſe I conceive that he himſelf ſaid, that at a more advanced part of the ſeſſion he would be able to give us more perfect eſtimates. Certainly as he did open the buſineſs there were many great lines of expence totally overlooked. He ſaid nothing of the imperial annuities, and yet they muſt be provided for, for they amount to above 500,000l. a year. He ſaid that he would want 350,000l. a year as taxes for the 4,000,000l. which he means to fund, and he would alſo want 250,000l. of taxes for the 3,000,000l. of navy, which was alſo to be funded, ſo that we have ſtill to look for taxes to the amount of 1,300,000l. in addition to this triple aſſeſſment, even according to the view which the right honourable Gentleman is now able to form of our probable expence. What it would amount to we muſt wait till the month of April, it is then only he is able to ſee clearly into the whole of our expence, for there is always a film upon his eyes before Chriſtmas, which prevents him from ſeeing beyond the month of April.

Suppoſing this to be right as a taxation upon income, I ſay the right honourable Gentleman errs in forming his criterion. He ſays that no perſon in any caſe will be taxed beyond a tenth of his property, and this he ſays is to be regulated by the oath of

of the party in the event of his being over-rated. I am really quite aſtoniſhed that in a commercial capital like this, ſuch obſervations ſhould be made in this Houſe. It calls upon men for that ſort of diſcloſure upon which no dependance ought to be placed, for reaſons that are too obvious to make it neceſſary they ſhould now be mentioned. I ſaid, this was a war againſt the principles of the French Revolution, in which I am ſupported by the ſentiments of the Secretary at War, candidly expreſſed this night. I ſay that, with all our profeſſed hatred to French principles, our miniſters are following the French ſyſtem, Should any man doubt this, I would aſk him whether this plan does not appear very much like the domiciliary viſits which took-place there, and which have been from time to time ſo loudly reprobated in this Houſe? To night, indeed, we have had it ſtated to us that theſe principles are to be adopted here. Nothing could be more ſpecific upon that head than the ſentiments of a noble Lord who ſpoke in this debate: he ſaid in as many words—"We muſt attack the capitaliſts." The words were hardly out of his mouth before another honourable member propoſed the ſale of the crown and foreſt lands. This is really proceeding upon French principles; for it is ſaying to the people of this country, that the government will have, at all events, one tenth of the property of every man in the kingdom. I ſee no reaſon why it may not be followed up with a determination to have 1-8th, then a ſixth, afterwards a half perhaps, and finally the whole of the property of every man. The principle certainly leads to that. Were I ſure that the plan would ſtop here, I own that even then I ſhould have ſome difficulty in aſſenting to it, for I do not ſee how it can be ſafe for me, how I can conſent to deprive my conſtituents of all their comforts; ſo I muſt if I aſſent to this plan, when I know and feel that the whole ſum to be raiſed by it is to be entruſted to the care and management of the very man whoſe profligacy and profuſion has already brought us into this extremity. I ſay this is a war which, if I countenanced for an hour I ſhould betray the intereſt of my conſtituents. Before I conſent to take money out of the pockets of the Engliſh people, I ought to be well aſſured that it will be fairly applied for their intereſt by a good Engliſh adminiſtration. Above all, I ought to be well aſſured that thoſe in the higheſt ſtations among us are ready to ſet to the loweſt a patriotic example. Inſtead of which I ſee every man who poſſeſſes place, penſion, or ſinecure emolument, carving not for the public intereſt, but his own. When I ſee theſe places, penſions, and profligate emoluments daily encreaſed inſtead of being diminiſhed, I cannot, without betraying

traying my duty to the public, call upon them to come forward and aſſent to this propoſition. I think that not only the Royal Family and the lives and fortunes men of whom we have heard ſo much, but alſo all the nobility of this country, ſhould come forward and aſſiſt us in our preſent ſtate. There was a period in the Roman Hiſtory, in the ſecond Punic war, when Hannibal was at the gates of Rome, and when there was a general panic. Then came forward a popular character who ſaid, "*Magiſtratus ſenatui, et ſenatum populo, ſicut honore præſtant, ita ad omnia, quæ dura atque aſpera eſſent, ſubeunda duces debere eſſe. Si quid injungere inferiori velis, id prius in te ac tuos ſi ipſe juris ſtatueris, facilius omnes obedientes habeas. Nec impenſa gravis eſt quum ex ea pluſquam provirili parte ſibi quemque capere principium vident.*"

So ſay I to the right honourable Gentleman. He tells me he muſt have money, I tell him to adviſe his Majeſty to come forward, as well as all branches of the Royal Family, together with the Nobility, to contribute their aſſiſtance to our preſent burthens. I ſay, that in order to countenance me in taking away the comforts of my family, and of all my conſtituents, let them all, without exempting one Nobleman in the land, or any rich Commoner, make a common cauſe with the people, and contribute their due proportion to repel the invaſion of the enemy.

Mr. *Elliſton* roſe again in conſequence of what Mr. Tierney had ſaid, reſpecting the unpopularity of his conduct, but miſapprehending what he had ſaid, Mr. Tierney repeated that his words were that, when they ſeverally returned to their conſtituents, it would be ſeen which conduct was the more popular.

Mr. *Speaker* addreſſed the Chairman of the Committee from the Gallery. I do not, Sir, riſe to trouble the Committee with any opinion on the reſolutions that have been opened by the Chancellor of the Exchequer; but in conſequence of an obſervation that fell from the honourable Gentleman who ſpoke laſt. I applaud the manner in which he ſpeaks of the ſentiment expreſſed by his Majeſty, that he was reſolved to make common cauſe with his people. I am ſure that that ſentiment was congenial with his own benevolent nature, and I am perſuaded that it will have a becoming influence on the heart of every man in his dominions. I perfectly agree with the honourable Gentleman that there is no poſſible criterion of income that can apply to all caſes. Neither this, nor perhaps any other that could be deviſed will embrace the income, or be a teſt and meaſure of the means of all deſcriptions of perſons

ſons in this country. There are many opulent men who from taſte, and from conſiderations of different kinds, from particular ſituations, and from a variety of circumſtances which Gentlemen might eaſily conceive did not live in a way to make their expence and outward appearance a juſt criterion of their ability to contibute to the exigencies of the State: I am confident, however, that there are many perſons of this deſcription who would diſdain to take advantage of the œconomy with which they regulate their domeſtic expence to avoid contributing their juſt proportion to the wants of the Government by which their property was protected. I am ſure that many, and I hope all the perſons of this deſcription will be forward to ſhew that they are ſenſible of the regard and delicacy which are manifeſted in not ſearching minutely into capital, and will voluntarily come forward to make ſuch a contribution above the amount of their claſs of aſſeſſment as ſhall be equal to their real property. Confident that this is the feeling of a large deſcription of opulent men, I think that a clauſe might be beneficially introduced into the Bill to give to perſons of this deſcription, as well as others, an opportunity of coming forward with a voluntary contribution, in which they ſhould not be confined within the ſtrict limits of their aſſeſſments. This clauſe might either be brought in at the firſt, or in the progreſs of the Bill it might be introduced. I have often meditated upon the idea, and I am ſure that if this opportunity were given to the country, it would operate with a moſt beneficial effect. I am perſuaded alſo that certain perſons to whom the honourable Gentleman has alluded, and who, from their peculiar ſituations, cannot make their aſſeſſed taxes a criterion even of their expence, would be forward in the expreſſion of their zeal and eagerneſs on an occaſion when their duty called upon them to demand ſo heavy an exaction from the country. I know the ſentiments of many honourable perſons of this deſcription, and I think I can preſume to ſay their conduct would prove that the honourable Gentleman's diſtruſt of their liberality was at leaſt premature.

Earl *Temple* ſaid, that the honourable Gentleman (Mr. Tierney) had imputed to him the uſe of French phraſes. He had no doubt but the honourable Gentleman was better acquainted with French phraſes than he was. He had uſed the word *capitaliſt*. He did not know that Capitaliſt was a French word, "and I wonder," ſaid the Earl, "why the honourable Gentleman has fallen foul on me."

Mr. *Martin* ſaid, that conceiving great exertions to be neceſſary, he muſt ſupport this meaſure if a better could not be obtained. It was extremely objectionable, and he wiſhed that

a better plan might be deviſed. It would fall with dreadful weight on the middle claſſes of ſociety, and he feared would check all the ſources of induſtry; but money muſt be obtained.

Sir *William Pulteney* ſaid a few words in explanation.

Sir *John Sinclair* wiſhed that the reſolutions might be printed and diſtributed before the report was made, that on a ſubject of ſo important a nature, they might have time to deliberate on the meaſure.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* ſaid, that when Gentlemen conſidered how nearly the time was approaching when the new aſſeſſments were to be made out, they would ſee the neceſſity of paſſing the bill before the holidays; he wiſhed therefore that all poſſible diſpatch might be given to its progreſs. It would be an inconvenient delay to print the reſolutions before the report. He ſhould move to print the bill, and in every ſtage of it, modifications might be introduced. He ſhould propoſe therefore to report the reſolutions the next day.

The Committee then divided on the firſt reſolution:

Ayes 214, *Noes* 15.

The other reſolutions were then paſſed.

Adjourned.

LIST OF THE MINORITY,

WHO VOTED AGAINST THE ASSESSED TAXES,

DEC. 4, 1797.

Mr. Tierney,	Lord Stanley,
Mr. Plumer,	Mr. Wigley,
Mr. Huſſey,	Mr. Combe,
Mr. Kemp,	Mr. Vaughan,
Sir John Sinclair, Bart.	Mr. Nichols,
Sir G. Shuckborough, Bart.	Mr. B. Edwards,
Mr. Bouverie,	Mr. Brogden,
Mr. Denniſon,	Mr. Hobhouſe (Teller.)

HOUSE OF LORDS.

TUESDAY, *Dec.* 5.

The various bills before the Houſe were forwarded in their reſpective ſtages. Their Lordſhips then proceeded to the hearing of the following:

SCOTS

SCOTS APPEAL.

Sir Hugh Dalrymple, of North Berwick, Bart. *v.* the Hon. Marianne Fullarton, and Colonel William Fullarton, of Fullarton, her huſband.

On this appeal, which involves a very large property, the Hon. Mr. Henry Erſkine,* (of the Scots bar,) was heard for the firſt time before a court of judicature in England, at great length, about three hours, on the part of the appellant, when their Lordſhips deferred hearing the remainder of his arguments till the next day.

The Houſe then adjourned.

The counſel retained in this important cauſe, are—for the appellant, the Hon. H. Erſkine and Mr. Ferguſon, of the Scots bar; for the reſpondents, the Attorney General, Mr. Grant, Mr. Adam, and Mr. Taite.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

TUESDAY, *Dec.* 5.

Preſchell's Naturalization bill was read a ſecond time and committed.

Petition from the Debtors in Warwick Gaol, to lie on the table.

The Neutral Ships' Bill was reported and ordered to be engroſſed.

Committee on the Indemnity bill deferred till the next day.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE OF FINANCE.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* roſe for the purpoſe of poſtponing the conſideration of the Report of the Committee of Finance, which had been appointed for Thurſday next. He ſaid he apprehended that the buſineſs now before the Houſe would not leave ſufficient leiſure for the conſideration of ſo many important topics as that report involved ſo ſoon as that day; he therefore thought it would be better to defer it

† The Hon. Henry Erſkine is the brother of Lord Buchan, and elder brother of the Hon. Thomas Erſkine. From the clearneſs of his arrangement, the cloſeneſs of his reaſoning, and the vigour of his argument, conſanguinity of talents to thoſe of the *Niſi Prius* Advocate of the Court of King's Bench, was as apparent as conſanguinity of blood. It may be ſaid of both of them as of Sir William and Sir John Scott---*Par nobile fratrum!*

it till the bill of ſupply now depending was diſpatched; and he therefore moved to diſcharge the order for taking the Report into conſideration on Thurſday, and to fix it for Monday ſe'nnight, which was agreed to.

ASSESSED TAXES.

Mr. *Hobart* brought up the Report of the Committee of Ways and Means, and the Reſolutions contained in it were read a firſt time, and ordered to be read a ſecond. On the ſecond reading, in order to their being agreed to by the Houſe, a deſultory converſation aroſe upon them.

Mr. *Wigley* ſaid, that as it was admitted that the ſyſtem now adopted was entirely new, and as the ſum was extremely large, while the number of thoſe upon whom it was to fall were very ſmall, it would be proper to delay the paſſing of it into a law, in order to give time to the Members of the Houſe to conſult their conſtituents, and to conſider whether the different claſſes would be able to pay the ſeveral quotas laid upon them. Over and above this, he had a poſitive objection to the meaſure. It had been part of the propoſitions of the right honourable Gentleman to exempt entirely from the tax all thoſe who hitherto paid no more aſſeſſed taxes than 3l. a year. [A cry of *No*, *No*, from the oppoſite ſide.] After apologiſing for this miſtake, he proceeded to ſtate that there were ſome of thoſe who poſſeſſed ſixty pounds a year, and paid no more than three pounds a year; this would exempt 600,000 perſons, which would leave almoſt the whole of the enormous ſum of ſeven millions of money to be levied upon no more than two hundred thouſand perſons; he wiſhed the regulations to be well conſidered in this reſpect, and for that purpoſe hoped that ſome time would be allowed before its going to a final deciſion; if he was found in the end to be wrong, no injury could ariſe from delay; if he was right, nobody would deny that the delay ought to be granted; neither could he conceive how it was neceſſary to paſs the bill ſo ſoon. It had laſt night been ſtated that many perſons of high ſtation in the country would come forward voluntarily to ſubſcribe to the full amount of the tax, proportioned to their property: he did not at all doubt that this would be the caſe, but he did very much doubt that thoſe ſubſcribing willingly, would juſtify the Houſe in taxing the others to the utmoſt extent of their means. It was much better, in his opinion, to deviſe ſome practicable mode of aſcertaining the property of the higheſt ranks of ſociety, and

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to tax them to the utmoſt, rather than to let it reſt ſo much on the lower and middle ranks. He ſaid there was one reſolution which he conceived to be more than commonly cenſurable, he meant that which obliged thoſe who claimed a right to exemption from the tax, to make a public diſcovery of their pecuniary circumſtances; on this account too he wiſhed for delay, and ſaid he was ſure, that with the exception of thoſe who were in the confidence of Adminiſtration, not one man knew till laſt night, what were to be the particular proviſions of the bill.

Mr. *Jones* (Member for Denbigh) ſaid, that although unaccuſtomed to public ſpeaking, and ill qualified to do juſtice to the ſubject before the Houſe, or to his own feelings upon it, he conceived it to be his bounden duty to break through the embarraſſment natural to ſuch a ſituation, and to make ſome obſervations upon the Miniſter's plan, and the unhappy circumſtances that gave riſe to it. As a new and unprecedented mode of finance, it might poſſibly be thought to require more time for conſideration than what is uſually allowed in ordinary caſes; this time he thought had been allowed, for it was ſome time ſince notice was given, and the outline of the plan laid before the Houſe. It was not to be concealed that the tax was very heavy, as well as the mode of aſſeſſing it new; he therefore ſhould in all probability have oppoſed it, were he not in his heart and conſcience convinced that there exiſted a ſtrong neceſſity for adopting it. He would not take upon him to argue thoſe points which had already been ſo ably and irreſiſtibly enforced by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, he only wiſhed to impreſs on the minds of the Houſe, and to engrave on the hearts of all Engliſhmen, in characters never to be eraſed, that every ſhilling of Britiſh money which had been expended, and every drop of blood which had been ſhed in this moſt horrible, but moſt important conteſt, was to be attributed entirely to the wicked, frantic, unqualified, and *now* undiſguiſed ambition of France, that is to ſay, of the French Government. He ſaid theſe were his own ſentiments, the pure reſult of his obſervation and common ſenſe, unbiaſſed by perſonal intereſt or party prejudice, for he was not connected with the gentlemen to whom the Sovereign had entruſted the adminiſtration of Government, nor was he connected with thoſe who were in the habits of oppoſing their meaſures; he therefore ſpoke his own mind, and he was ſure he ſaid no more than every gentleman preſent muſt know was founded in

in fact; no more than France herſelf acknowledged, when he aſſerted that the French Directory were influenced by mad and unprincipled ambition only, and that the people of England and of France too were ſuffering for that madneſs and ambition. He had heard it ſaid laſt night, by Gentlemen in that Houſe, and he was ſo oppreſſed with long attendance to the buſineſs of the Houſe, that he was at the time unable to expreſs his feelings upon it—he had heard it ſaid, and he could hardly perſuade himſelf at the moment that he was in a Britiſh Houſe of Commons, he had heard it ſaid that the tax was neither prudent, juſt, nor neceſſary, becauſe the war was neither juſt nor neceſſary. He would not give way to his feelings now on ſuch an avowal, but barely ſtate that in his conſcience he believed it to be as prudent a tax, as, conſidering all the circumſtances, could well be adopted. And what did Gentlemen mean by ſaying the war was not neceſſary? Were we to crouch and humiliate ourſelves for ever at the feet of France? Was the inſolence of France to be for ever tamely endured by us? Were no bounds to be put to her overbearing ambition? Were her cruelty and her tyranny to have no limits but the deſtruction of the laws, liberty, and religion of the whole world, and the total extinction of England, whoſe government and conſtiution they abhorred, becauſe it ſhamed their tyranny by contraſt? Like Satan and like Moloch,

——"beſmear'd with blood,
Of human ſacrifice, and parents' tears;
Tho', for the noiſe of drums and timbrels loud,
Their childrens cries unheard."

The Directory conſoled themſelves with the reflection, that if they cannot ſubdue England and overthrow its throne, they can at leaſt diſturb, and impoſe upon it the neceſſity of carrying on the war—

"By proof we feel
Our pow'r ſufficient to diſturb his Heav'n,
And with perpetual inroads to alarm,
Tho' inacceſſible, his fatal throne;
Which, if not victory, is yet revenge!

Every motion, every ſpeech, and every action of the French Revolution, evinced this abominable, helliſh ſpirit, and from the very outſet ſhewed that the deſtruction of this, the moſt ſterling free country in the univerſe, was their ſole object. There were two words, the watch-words of that Revolution, which carried with them more miſchief than any form of words that ever was compoſed out of the four and

and twenty letters: perhaps he himſelf might lay under the imputation of one of them; for when a tax, or any other meaſure for the maintenance of a lawful Government, was propoſed and ſupported by any one, *Ariſtocrat* was the word. But he cared not; he deſpiſed the enmity as much as he deteſted the principles of thoſe who would hunt a man down for doing his duty conſcientiouſly. And if Miniſters, be they who they might, did their utmoſt for the public weal, he would give them his earneſt and hearty ſupport. Having ſaid thus much, he would trouble the Houſe no farther than to remind the Chancellor of the Exchequer that on a former occaſion (the Loyalty Loan, we preſume) he might have taken 36 inſtead of 18 millions, and to recommend to him to profit by that experience on the preſent occaſion.

Mr. *Lefebvre* ſaid, that he was induced, by the honourable Gentleman who ſpoke laſt having alluded to a deſcription of perſons who would probably come forward to ſubſcribe more than by the tax they would be obliged to pay, to riſe and declare, that he would not only chearfully pay the propoſed aſſeſſment, but would certainly come forward with ſomething more to enable Miniſters to carry on the war.

Sir *John Sinclair* ſaid, he had intended to trouble the Houſe with ſome obſervations on the principle of the ſyſtem, but as thoſe were to ſhew that raiſing the whole of the ſupplies within the year was not ſo good a mode as raiſing them by loan, and as the principle of the meaſure had been already diſcuſſed and diſpoſed of, and as his obſervations would not apply ſo properly at this time, he would not enter into them. He was far from oppoſing the meaſure on the idea that our reſources were not adequate to the demands of the conteſt, on the contrary, he was convinced that the ſupply neceſſary to the exigences of the ſtate might be raiſed on this, and ſtill more on the funding ſyſtem; but it was with aſtoniſhment he heard reflections thrown out the other night on the funding ſyſtem, a ſyſtem to which the country owed much of its ſtrength, its durability, and its happineſs. He thought it was a ſubject that ought to be touched with delicacy, as the funded property in this country was now four hundred millions ſterling, and he had no heſitation to ſay that it was a reſource to which we ſhould ſoon again recur for aſſiſtance.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* ſaid, he could not but admire the ſingular mode of ſpeaking adopted by the honourable Baronet throughout the whole of this buſineſs. The honourable Baronet had ſaid that the funding ſyſtem ought to be treated with delicacy, becauſe the funded property amounted to

four hundred millions, aſſuming which was not the fact, that an attack had been made upon it; and then very ſagaciouſly had propoſed to continue the ſyſtem, and thereby increaſe that four hundred millions in order to ſtrengthen it. He ſaid he was glad to hear from ſuch good authority as that of the honourable Baronet, though the obſervation was not altogether new that the funding ſyſtem had not been exhauſted. It happened, however, rather unluckily for the credit of the honourable Baronet's delicacy, that the meaſure which ſeemed to have excited his apprehenſions reſted on a principle in the higheſt degree favourable to the ſecurity of the funded property; for while it recognized the powers of that ſyſtem by raiſing nearly two thirds of the ſupply (twelve millions) by way of loan, it took ſeven millions in direct taxes to prevent a too ſudden and heavy accumulation and increaſe of that debt, at once relieving and making a reaſonable uſe of the funding ſyſtem. The honourable Baronet had ſaid that we ſhould be obliged again to have recourſe to the funding ſyſtem; but ſurely a degree of ſagacity inferior to that of the honourable Baronet might have hit upon this diſcovery by going no farther than the proviſions of the preſent ſcheme, where it would appear that recourſe was had to that very ſyſtem for a large part of the ſupply. Upon the whole he was rather diſpoſed to ſuſpect that the honourable Baronet had either miſtaken his premiſes or not completely digeſted the obſervations he had intended to make.

Mr. *R. Pole Carew* ſaid, that although he had given his vote for the war and the ſupport of it, he would not agree to any meaſure tnat claſhed with the funding ſyſtem; for it was the funding ſyſtem which had enabled us to reſiſt the ambition of the Monarchs of France, and which could alone enable us to reſiſt its Republican tyranny.

Sir *John Sinclair* roſe to explain, but becoming too circumſtantial for mere explanation, was called to order by the Speaker.

Mr. *Huſſey* ſaid he was againſt the reſolutions now before the Houſe; not becauſe he did not think it neceſſary to raiſe money, money muſt be had, and a great deal of it. Neither was he averſe from the idea of raiſing ſeven millions within the year; but he diſapproved of the plan now before the Houſe becauſe he thought it a bad one, and that a better one might have been deviſed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. But it was not his object to diſcuſs that matter now; he roſe chiefly to aſk the Chancellor of the Exchequer to explain what he had ſaid on a former night reſpecting the application of the ſinking fund for the reduction of the national debt.

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The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* entered into an elaborate ſtatement of the different calculations which he laid before the Houſe when he opened the plan of triple aſſeſſment, and expatiated upon the advantages of applying the produce of the Sinking Fund to the reduction of the debt. He recapitulated his former obſervations upon that head. He ſaid he wondered that any idea ſhould have gone abroad, that any interruption was to be made to the operation of the Sinking Fund. It had been beneficially applied for the reduction of the debt now for eleven years, four of which were years of war. It was to be continued in its full vigour. If this example of national firmneſs ſhould be followed in any future war, and ſhould be able to terminate the preſent conteſt in a way that ſhall afford us a chance of having a ſecure interval of peace, real, genuine, not a nominal or deluſive peace, for a conſiderable length of time, the operation of the ſums that might be applied, as thoſe of the Sinking Fund had been, would be wonderful.

Mr. *Huſſey* was ſatisfied with the explanation of the Chancellor of the Exchequer with regard to the Sinking Fund, but was very much afflicted to hear him ſay any thing of a "nominal or deluſive peace." For God's ſake let us have peace, ſaid he. A nominal or deluſive peace! I confeſs I do not well underſtand what the right honourable Gentleman means by that expreſſion. I remember, full well, hearing him ſay that this country had a proſpect of continuing long to enjoy the bleſſings of a profound peace. I thought ſo myſelf at that time, and the honourable Gentleman made many flattering calculations on the proſpect of it. I am alarmed to hear him talk now of a deluſive or a nominal peace. Let us have peace for God's ſake. Without it there is no earthly ſecurity for this county. With peace and good management we may go on; without it, that would be impoſſible.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* ſaid, I remember the declaration to which the honourable Gentleman refers. It was made by me in the year 1792. It was at a time when I propoſed, what was extremely agreeable to me, a diminution in the exiſting burthens of the people, and a continuation of the ſum allotted to the diſcharge of the public debt. I did not pretend to aſſure the Houſe that peace was at all events to be uninterrupted for any given number of years; that would have been an extravagant and ill founded aſſurance; but I thought, under the then apparent obvious political circumſtances of all Europe, there never appeared a fairer proſpect of the continuance of peace for a long interval. That in that conjecture I was diſappointed, is moſt undoubtedly true; for which, how-

ever, I ought not to take ſhame to myſelf upon the ſuggeſtion of the honourable Gentleman, ſince he himſelf acknowledges he was deceived alſo. Why were we both deceived? Becauſe many of us beheld, with a degree of favourable feeling, the riſing eſtabliſhment of what was then a popular Government in France, and ſaw principles of a pleaſing nature in their appearance, but the extent of which, and the views of their profeſſors, were not then developed; principles which profeſſed œconomy at home, and peace abroad. We did not then ſee the ſeeds of that wide ſpread harveſt which has ſince been reaped; of that unbounded ambition abroad, and profligate profuſion and plunder at home. What then is the inference? Becauſe I thought that there was a proſpect of peace in 1792, when appearances were in its favour, was I to conclude that I ſhould be diſappointed by a ſubſequent appearance of ambition, turbulence and phrenzy? Are we to ſay now, that we ought to have ſcruples in oppoſing that violence? That we are not to judge of preſent, as well paſt appearances? I am as impatient for the hour of peace as that honourable Gentleman, or as any man in this Houſe, or in this country. I have as much reaſon as any man in this country can have, for wiſhing to ſee peace return, when it is accompanied by ſecurity. But when I ſay, I do not wiſh to ſee a "nominal and deluſive peace," it is becauſe I value peace. I do not wiſh to have peace proclaimed for a moment, in order unnerve your ſtrength, to ſlacken your efforts, to diſband your force, to expoſe you to ſudden and violent hoſtility, without your preſent means of defence, or any effectual reſiſtance. Should peace be proclaimed without ſecurity, you may indeed have a peace that is nominal and deluſive. I wiſh, for the benefit of Europe, I wiſh, for the benefit of the world at large, and for the honour of mankind, as well as for the happineſs of the people of France, although now your enemies, but who are objects of compaſſion. I wiſh, I ſay, that the preſent ſpirit of their rulers, and the principles they cheriſh, may be extinguiſhed; and that other principles may prevail there. But whether they do ſo or not, is more immediately their concern than ours. It is not to any alteration in that country, but to the means of ſecurity in this, that I look with anxiety and care. I wiſh for peace, whether their principles be good or bad; but not to truſt to their forbearance. Our defence ſhould be in our own hands. In that we ſhall find the bulwark of our ſafety againſt France, whatever may be the pride, ambition, or animoſity of that power againſt us, and which it has manifeſted in almoſt all the periods of its hiſtory; and I agree with what has been lately ſaid, that its tone

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was never higher than it is at preſent. Certainly much depends upon the poſture in which you converſe of peace. What is the real foundation of the ſtrength of a nation? Spirit, ſecurity, and conſcious pride, that cannot ſtoop to diſhonour. It comprehends a character that will neither offer nor receive an inſult. Give me a peace conſiſtently with that principle, and I will not call it a peace "nominal or deluſive;" and there is no man who will go further than I will to obtain it. To any thing diſhonourable I will never ſubmit, nor will this country ever ſubmit to it I truſt. There can be no man who has an Engliſh heart within his boſom who can wiſh it, or to wiſh that you may, by an untimely diminution of your ſtrength, expoſe yourſelves to the renewal, with aggravated inſults, of thoſe evils which we have already had too much reaſon to deplore.

The reſolutions were then read and agreed to, and bills were ordered to be brought in, in purſuance of them.

Mr. *Ryder* moved the order of the day upon the Corn bill, which was for its ſecond reading. He ſtated, that with regard to the importation of corn, it was his object to make it ſubject to the old law in the ſame manner as if this bill had not been brought into Parliament. And with reſpect to the exportation it was intended that that ſhould be prohibited for a time to be limited.

The bill was then read a ſecond time, and ordered to be committed to a Committee of the whole Houſe the next day.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* moved the order of the day on the Scotch Diſtillery bill. He ſaid it was propoſed to continue the preſent duties only for a limited time, in order to afford an opportunity to make various regulations in the interim.

The Houſe then went into a Committee of the whole Houſe upon the bill, and a reſolution was paſſed to continue for a limited time the preſent duties.

The report was ordered to be received the next day.

Lord *Belgrave* moved the order of the day upon the bill to explain and amend the 7th of William and Mary for preventing the practice of treating voters for members to ſerve in Parliament, &c.

A ſhort converſation took place. Mr. *York* and Mr. *Simeon* approved of the principle of the bill as far as regarded the preventing of bribery and corruption at elections, but doubted whether this bill was properly adapted to that object.

Mr. *Wilberforce*, approved of the bill.

Mr. *Charles Dundas* thought that no bill to prevent bribery at Elections would be effectual unleſs it contained a penalty againſt the electors as well as the candidate.

Lord *Belgrave* ſupported the bill.

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The bill was then read a ſecond time, and ordered to be committed to a Committee of the whole Houſe on Thurſday ſe'nnight.

Mr. *Simeon* gave notice that he ſhould have many clauſes to offer to the Committee upon this bill.

The other orders of the day being deferred, the Houſe adjourned.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

WEDNESDAY, *Dec.* 6.

Counſel was heard further in the Scotch cauſe of Dalrymple *verſus* Fullarton.—Adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

WEDNESDAY, *Dec.* 6.

The Houſe in a Committee went through the corn importation, and indemnity bill.

The Scotch diſtillery bill was reported and recommitted.

Mr. *Robert Dundas* gave notice that he ſhould the next day move for leave to bring in a bill to rectify an error in the Scotch Militia act.

The Cape of Good Hope Trade regulation bill, was read a third time and ſent to the Lords.

Mr. *Tierney* moved for an account of the additional charges to the national debt by the payment of intereſt and annuities upon loans, from the year 1792 to the 10th Dec. 1797.

Mr. *J. Nicholls* gave notice that on Friday next he would make a motion for limiting the perquiſites of office during the continuance of the war.

PUBLICK THANKSGIVING.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* acquainted the Houſe that he had it in command from his Majeſty to give them notice that it was the intention of his Majeſty to go to St Paul's Cathedral on Tueſday the 19th inſt. in order to return thanks to Almighty God with all the ſolemnity uſually obſerved in former times and on ſimilar occaſions, for the three glorious naval victories which had ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed the preſent war.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* then moved that the humble thanks of that Houſe ſhould be returned to his Majeſty for his gracious communication, and for his gracious favour alſo in giving orders for the erection of ſeats in the Cathedral for their uſe. This motion was agreed to.

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An order was afterwards made for the Houſe to attend his Majeſty upon that day, as a Houſe, and for the appointment of conſtables to clear the way for the proceſſion. A Committee was alſo appointed, conſiſting of Mr. *Ryder*, Mr. *Steele*, Mr. *John Elliot*, Mr. *John Smith*, Sir *Richard Carr Glynn*, and Sir *Charles Bunbury*, for the regulation of ſuch other matters as might be neceſſary.

ASSESSED TAXES.

Sir George *Shuckburgh Evelyn*, moved for a liſt of perſons paying ninety pound a year and upwards to the aſſeſſed taxes, to be made out and laid upon the table, diſtinguiſhing thoſe who pay from 90 to 100, from 100 to 150, from 150 to 200, from 200 to 250, to 250 to 300, and from 300 to 400 and upwards.

Mr. *Dudly Ryder* ſaid, as the honourable Baronet had not ſtated what his view was in making this motion, he was at a loſs to explain it for him. He had heard it remarked, indeed, that it was a ſurpriſing thing there ſhould be no more people pay above one hundred pounds a year to the aſſeſſed taxes than appeared upon the papers on the table. But he ſuſpected this ſurpriſe aroſe from the perſons who made the remark not knowing how the liſt was formed. The liſts were only made up ſeparately for each diſtrict, ſo that the return was only made for one diſtrict of a certain ſum, while the perſons there contributing, might contribute in four or five other diſtricts. If theſe were all put together, the miſapprehenſion would ceaſe, and the ſurpriſe be done away. Though the preſent liſts increaſedthe number of inferior rates they diminiſh the number of ſuperior. He was ſure the motion of the honourable Baronet would give additional trouble without anſwering, in his opinion, any uſeful purpoſe, Beſides, he did not think the accounts could be made up in time for the preſent diſcuſſion, without retarding the bill which his right honourable friend was preparing to bring forward, and therefore, unleſs the honourable Baronet would explain what object he had in view which could be really beneficial, he thought it would be better for him to wave his motion.

Sir *G. S. Evelyn* ſaid he did it merely to elucidate the ſubject; for if a Gentleman paid the aſſeſſed taxes in part in one diſtrict, he was obliged to ſend an account of what he paid in another: therefore he conceived ſome information to be neceſſary.

Mr. *Ryder*, in reply, ſtated, that the motion would not do what the honourable Baronet thought it would, for they could by no means obtain any account like certainty.

Mr. *Huſſey* ſaid, it was certain the aſſeſſed taxes had been ſhamefully

shamefully evaded. Since he had been in the Houſe he had heard the number of thoſe perſons who had been guilty of this evaſion. He wiſhed to have a liſt of their names printed, but he did not think the motion would anſwer any uſeful purpoſe.

Mr. *Roſe* knew no poſſible way of obtaining the names of the perſons who evaded payment, but if the honourable Gentleman could aſſiſt him with any information upon that ſubject, he ſhould be very glad. In regard to what the honourable Baronet had ſaid, that where a Gentleman paid to the aſſeſſed taxes in one diſtrict, he was obliged alſo to deliver in an account of what he paid in another, he begged leave to remind the honourable Baronet, that theſe accounts related only to ſervants, horſes, carriages, &c. for the aſſeſſed taxes upon houſes, windows, and the commutation act, were not included.

The motion, however, was put, and an order made upon it.

Mr. *Tierney* expreſſed a wiſh to know when it was the intention of the right honourable Gentleman (Mr. Pitt) to introduce the New Aſſeſſed Tax Bill?

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* replied, that it was his intention to preſent that Bill the next day, and to move that it be then read a firſt time, and that it be printed. It was likewiſe his intention that it ſhould be read a ſecond time on Monday, and that it be committed on Tueſday.

Mr. *Tierney* was alſo deſirous of being informed if the three millions to be advanced by the Bank were to be included in the ſum eſtimated for the ſupplies of the current year? Becauſe, if that were the caſe, the ſupplies muſt be deficient, as agreeably to the compact made with the Bank, the three millions ſo advanced were to be repaid by the month of Auguſt. Either then the Bank is not to have its engagement with Government fulfilled, or if it be fulfilled, there muſt be a deficiency of three millions in the eſtimated ſupply.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* ſaid, that what he had propoſed in the firſt opening of his plan was, that three millions ſhould be advanced by the Bank for the public ſervice at limited periods, and that he intimated at the ſame time that if no circumſtances ſhould occur to alter the ſtate of the country, or the preſent favourable ſituation of the affairs of the Bank, a ſimilar advance might be made by the Bank to Government at a later period of the year ſubſequent to the month of Auguſt. But if any ſuch change ſhould take place in the condition either of the Bank or of the country which would make it impoſſible for ſuch an advance to be made, then the matter would be

open

open to diſcuſſion, and ſome other mode for raiſing the three millions might be eaſily reſorted to.

Mr. *Tierney* obſerved, that the repayment of the laſt inſtalment would be in July. What would become of the renewal then, if Parliament were not ſitting.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* ſaid, the queſtion was of ſuch a nature that he did not well know how to return a definitive anſwer. But if the money were wanted it was not likely to be wanted till the end of the year, when Parliament might be ſitting; or, in caſe of any ſudden emergency, as the law now ſtood, the Parliament might be convened within due time.

Mr. *Manning* ſaid, the Bank had agreed to aſſiſt Government with temporary advances to the amount of three millions, under promiſe of repayment, by inſtallments, within a certain period; and if theſe inſtallments were regularly paid, he ſaw no reaſon why ſuch advances might not be renewed, unleſs any change of circumſtances in the affairs of the Bank ſhould prevent it. He deſired to obſerve, however, that there was no underſtanding at preſent between Government and the Bank about any other loan.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* gave notice, that he ſhould, on Friday, move a reſolution, that a ſum not exceeding three millions be granted as a ſupply to his Majeſty in Exchequer Bills, in order to cover the advances of the Bank.

BOARD OF AGRICULTURE.

Mr. *Baker* obſerved, that while they were granting freſh ſupplies to his Majeſty, it became the Houſe to ſee that the ſupplies formerly granted were properly laid out. Large ſums of money had been voted by that Houſe for the improvement of agriculture. If the money had improved the ſtate of agriculture in any conſiderable degree, it was certainly well expended; but if it had not been well applied, he truſted the Houſe would think it fit to make ſome correction, and he hoped to ſee it employed in a more beneficial manner. He moved, therefore, that an account be laid before the Houſe of the expenditure of ſeveral ſums of money voted for the ſupport of the Board of Agriculture.

Sir *John Sinclair* ſaid, the accounts of the Board of Agriculture could not at preſent be laid before the Houſe, as the ſum voted by Parliament laſt year had not yet been received.

Mr. *Baker* ſaid, whether the money voted by Parliament laſt year had been received or not, his motion was good, as an account of the expenditure of the preceding years might be made notwithſtanding.

The account was ordered.—Adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

TUESDAY, *Dec.* 7.

Mr. *Tierney* moved, that there be laid before the Houſe an account of the fees, emoluments, &c. ariſing out of the office of Teller of the Exchequer during the years 1794, 1795, and 1796, held by the Marquis of Buckingham; with an account of the deductions therefrom, and the perſons names to whom paid.—Ordered.

The Act of 29 Geo. II. chap. 5, being read,

Mr. *Secretary Dundas* ſaid, that by the Act which had been read, a corps, called the North American Rangers, had been eſtabliſhed formed of perſons abroad ſubjects of his Majeſty. It was now the intention of Government in the ſame manner to eſtabliſh a corps to be ſtationed excluſively in the Weſt Indies for the defence of them. This corps was to be compoſed of foreigners, chiefly Germans, who were at preſent to be diſbanded. As the Weſt India Iſlands required conſiderable ſupplies of Europeans, it was deemed expedient to eſtabliſh a corps for the expreſs purpoſe, and this, with the 60th regiment already deſtined excluſively for that ſervice, would make the whole force there rendered permanent in the Weſt Indies 5000 men, and ſuperſede in ſome meaſure the neceſſity of ſending other regiments to that quarter. He therefore moved for leave to amend the above Act in relation to this object.

Sir *W. Young* begged leave to ſuggeſt to the honourable Gentleman, that the introduction of French emigrants into the Weſt India Iſlands, in the mode propoſed by this Bill, would occaſion great diſtruſt. Not that he meant to throw any ſlur on theſe unfortunate men, but in ſome of the iſlands, particularly Grenada, the conduct of the French in favouring the cauſe of the French Government in the Weſt Indies, would create much diſtruſt if the defence of the iſlands were committed to them. He hoped, therefore, that the foreigners alluded to were German, not French.

Mr. *Secretary Dundas* ſaid, that he had meant Germans. No Frenchmen were to be enliſted.—Leave given.

SCOTCH MILITIA.

Mr. *Secretary Dundas* ſaid, that as in ſome parts of Scotland the proviſions of the Militia Act had not been carried into effect, becauſe the time appointed for the purpoſe had elapſed (the Act being read); he meant to move for leave to bring in a Bill to amend this Act, with a view to prolonging the time for this purpoſe.—Leave given.

REPORTS

REPORTS OF COMMITTEE OF FINANCE.

Mr. *Tierney* ſaid, that the right honourable Gentleman (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) having given notice of his intentions to move certain Reſolutions on the Reports of the Committee of Finance, he wiſhed to know whether there would be any motion made on the Report relative to the office of Third Secretary of State? That part of the Report he was prepared to combat, and make a motion on the ſubject.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* ſaid, that the whole of the Reports were referred to a Committee of the whole Houſe, and were appointed to be taken into conſideration on Monday ſe'nnight. He ſhould on that day make motions on ſeveral points ariſing out of the Reports, and ſtate his reaſons why he moved nothing upon other points in the Reports.

Mr. *Secretary Dundas* was curious to know what the motion would be, as the ſubject, as relating to himſelf, had already been diſcuſſed?

Mr. *Tierney* ſaid, that the motion he intended to make was relative to the office itſelf, and he believed would be for an addreſs to his Majeſty on the ſubject. He wiſhed to appoint a ſpecific day for that purpoſe, if there would be no opportunity for diſcuſſing the ſubject on the motion of the right honourable Gentleman. For his own part, the reports of the Committee went to ſo many points, that he could not embrace them all in one day.

After ſome converſation, it was fixed that Mr. Tierney's motion on the ſubject ſhould ſtand for Wedneſday next.

ASSESSED TAXES.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* brought up the Bill for trebling the aſſeſſed taxes, which was read a firſt time.

On the queſtion that the Bill be read a ſecond time,

Mr. *Wilberforce Bird* roſe and ſaid, he was ready to admit that the bill which had been brought in contained conſiderable abatements and modifications to the principle on which it went. Still, however, it preſented no relief to the middling manufacturer. It would be impoſſible for a man in that ſituation of life to apply for the relief which the proviſions of the bill afforded, without injuring his credit, and endangering the means of his exiſtence. If carried into effect, he feared that the meaſure would completely deſtroy the induſtry of the country. It would bear down the middle order of manufacturers, who by long œconomy and labour had raiſed a little capital. Had the right honourable Gentle-

man examined the collectors of the aſſeſſed taxes, he would find what difficulty there was already in obtaining them, and how then was this treble aſſeſſment to be levied? The taxes impoſed laſt year had preſſed very hard on the manufacturing claſs of the community, and now came this to complete their deſtruction. The watch-tax had thrown multitudes of manufacturers in that line idle, and reduced the maſters to indigence. This he knew had happened in the city which he had the honour to repreſent, and he underſtood that the ſame thing had taken place in other parts of the country. How then was this branch of manufactures to ſuſtain the triple aſſeſſment, after what it had ſuffered from the laſt year's tax? He gave the right hon. Gentleman full credit for his eloquence, and for his ſincerity in his negotiation for peace; but though willing to admit that great ſums of money were neceſſary, and willing to facilitate the ſupplies, he felt it his duty to object to ſuch a mode of raiſing money as this. He wiſhed that ſome plan could be deviſed to lay the burden on the landholders, who, compared with the induſtrious manufacturer, had yet felt ſo little of the burdens of the war. The manufacturer was already loaded with taxes in ſuch a manner as threatened the extinction of induſtry. He conſidered the preſent meaſure as fraught with ruin, and he hoped that the Houſe would not agree to its being read a ſecond time.

Mr. *Dudley Ryder* ſaid, the objections of the Honourable Gentleman ſeemed to be in general againſt the whole of the meaſure; at preſent he roſe to call the attention of the Houſe to the only thing that looked like a detailed objection to the bill. The honourable Gentleman ſaid that the burden would fall with unequal weight on the middling manufacturer. In his opinion, however, if any thing in the bill deſerved particular commendation, it was the great indulgence which it extended to that claſs: the abatements which the bill provided were to apply chiefly to the claſs of men from 100l. to 200l. a year. Thus a man who paying ſix pounds a year of aſſeſſed taxes, is at firſt ſight liable to pay 18l. a year; by the mitigation allowed pays only a forty-fifth of his income, or 2l. 4s. and ſo on in proportion. For a man to ſwear to his income would, in general, be diſcloſing little more than his neighbours previouſly knew. Even if he did not wiſh to ſpecify the ſum to which his income amounted, and to take the benefit of the full mitigation, he might receive a very conſiderable abatement by ſwearing that his income did not exceed a certain ſum. Thus a man who was worth about

100l.

100l. might ſwear that his income did not exceed 150l. per annum; and at this rate, a man who otherwiſe might be liable for 18l. at the treble rate, would pay no more than 7l. 10s. In the ſame manner in the other caſes.

As to the objection of the honourable Gentleman that the landed proprietors paid leſs than the manufacturer, this objection was very inconſiſtent with the argument urged by ſeveral Gentlemen, that the preſent meaſure would not at all touch the wealthy merchant and the great capitaliſt. He ſhould not go more at large into the objections of the honourable Gentleman, as they ſeemed rather of a nature to be diſcuſſed in a Committee.

Mr. *Burdon* ſaid, the preſent meaſure ought not to be argued as a permanent tax. It was an extraordinary meaſure, which would end with the occaſion that produced it, and ſo far as it operated ſhould be conſidered in the ſame light as any extraordinary loſs or drawback upon capital. As to a further call upon landed property, ſo far as it was connected with the vigorous proſecution of the war, ſo far as it would put into the hands of Miniſters further means for the ſupport of a conteſt which he conſidered juſt, neceſſary, and eſſential to the ſafety of this country, he had no objection. The meaſure now propoſed did indeed adapt itſelf to circumſtances, but he wiſhed it to go ſtill farther. He thought that after a certain point, beyond which the aſſeſſed taxes did not afford the true criterion of property, a ſtricter mode of diſcovery ſhould be employed, ſuch as the ſum of poor rates, or any other means that could be deviſed, in order to aſcertain the amount of property, and to lay the burden in proportion. Leſs delicacy was neceſſary in the diſcloſure of landed property, than of commercial. As to the idea of a voluntary contribution, it did not meet his concurrence. In a conteſt like the preſent, ſo juſt and neceſſary in its origin, ſo eſſential in its continuance to the ſafety of the country, it ought not to be left to the diſcretion of any to contribute or not as they thought proper. He wiſhed, therefore, that means could be deviſed, to make men of large property contribute in a higher degree. A voluntary contribution alone would not be ſufficient. As to the principle that the contribution would not be more than a tenth of income, in his opinion the caſes were very different where the income was fixed in landed property, and where it aroſe out of labour and induſtry. Some difference therefore ought to be made. Theſe ſuggeſtions he threw out not to obſtruct the bill, which he approved

approved ſo far as it went, but in order that its principle ſhould be ſtill farther extended, and that men of large property ſhould contribute in a ſtill greater proportion.

Mr. Alderman *Luſhington* ſaid, that he could by no means depend upon the reſources which voluntary contribution could afford. The principle of the meaſure he approved, but he now roſe to throw out ſome ideas which might be deſerving of ſome attention in the mode by which it was to be carried into execution. The right honourable Gentleman, in the eloquent and energetic ſpeech with which he opened his plan, ſtated, the firſt object to be attended to, was, that the burthens which it might be neceſſary to impoſe ſhould not bear too hard upon the lower claſſes of the community. This principle, however, the right honourable Gentleman did not ſeem to have ſufficiently applied to the proviſions of the bill: in his opinion too large a proportion of the burthen had been impoſed upon that claſs which the right honourable Gentleman had profeſſed a deſire to relieve. The extenſive diſtribution of property in this country had been one of the principal cauſes of the ſtability of the government. The frenzy of revolutionary principles had been checked by the practical bleſſings of the government. Men felt themſelves attached to the conſtitution, becauſe they were happy under it. This ſtability was owing in a very important degree to the middling claſſes, and it was owing to their poſſeſſing a certain ſhare of property, and being encouraged in its acquiſition. He was decidedly therefore againſt breaking down this claſs of the community; he was for throwing the burthen on the upper claſſes. He ſhould not care much that men from 5 to 10,000l. a year and upwards complained of their ſhare of the burthen, but he ſhould be ſorry if thoſe from 150l. to 200l. a year, complained of the burthen. The operation of the meaſure in its preſent ſhape would be, to do away entirely that middling claſs, whoſe exiſtence was ſo important to the ſtate, and divide the ſtate into the two deſcriptions of the poor and the rich. As to the effect of the meaſure upon the manufacturer, the latter would pay himſelf and lay on a profit beſides to the amount of the tax. It was much better then, in his opinion, that the conſumer ſhould pay directly the burthen which would be laid upon him indirectly by the manufacturer. This would avoid the odium of an impoſition, which in fact would not draw from the claſs to whom it immediately touched, the revenue it was expected to produce. He was afraid that the burthen would

would be felt with peculiar ſeverity by the claſs of thoſe who poſſeſſed about 150l. a year, becauſe they would be called upon for this additional charge at a time when the charge made upon the mode of living and upon expenditure, would diminiſh their profits. The ſtate of the times was ſuch that it was of the laſt importance to attach men to the conſtitution, by making them feel the bleſſings it communicated, by ſhewing them that it encouraged induſtry, that it protected and encouraged acquiſition. Individuals would not feel any powerful attachment to the country, when their ſituation is deprived of thoſe bleſſings which render it valuable. His idea then in general was, that no man who paid leſs than 10l. a year of aſſeſſed taxes ſhould be included in the meaning of this bill; and that the modifications propoſed ſhould be applied in this new ſcale. By impoſing an additional half-rate in the higher claſſes, he was convinced that the ſum of 6,500,000l. might be raiſed, without the odium and the danger of extending the contribution ſo far to the lower and middling claſſes of ſociety. He had the utmoſt confidence in the preſent adminiſtration; he thought they contained as much talent, as much virtue and public ſpirit, as any ſet of men that could be found in the country. He cautioned them, however, againſt breaking down that middling claſs of men on whom the ſtability of the ſtate ſo eſſentially depended. He was afraid, that if the meaſure, in its preſent ſhape, was carried into execution, it would quite do away the claſs of men poſſeſſed of incomes from 100l. to 200l. a year. Theſe hints he had thrown out in this ſtage, in the hope that they might be of ſome uſe in modelling the proviſions of the bill.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* ſaid, the objection of the honourable Gentleman, and the objection of the worthy Alderman, as well as he was able to collect them, appeared to him to be founded upon what no man would diſſent from, that we ought not to do away the lower orders of manufacturers—thoſe who were, in every man's opinion, the beſt ſupporters of the country. In this, as a general ſentiment, he could not but heartily concur; but when he heard it followed with a comment, that all taxes fell upon this claſs, different indeed were his feelings. Did the honourable Gentleman recollect the regulations he had adopted, and conſtantly purſued throughout the whole of this arduous and difficult conteſt, they would find the lower orders had uniformly been the particular objects of his accomodation and exemption. Warranted as he was in this aſſertion, he was not only prepared to deny the charge, but he would

would boldly challenge a comparison with all the ſyſtems of taxation adopted and purſued in former wars. From this compariſon it would appear that his ſyſtem had invariably acted with a greater reſpect for the inferior claſſes of ſociety, than any that had gone before it. From the manner in which the honourable Gentleman had introduced this ſubject, he could not hope that any thing he could ſay would induce him to alter his opinion. But would any man, who had given it the conſideration due to its importance, concur in opinion with that honourable Gentleman, or with the worthy Alderman who followed him, that the preſent was a meaſure by which, in its operations, the lower orders of manufacturers muſt be done away. If ſuch a meaſure were not adopted, they would be done away by the ſyſtem of an enemy who had in terms declared eternal war againſt our commerce, our manufactures, our means of ſecurity at home, and of independence abroad. The honourable Gentlemen had ſaid, that this meaſure would deprive thoſe claſſes of all ſecurity. Here again he would tell them in what way they would be deprived of ſecurity, and alſo of the greateſt portion of the means of ſuſtenance. It would be by not making exertions to oppoſe a ſyſtem pregnant with deſtruction to all. But whatever might be the apprehenſions of evil entertained by ſome Gentlemen, he hoped they would find, in the moment of danger, that the claſſes they had alluded to would not abandon the general ſyſtem of defence; nay, he would venture to ſay, that he ſpoke the language of all the orders of ſociety, except thoſe whoſe poverty had deprived them of the ſympathies and intereſts which connect men with their country, when he declared that the danger was generally felt, and the diſpoſition to defend their country cheriſhed by all. After he had taken the pains which he had done, in every preceding ſyſtem of finance, to have the taxes applied ſo ſparingly to manufacturers, and after proceeding upon the ſame plan in his preſent ſyſtem, by exempting the pooreſt claſſes, and allowing proportionate modifications for the reſt, he could not help being ſurpriſed to hear them ſelected for the objects of complaint, as if the whole of the burden had been laid on them excluſively. It was really difficult to hear ſuch arguments with coolneſs. While Gentlemen were ſtating how his meaſures would do away the manufacturers, he knew how *they* would do away all trade, all manufactures, all patriotiſm, all courage, and all ſpirit in the people to defend their intereſts. If any Gentleman wanted to know how this could happen, he would tell them, it would happen in conſequence of ſuch miſtaken and deluſive arguments, which

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tended to create imaginary evils, and produce the ſpirit of deſpondency. The induſtrious tradeſman, the ingenious manufacturer, the uſeful artiſan, and even the laborious peaſant, if led away by topics of this ſort, would ſoon relax in every honeſt and productive effort, and ſink together in one common ruin. If his meaſure threatened the loweſt, as well as the higheſt orders, with difficulties, he could yet hope that ſuch modifications had been made as would be found commenſurate with each man's means; and he had ſtill further to hope, that the preſſure of it would not be felt by any claſs of people who had not a practical ſtake in the country. Where men derived any practical benefit from the ſecurity of their ſituation, it was no more than juſt that they ſhould, in ſuch a period of public danger, make a temporary ſacrifice of part of their practical enjoyments for the preſervation of the reſt. The honourable Gentleman had ſaid, that no man ought to pay the contribution who did not already pay ten pounds a year to the Aſſeſſed Taxes? Where did he find ſuch a rule laid down? In what period of our hiſtory did he ever find ſuch a ſingular and partial precedent? He had not found it in any former ſyſtem of Finance! He had not found it in any ſyſtem of political œconomy! It was never yet propoſed in theory, nor had it yet been ſeen in practice. If the various orders of ſociety were held together by one common chain, if their mutual intereſts depended upon their general exertion, if the happineſs and miſery of the whole body were ſo intimately blended, that the deſtruction of a part would endanger the ſafety and exiſtence of the whole, then to make a diſtinction or exception in the claims upon the energy and efforts of any ſingle part would be invidious, ſuſpicious, partial, and unjuſt. By proceeding upon ſuch a principle, Gentlemen would not ſuffer thoſe branches of the community to give away what they were inclined to give away; but they would erect a bar of ſeparation between them and the higher orders, and thereby inſinuate, that they poſſeſſed no common ſhare in the proſperity or ruin of their country. Thus, while they were inſpiriting the lower claſſes of people, to make extraordinary efforts in words, they would by their diſtinctions fritter down their efforts, and finally ſacrifice them and all with them to oppreſſion, and bury them in general ruin. From the arguments of the honourable Gentleman, one ſhould have imagined the bill, if carried into effect, was likely to preſs heavier upon the lower claſſes of manufacturers than upon any other branch of the community. Such was the inſinuation; but how was the fact? The fact was, that, by the various abatements, the ſcale

of taxation was continually decreasing in a regular proportion to the ſcale of income, from the contribution of the tenth part of a perſon's property among the higher claſſes, to a twelfth among the lower; and for all below the income of ſixty pound a year, there was a total exemption. Was he to be charged then, with doing away the lower orders of manufacturers, when he had particularly made ſuch proviſions for their relief? The ſtatement could be founded only on miſrepreſentation or on error; but it was allowing too much to local prejudice, and a deſire of ſhewing compaſſion to the inferior ſtations of ſociety, to overlook facts or, perceiving, to miſ-ſtate them. If the bill were oppreſſive in its operations upon the manufacturers or any other part of the community, the oppreſſion was occaſioned by an extraordinary effort. For he ſhould be glad to know how the honourable Gentleman or any other perſon would raiſe ſo large a ſum for the revenue with more eaſe and advantage to the lower orders. Gentlemen could not comprehend his ſcale of modifications, or they would never preſume to miſrepreſent them as they had done. But let him examine the exemption propoſed by the honourable Gentleman, that every man who does not already pay ten pound to the aſſeſſed taxes ſhall be excluded from the additional contribution. The nature of ſuch an exemption was objectionable in its principle, for it implied that every man who did not already pay ten pounds a year to the aſſeſſed taxes had no intereſt in the ſafety, proſperity and exiſtence of his country. It was a libel on the diſpoſition of the claſſes he excepted to lend their aſſiſtance to their country in the hour of danger. The honourable Gentleman had ſaid, that the operation of this bill would be injurious to the lower claſſes, not only by ſubjecting them to heavy contributions, but by narrowing the diſpoſal of their manufactures. If carried into execution, he had ſaid, the manufacturer would find no vent for his goods, the huſbandman no encouragement for his induſtry. This was certainly an exaggeration of the evil, but where could the ſyſtem of taxation be found, which did not in ſome degree affect ſome branch of trade, or ſome claſs of the community? The worthy Alderman, however, imagined he had diſcovered a remedy for this, by propoſing a heavier tax upon the higher orders. Did he ſuppoſe, then, that by dealing out the charges on the rich alone, the others would have no concern; did he ſuppoſe that nothing animated and invigorated the whole circulation of ſociety? Did he ſuppoſe that any oppreſſion could be made upon one branch of the community without being felt through all its ramifications? The intereſts of the rich and poor, the idle and laborious were ſo untimely

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blended that it was impoſſible to make a ſeparation. Let taxes fall upon the manufacturer, the tradeſman, the farmer, the mechanic, nay even upon the peaſant, and they will endeavour to relieve themſelves by impoſing a larger charge upon their manufactures and commodities, upon the product of their land, or on the price of labour. Thus the rich would be obliged to join the contribution of the poor, and the idle give the laborious their reward. In the mean time, however, the idle and the rich would think it expedient, perhaps to preſerve the balance of their income by making a retrenchment in ſome of the articles of luxury, and thus the general conſumption would of courſe be diminiſhed. If the rich alone were taxed, the ſame retrenchments would take place, and ſtill the other branches of ſociety would ſhare in the oppreſſion. The worthy Alderman allowed the converſe of this propoſition, though he ſeemed to have forgotten this, and thereby he gave room for much unjuſt complaint and error. To attempt to flatter the multitude by ſuch a partial, or miſtaken notion, was neither manly, politic, or wiſe; and it was reprehenſible, firſt, for making a diſtinction degrading to the honour, loyalty, and ſpirit, of a great part of the people; and ſecondly for granting a diſtinction in words, but leaving a diſtinction in fact, which would be tenfold more dangerous than the operation of the bill. He truſted that from this explanation, every perſon would find the proportion of his burden to his ability as equal and as viſible as he could allow it. But to ſuppoſe that a tax upon the rich only would not affect the ſubordinate gradations, was viſionary and impracticable, and could proceed only from a wrong bias of ideas or miſtake. He had only one other obſervation with which he ſhould trouble the Houſe, and that was upon the ſuppoſed loſſes ſuſtained by the public from their contributions to the ſtate. He did not mean to enter upon this ſubject at large, but ſhould content himſelf merely with a ſtatement of what was the real check of circulation. There was no doubt that too great a burden might make a revulſion on the demand of articles of general requeſt; yet it would ſo happen that taxes levied to a moderate degree, inſtead of being a cauſe of regret and lamentation, ought to be, and were, by prudent men, allowed to be of great advantage to a nation, inaſmuch, as they awakened its energies, gave them activity and force, and produced a general tone and vigour, able to reſiſt any ſudden and unforeſeen calamity. He did not mean to ſtand up as the advocate for taxation, though he was compelled by neceſſity to uſe ſome arguments for its defence.

If, as in the preſent inſtance, it was expedient to raiſe by an extraordinary exertion, 7,000,000l. of money, he did not ſcruple to admit that ſuch a demand muſt preſs heavily upon every order of ſociety, and could only be juſtified by the extraordinary nature of our ſituation, which required ſuch a demand to be put in execution. He was ready to admit alſo, that ſuch a demand muſt reduce the general circulation of money for a time, and divert it from its uſual channels; but to ſuppoſe it entirely withdrawn, was as great a miſtake as any of the former, and ought to be corrected. It was true, that by lodging it in the Exchequer, its courſe was retarded and diverted from thoſe channels where induſtry would have availed itſelf of its currency, and acquired ſtrength and ſpirit from its uſe; but to imagine the payment of certain ſums to Government, for the regulation and defence of the kingdom, as a certain loſs, as if the whole of the money were ſent into foreign countries, or ſunk in the ſea, was a ſentiment which ignorance and prejudice alone could foſter. Though it did not immediately operate in the ſame perceptible manner to every underſtanding, it was ſtill active in promoting a conſumption to the ſame extent. This was not only teſtified by experience in our own country, but was proved to be the leading principle of the greatneſs and power of every country which hiſtory records. He did not deny that taxation, puſhed beyond a certain point, would ſometimes diminiſh the uſe of articles of luxury, and narrow the articles of neceſſity alſo, but to ſuppoſe that it palſied the public by a defalcation, was a miſtake in the knowledge of revenue which no experience would juſtify. He thought theſe obſervations neceſſary for the correction of error and miſrepreſentation, and proteſted, for the cauſe of the people of England, that they would cheerfully and willingly contribute to the exigency as long as they were able, or neceſſity required their exertions.

Mr. *Tierney* ſaid, it was ſurpriſing that while the right honourable Chancellor of the Exchequer was remarkable for nothing more than the admirable gravity of his manners, no man could receive a hint from a friend, when it thwarted his own particular plans, with greater roughneſs. The right honourable Gentleman had taken fire at an expreſſion uſed by an honourable Gentleman, (Mr. W. Bird), though it was founded in fact and truth, he meant the words "*to do away.*" It was not the right honourable Gentleman's fine ſpeaking that could prevent the miſchief from falling heavy, or the people

people from feeling it. The lower order of manufacturers, to be ſure, had not the means of diſcuſſing ſuch ſubjects theoretically, but they would at leaſt be allowed the capability of knowing thoſe evils from which they practically ſuffered. How ſtood the fact? The honourable Gentleman had charged that on the Chancellor of the Exchequer's impoſing the watch and clock duties, it had been objected that the ſame miſchiefs would ariſe from it as from ſome of thoſe which were now predicted to be the conſequence of the preſent tax, and that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had at that time, as now, ſcouted the idea, and inſiſted that it was a vulgar error; and what followed? why preciſely what was expected, and in the city of Coventry two-thirds of the watchmakers had been thrown out of employment. Was it at all unreaſonable then in his honourable friend to ſay, that the proviſions of this tax lay heavy upon manufacturers, and would tend *to do away* that claſs of people. If more were neceſſary to be ſaid, he could ſay that among the manufacturers of the country, or rather he would ſay, among the artiſans, there were many in extreme want, and he would venture to affirm, from facts within his own obſervation, that if the collectors within the diſtance of ten miles round London were permitted to lay a ſtatement of the whole truth before the right honourable Gentleman, the account they would give, would in all probability, prevent the bill from being inſiſted upon by him in its preſent form.

He agreed with the right honourable Gentleman that the worthy Alderman (Luſhington) was not correct in the ſtatement he had offered, but his own objection was to the principle of the bill, and he was firmly of opinion, that if the Miniſter, inſtead of taking from thoſe who paid 3l. a year aſſeſſed taxes, were to put money into their pockets, they would ſtill be at a loſs by the revulſion of a heavy tax upon the higheſt orders of the community; he did not mean to preſs this further now, but would reſerve his ſentiments for a future diſcuſſion, when he would go more at length into it; for the more he converſed with tradeſmen of all ranks and political opinions, (thoſe included who were moſt partial to the right honourable Gentleman,) the more he ſaw of fear, anxiety, and diſmay among them. He hoped therefore the right honourable Gentleman would not preſs the reading of the bill a ſecond time earlier than Thurſday next; the more particularly as from the haſty proceedings already had, it was impoſſible for the people in the diſtant parts of the country

country to have it in time to inſtruct their repreſentatives. He declared himſelf as deſirous as any man in that Houſe to take meaſures to defend the country, and to ſhew an Engliſh face to a French army; but he was averſe to any thing being done that might ſeem to the people to bear heavy on any claſs of men. As he had no hope of throwing out the meaſure, and as things ſtood, he was only for preventing the bill from being carried through the Houſe too haſtily. If the ſecond reading was fixed for next Monday, no man would be able to ſay that he had voted for it by the conſent of his conſtituents.

A Member on the Oppoſition bench, expreſſed an earneſt wiſh that further time might be given to conſider the bill, avowing, at the ſame time, that he had no objection to the principle of the tax, and was willing to contribute as largely as any one, in proportion to his circumſtances.

Mr. *Wigley* reiterated the objections he had made to the bill on former nights, and particularly dwelt on the injury it would be to individuals to make a diſcloſure of their ſituation. If the tax was neceſſary, he hoped it would be cheerfully complied with; but it ought to be carefully modified, and for that purpoſe time ought to be given for a due conſideration of the bill.

The queſtion that the bill be read a ſecond time was then put and carried.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* ſaid, that notwithſtanding what had been ſaid, he could ſee no reaſon for poſtponing the ſecond reading of the bill beyond the time he had already mentioned; and therefore he would move, that it be read a ſecond time on Monday. If it were deſirable that the bill ſhould be effectual, it would appear clear on a moment's unbiaſſed reflection that it muſt be paſſed before the holidays. He ſaid that ſo far from its being carried with precipitation through the Houſe, as had been charged by ſome Gentlemen, a retroſpective view of the various dates of its different ſtages from his firſt opening it to the preſent day, would demonſtrably prove that there never was a meaſure of finance which had experienced ſo long a delay; and it was ſomewhat ſingular that the Honourable Member who firſt accuſed him of precipitation in carrying it through the Houſe (Mr. Tierney), was alſo the firſt who accuſed him of giving unneceſſary delay to it, when in the firſt inſtance he had allowed ten days for conſideration of the general plan. The only part of the Bill that could at all become a

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ſubject of diſcuſſion was the mitigations allowed in it. As to the groſs amount of the burthens, that could not admit of queſtion or of alteration, and he was ſure it would ultimately appear that none would find it ſo heavy as they now apprehended; finally, he ſaid the bill had been now a fortnight before the Houſe, and he ſhould be guilty of a dereliction of his public duty, if he voluntarily agreed to its being poſtponed to a later period.

Mr. *Tierney* ſaid he had been miſtaken by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. What he had objected to at firſt, was, that the right honourable Gentleman had brought forward the meaſure at a time when he was not ſufficiently prepared to ſtate it fully; that though he had been well prepared to make a fine ſpeech, he had been ſo ill prepared with the matter in detail, that he was obliged to take a week to conſider of it. The right honourable Gentleman had ſaid that the bill muſt paſs before the holidays; but he put it to the reflection of the Houſe, whether it was the moſt ingratiating mode for Parliament to conduct themſelves, when a delay of only four or five days is aſked, to anſwer them that it muſt be paſſed before the holidays. Why ſhould they not rather ſay that there ſhould be no holidays at all? The Chancellor of the Exchequer took a week from his firſt propounding the outline of the plan, to digeſt and modify its particular proviſions, and yet the people were not to be allowed a delay of four or five days to conſider them. How the people in diſtant parts of the country were to read the bill at all, till it would be too late for objection or amendment, he knew not: he apprehended that the Miniſter's deſire to paſs it before the holidays, betokened an intention to make a long adjournment; a meaſure which muſt be deprecated, as this time was the worſt that ever was known for a ſuſpenſion of the ſitting of Parliament.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* ſaid, it was neceſſary to have the bill paſſed before the holidays, for the purpoſe of making the aſſeſſment in time. If, as he had already ſhewn, there had been no precipitation in carrying the bill ſo far, and the bill itſelf had the general concurrence of the Houſe, that would be a ſufficient anſwer to the honourable Gentleman's objections.

Mr. *Tierney* moved to amend the motion, by ſubſtituting Thurſday next, for Monday.

Mr. *Yorke* wiſhed to know whether the bill was to be printed?

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The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* ſaid, it was intended that the bill ſhould be printed, and that it ſhould be read a ſecond time on Monday, and committed on Tueſday next.

The gallery was cleared, and the queſtion put—For Monday:

Ayes 58, *Noes* 5.

Adjourned.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

FRIDAY, *Dec.* 8.

Read the bills upon the table in their ſeveral ſtages.

Their Lordſhips then heard counſel in continuation, in the great cauſe, Dalrymple *v.* the Fullartons, and adjourned the further hearing thereof till Monday.

Adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

FRIDAY, *Dec.* 8.

Mr. *Maintwaring* preſented a petition from the Church-wardens and Overſeers of the Poor, on behalf of themſelves, as well as ſeveral inhabitants of the pariſh of St. Leonard, Shoreditch, ſtating that they could not carry into effect the proviſions of the ſtatute of the 14th of the preſent King, relative to the mode of diſtraining for non-payment of Poor-rates, by reaſon of a great number of houſes under the rent of 10l. a year, and of the occupiers being ſo very poor, that there were not in many ſuch houſes goods ſufficient to anſwer the ſum to be levied by diſtreſs: praying the Houſe to take the matter into ſerious conſideration.—Referred to a Select Committee.

Mr. *D. P. Coke* brought in the Corporation Cauſes bill, of which he gave notice laſt ſeſſion of Parliament.—Read a firſt time, and ordered to be read a ſecond time on Monday next.

Sir *John Sinclair* brought up an account of grants made to the Board of Agriculture, ſo far as they had been received.

He ſaid, that as ſome obſervations had been made upon the expenditure of that Board, it was his wiſh that it ſhould be referred to the Committee of Finance.

The bill to amend the Scots Militia bill was read a firſt time, and ordered to be read a ſecond time on Monday.

ASSESSED

ASESSED TAXES.

Mr. *York* wiſhed to mention to the Chancellor of the Exchequer that the Bill for Aſſeſſed Taxes ſtood for the ſecond reading on Monday next, and that it was underſtood that it was to be propoſed to commit it on Tueſday. He begged that the Committee upon the Bill ſhould be poſtponed, at leaſt till Thurſday. He had no objection to the ſecond reading even that day, if that were neceſſary, for it was to the Committee he ſhould direct his attention. It was a meaſure novel in itſelf, and ſome time ought to be given to conſider of it. He therefore hoped the right honourable Gentleman would conſent to poſtponing the Committee upon the Bill until Thurſday next.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* ſaid, that anxious as he was to avoid all unneceſſary delay in the progreſs of this important meaſure, yet, as he found the Bill was not yet ready to be put into Gentlemens hands, although he hoped it would have been printed by this time, he could therefore have no objection to the Committee being deferred to Thurſday.

Mr. *Tierney* ſaid, that from the information he had received, and from what he was aware of himſelf, he was confident that any delay in the progreſs of this important meaſure would be taken as a favour by moſt of thoſe on whom it was to operate. He therefore intreated that the ſecond reading might be poſtponed to Tueſday.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* ſaid, he had no great objection to accommodate any Gentleman when he could do ſo conſiſtently with the diſcharge of his public duty. He would not oppoſe the deſire of the honourable Gentleman. He could not held remarking, however, that he thought the Committee was the ſtage in which the Bill was to be diſcuſſed. He was under the neceſſity of remarking alſo, that very groſs miſrepreſentations, and conſequent miſapprehenſion, had gone abroad upon the ſubject of the Bill. If the honourable Gentleman would endeavour to correct theſe miſapprehenſions in the interim, his time would be extremely well employed.

Mr. *Tierney* ſaid, he was not aware of any miſrepreſentation upon the Bill; he was confident he never intended to miſrepreſent the matter, and he believed that he never did ſo. He ſhould be glad to underſtand the right honourable Gentleman, which, he proteſted, he did not at preſent.

Mr. *Curwen* ſaid, that beyond all doubt further time was neceſſary before this Bill ſhould be diſcuſſed. He had great reaſon for oppoſing it. Indeed he believed it would be impoſ-

ſible to carry it into execution. He believed that there was a greater number of perſons than the Miniſter was aware of incapable of paying their aſſeſſments already. There was no leſs than 181 in one pariſh who had been ſummoned for non-payment, many were mitigated, many only paid half, and many were totally excuſed. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, as he had the means, ought to be poſſeſſed of all information of this kind; and it ought to be laid before the Houſe before they proceeded upon this Bill. As he never confided in the Chancellor of the Exchequer, nor any part of his adminiſtration, even when we were in the moſt flouriſhing condition, it would be ſuperfluous to ſay that he did not confide in him now. If there were any miſrepreſentations gone forth, of which, however, he knew nothing, the Chancellor of the Exchequer ought to loſe no time in clearing the matter up. At all events time ought to be allowed for every body to underſtand the Bill.

Colonel *Struttt* ſaid, he doubted much the accuracy of the honourable Gentleman who had juſt preceded. The liſt was a much ſmaller liſt.

Mr. *Curwen* ſaid, he held himſelf reſponſible for what he ſaid. He had ſtated facts, and he would repeat them. The pariſh to which he alluded was St. Andrew's below the bar. In that pariſh 181 perſons were ſummoned for non-payment; twenty-one were mitigated to half, and thirty-one were totally excuſed. This he ſaid from the pariſh books. He would be as ſorry as any man to ſtate what he did not know, and as unwilling to recall what he knew to be true.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* ſaid, that before Gentlemen drew concluſions upon this ſubject, it was material that they knew the reaſons of the perſons they alluded to being unable to pay, and why they were excuſed, or why any thing was mitigated. It did not ſeem to him to apply to the caſe of aſſeſſment. It ought to be recollected that many perſons who might be charged from the aſſeſſment which they paid would be totally exempted from any new payment by reaſon of the ſize of their income. He was glad the honourable Gentleman had named the pariſh, for it might hereafter be ſeen how far this was a ſpecimen of the accuracy which was to be expected from thoſe who were ſo ready to talk of the inability of perſons to pay their aſſeſſments. But the honourable Gentleman ſaid, that a great many perſons would be unable to pay. Why? Becauſe they are unable to pay their preſent rates. The honourable Gentleman might have known that this very meaſure excluded thoſe who were unable to pay their preſent rates, and to allow to others who were able, but whoſe ability was within

in a given limit, an abatement in proportion to that circumſcribed ability. If the honourable Gentleman meant to ſay that ſome were excuſed altogether from paying their aſſeſſments already, or that ſome of them were mitigated, he muſt ſay that ſuch a thing was impoſſible, becauſe nobody poſſeſſed as yet the power to excuſe or to mitigate the aſſeſſed duty. Probably the honourable Gentleman confounded the aſſeſſed duties with the poor rates, and therefore it was that he became unintentionally inaccurate.

Mr. *Curwen* ſaid he alluded to the poor rates. But he believed the right honourable Gentleman would find a great number of perſons alſo unable to pay the aſſeſſed duties.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* ſaid, that this was no proof whatever as to the aſſeſſed taxes.

Mr. *Elliſon* ſaid, he looked upon it that 19-20ths of the people of this country look up to the great abilities of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to reſcue us from our preſent difficulties. [He was then proceeding to a diſcuſſion of the excellence of the plan of this aſſeſſment, when he was reminded by the Speaker that it was not regular to enter at preſent into the principle of the meaſure, there being nothing before the Houſe to involve that queſtion.]

Mr. Elliſon then proceeded to obſerve, that although he approved of the plan, yet, as ſome modification might be neceſſary, he owned he wiſhed for further time to be prepared for that purpoſe. He was ſorry that the paper laid upon the table relative to the number of perſons who paid aſſeſſed taxes had been produced at all, becauſe he was well perſuaded it was moſt groſſly erroneous. He thought alſo that the higher ranks of ſociety were not called upon to pay ſufficiently to the public exigency. For theſe reaſons he wiſhed the ſecond reading of the Bill to be delayed.

The order for the ſecond reading of the Bill on Monday was then diſcharged, and it was ordered that it be read a ſecond time on Tueſday next.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* gave notice, that he ſhould propoſe the Bill to be committed on Thurſday next.

Sir *John Sinclair* roſe to give notice of an intended motion in favour of a General Incloſure Bill. It was now, he ſaid, about two years ſince he firſt gave a notice of this nature; ſince then, he had been favoured with the aſſiſtance of many reſpectable gentlemen, members of that Houſe, in framing the bill which was now prepared. His intention was to bring forward ſome propoſitions, which, if approved, he ſhould propoſe to be referred to the conſideration of the other Houſe. Till then, it was impoſſible for him to judge how far a General Incloſure

Bill was likely to be carried into effect; but, ſhould the meaſure not ſucceed, he hoped that it would, at leaſt be allowed that he had not been deficient in zeal to accompliſh a meaſure which, in his opinion, was ſo ſalutary; and that, if this country was not cultivated to the utmoſt at a time when every reſource was ſo much wanted, no blame would attach to him.

He then gave notice, that he ſhould make his motion on Wedneſday ſe'nnight.

COMMITTEE OF WAYS AND MEANS.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* moved the Order of the Day for the Houſe to reſolve itſelf into a Committee of the whole Houſe, to conſider further of Ways and Means for raiſing a Supply.

The Houſe having reſolved itſelf into a Committee accordingly.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* ſaid, that according to the notice he gave on a former day, he now called the attention of the Committee to a ſingle branch of the Ways and Means of the year. He did nor mean to bring forward any thing at preſent but a ſingle Reſolution, which he intended as the foundation of a bill, which he ſhould afterwards propoſe to bring into the Houſe; the object of which would be to provide for the raiſing of three millions from the Bank. He ſhould take care to make proviſion for the re-payment of that ſum by inſtallments, as he had formerly ſtated. The detail of which would naturally ariſe when the bill ſhould come before the Houſe. The Reſolution he had now to propoſe was merely, That three millions be raiſed for the ſervice of the year on Exchequer Bills, upon which he ſhould be ready, if any further diſcuſſion ſhould ariſe. He then moved, That it is the opinion of this Committee that towards raiſing the Supply to be granted to his Majeſty, the ſum of three millions be raiſed on Exchequer Bills. Paſſed.

TAX ON PLACE-MEN.

Mr. *Nicholls* then roſe and proceeded nearly as follows; In purſuance of a notice I gave ſome time ſince, I riſe to move a Reſolution for applying certain parts of the emoluments of certain offices to the public ſervice during the war. In the motion I have to ſubmit, I follow a precedent. It is a meaſure that was adopted in the reign of Willam and Mary. I beg leave to take notice of what his Majeſty's Chancellor of the Exchequer ſaid when I gave notice of the ſubject which I now bring forward. He ſuggeſted an idea that this was an intended reflection on his Majeſty's Miniſters. He ought to be too conſcious

conſcious of the merit of his high character to ſuppoſe that any ſuch thing was intended. As to notions of private wealth I believe no body can accuſe him; he reſembles his father in that feature of his character. In that I admit he reſembles his illuſtrious anceſtor; I wiſh the reſemblance extended over the whole of his compoſition. I have no animoſity to Placemen and Penſioners; many of them may render great ſervice to their country. I wiſh not to take any thing away from particular offices which I ſhall hereafter mention, and for which I ſhall aſſign my reaſons. It was ſaid by a right hon. Gentleman on a former night, that there was no difference between the emoluments of an office and the eſtate of a private gentleman; that the one was as much property as the other. I ſhall not enter on the diſcuſſion of that ſubject now. There are two ſorts of places; one that depends on the pleaſure of the Crown, and the others that are independent of it. As to offices that are dependent on the pleaſure of the Crown, they may be ſaid to be fairly enjoyed, becauſe they are ſuppoſed to be dependent on the talents of the perſon who enjoys them, but in time of public emergency they may be as fairly diminiſhed as the income of any other perſon is diminiſhed by taxes. The public have a right to ſay to a perſon holding a place, "True it is that your ſalary, was ſuch as we wiſhed you to poſſeſs when we ourſelves were affluent, but now circumſtances are ſo altered that really we cannot now afford it." As to the offices in which the grantee has a freehold intereſt, it is obſervable, that in the time of William and Mary there was no difference made between them and thoſe that were held at the pleaſure of the Crown. I think there ought to be a diſtinction, and therefore the reſolution which I ſhall ſubmit to the Committee will be made to keep that diſtinction, for it will refer only to thoſe offices which are held at the pleaſure of the Crown. Another difference which I intend to make, is, in the ſum on which the reſolution ſhould attach. Inſtead of 500l. I ſhall propoſe 2000l. With theſe variations the reſolution will be in every other reſpect the ſame as that which paſſed the Houſe of Commons in the time of William and Mary *nemine contradicente*; and the reaſon which was then alledged for it was, that owing to the great expences of the war, it was neceſſary to the public ſervice. If is was neceſſary then, I preſume it will hardly be diſputed it is neceſſary now, for none can deny the diſtreſs of the country.

I do not conſider this as any great public reſource for carrying on the war, although in that reſpect it is not inconſiderable, but if I ſucceed in this, I intend to follow it up with others reſpecting penſions, and the application of the civil liſt, and

and I ſhould hope it would produce ſome beneficial regulations. But I do this with another view, of more importance, in my opinion, than any aid which this may bring to the public ſervice. I think there are many, many men about the Chancellor of the Exchequer whoſe views ought to be changed; and who ſhould be placed in a ſituation, in which they ſhall be intereſted in terminating the war. The right honourable Gentleman ſees near and about him, many who are at preſent intereſted in the continuance of the war. He ſees about him a number of Contractors, and Money Monopoliſts, who are, all of them, intereſted in the continuance of this war. I am ſorry for it. I wiſh he was ſurrounded only by thoſe who are intereſted in its termination. It is upon that principle, which is a principle of political regulation, more than a reſource of revenue, that I bring forward this ſubject. He concuded with moving,

That it is the opinion of this Committee that the Salaries, Fees, and Perquiſites of all the Offices under the Crown ſhall be applied to the uſe of the War, except ſuch as amount to 2000l. per annum, which are to be allowed to all Officers whoſe Salaries, Fees, and Perquiſites, at preſent exceed 2000l. per annum. And alſo except that of the Lord Chancellor, the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, the Judges, Foreign Miniſters, and the Commiſſioned Officers of his Majeſty's Fleets and Armies, or any perſons who have a freehold intereſt in their reſpective offices.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* ſaid, before I proceed to trouble the Committee with ſuch obſervations as occur to me on the Reſolution intended to be propoſed by the hon. Gentleman, and on the principles he has laid down in his ſpeech, it may perhaps be not altogether foreign to the purpoſe, nor inconſiſtent with the reſpect due to the honourable Gentleman, to ſuggeſt to him the probability that the Reſolution, as it has been read by him and by the clerk at the table, if it means any thing at all, does not exactly mean that which the honourable Gentleman ſeems to have intended. As I have heard and underſtand it, and I ſhould rather ſuppoſe as the Houſe alſo muſt underſtand it, it amounts ſimply to this, that all ſalaries of office, but thoſe of two thouſand pounds a year value, with the exception of the Lord Chancellor, the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, the Judges, and ſome others, ſhall be applied to the uſe of the war. If then I comprehend it right, and this be the ſenſe of the wording of the Reſolution as it has been read, what does it import but that all ſalaries from two thouſand pounds upwards are to be reduced to two thouſand; and all from two thouſand downwards, even to fifty, are to be entirely taken away. Now whether this Reſolution is compatible with the honourable Gentleman's general notions of politi-

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cal œconomy, or in uniſon with the tenor of the principles he profeſſes: whether this is the way of making a diſtinction in favour of poverty againſt wealth, it is for the honourable Gentleman himſelf to judge, and I wiſh him to reflect upon it. But for my part, it appears to me to be ſo utterly incongruous with his uſual ſentiments, and ſo unlike to the precedent on which he has grounded it, that I am led to believe the honourable Gentleman has made a ſmall miſtake; if ſo, I ſhould be ſorry to take advantage of it, and in candour wiſh him to reconſider it, and to favour the Committee with an explanation, and tell them what it is he really means.

Mr. *Nicholls* ſaid, Sir, the reſolution is miſunderſtood by the Chancellor of the Exchequer; and I believe the wording will be found by no means to juſtify the right honourable Gentleman's interpretation of it.

A general cry of—"*read, read.*"

The Clerk of the Houſe then read the reſolution, which produced a general laugh.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* then ſaid, it is now clear that nothing can be more unlike the propoſition which the honourable Gentleman intended, and the precedent from which he ſupported himſelf for having taken it, than the reſolution now read.

Mr. *Nicholls* ſaid, Sir, I aſſure the Committee that I copied the reſolution from that to which I have alluded; I mean the reſolution in the time of William and Mary, word for word, with the exceptions and alterations I have already ſtated. I deſire that the Clerk will turn back to that reſolution, and read it.

The reſolution of the 3d of William and Mary was then read.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* thereupon ſaid, I believe a more extraordinary miſapplication of precedents has never occurred in or out of theſe walls. If it ſhould be made to appear that ſuch a reſolution had been actually agreed to and ratified by the Houſe in the time of King William, to agree to one at this day directly oppoſite to it as that now propoſed by the Honourable Gentleman, would indeed be a very extraordinary way of ſhewing reſpect for and adherence to precedents; but there is a reaſon, and in my opinion no mean one, why you ought not to be altogether ſo much prejudiced by this precedent of King William, as to be diverted from the true principle of the queſtion before you, into a concurrence with that of the honourable Gentleman: if he had

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taken the pains to follow up the hiſtory of that reſolution a few pages farther, a gentleman of his great perſpicacity would, no doubt, have been able to find that reaſon The reſolution was agreed to *nemine contradicente*, and being moved haſtily, was not worded with ſtrict grammatical accuracy. It ſo happened, however, that what was thus haſtily voted without a diſſentient voice, when it came to be deliberately inveſtigated, on the bringing up a clauſe of a bill to carry it into effect, was rejected without a diviſion, as impolitic and abſurd. I therefore hope that Gentlemen will not, out of prejudice, or exceſſive fondneſs for precedent, adopt that meaſure which has never been adopted before, nor admit that which was held to be a good reaſon for rejecting it in the time of King William, to be a good reaſon for adopting it now. As to the reſolution itſelf, in the form in which it has been moved, my great reſpect for the honourable Gentleman, and my regard for the time and feeling of the Committee, will not allow me to diſcuſs it farther.

Mr. *Nicholls* ſaid, I certainly did not mean that the reſolution ſhould extend to ſalaries under two thouſand a year.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* ſaid, I am glad to hear that explanation from the honourable Gentleman, for it would be exceedingly unfortunate for thoſe who would be the objects of the honourable Gentleman's propoſition, and indeed not very creditable to the Houſe, if on this over perſuaſion, and a too rigid adherence to a precedent unanimouſly agreed to by a Committee, but rejected without a diviſion by the Houſe, a meaſure was adopted which would take from all perſons holding offices under Government of leſs than two thouſand a year, the whole of their income. However, as the honourable Gentleman has given up that point, and confines himſelf merely to thoſe who poſſeſs ſalaries of more than two thouſand a year, I will ſhortly ſtate to the Committee my reaſons for thinking that idea no leſs abſurd than the other. The honourable Gentleman propoſes the tax as a reſource for the expences of the war, and has taken with one large comprehenſive ſweep of his compaſs, all offices from two thouſand a year up to nine thouſand, without any diſtinction, any ſcale, any gradation. But while he comes forward with this as a reſource, why does he not ſtate to the Committee what he would expect to draw from it? Has he conſidered to how much even the whole of theſe offices that are above two thouſand a year may amount to in the groſs? From the gravity of the honourable Gentleman's character

character and deportment, the Committee have a right to expect from him more foreſight and preciſion, and to call upon him to lay before them a liſt of the perſons to be taxed and a well-digeſted eſtimate of the ſum he calculated to draw from taxing them.

But let us, Sir, conſider, upon the broad baſis of principle and ſound policy, the ſcale of contribution propoſed by the honourable Gentleman. Will it be ſaid that there are no qualifying circumſtances which keep pace with the various gradations of ſalary, and render the higher proportionate to thoſe below? Will it be contended that there is no diſtinction in ſituation between thoſe who have ſalaries of two thouſand a year, and thoſe who have twice as much? Is there no difference in the importance of the truſt, in the labour, in the talents, in the qualifications, in the reſponſibility, and in the claſs of life in which they ſtand? Is there no allowance to be made for ſuch circumſtances? Will the honourable Gentleman, in the fullneſs of his equitable œconomy, ſay, that the ſame gradation ought not to be obſerved in taxing office, as in taxing property? And if not, how will he be able to account for dealing out ſuch unequal meaſure as he has attempted in theſe two caſes? Inveighing in his elevated tone of declamation, againſt the diſproportion of the aſſeſſed taxes to the property of the ſeveral claſſes taxed, and yet holding forth a plan of indiſcriminate taxation, ſweeping down all to a level; exacting from an office of two thouſand five hundred a year, one-fifth; from an office of four thouſand, one-half; from one of ſix thouſand, two-thirds. Sir, according to my notion of the nature of taxation, this is a principle which cannot be for a moment ſupported.

But, Sir, whatever interpretation may invidiouſly be given to my obſervations, and implicated though I am myſelf in what I ſhall hereafter ſay upon the ſubject, I do not heſitate to confeſs, and I ſay it with the candour, the confidence, and the firmneſs which the occaſion demands, that the principle on which I chiefly reſt my objection to the taxing of office, is this: that official income is leſs than any other ſpecies of income given for the private enjoyment, or perſonal gratification of thoſe who poſſeſs it. To thoſe who view them abſtractedly, the ſituation of perſons high in office appears ſplendid, and envy and malignity attribute to them an exceſs of private gratifications they never experience, and of perſonal repoſe which they never enjoy. The ſituation

of a younger brother, whoſe public ſtation confers upon him the means, and induces upon him the neceſſity of maintaining an appearance equal to thoſe of large hereditary rank and property, is looked up to with ſtupid malevolence, and viewed with an eye of envious exaggeration; but any one who looks to their ſituation with impartial views, and attentively examines how much of their incomes is applied to perſonal gratification, will find that in this reſpect they are much below the general claſs of opulent ſociety, that the far greater part of their expenditure is a tribute to the ſtation they fill, and to that appearance it is neceſſary for them to aſſume, in order to maintain an equality with thoſe whom hereditary wealth have elevated to the higheſt ranks in the community. If in a free country like this, the perſons who fill the offices of the higheſt truſt and reſponſibility were to be ſelected as objects of taxation, it would indeed be extraordinary. But if it were ſo, and in the evil ſpirit of ſuch a principle, they were to be diveſted of their income, and with it exempted from the neceſſity of preſerving the ſplendour of their appearance, what would they loſe? Nothing intrinſically gratifying; no, not one hour's perſonal enjoyment out of the four and twenty, would be abridged by ſuch a defalcation; but how far they ought to be taxed, as a political queſtion, is a ſubject worth conſideration.

Before any claſs or ſpecies of income can with juſtice, or policy, or prudence, be ſelected for taxation, the perſon who propoſes to ſelect them ought to be able to ſhew either that they are already too lightly taxed, or that they are from their diſtinct circumſtances objects peculiarly fitted for great and extraordinary burthens. In laying the taxes for the ſupplies of the preſent year, the criterion that has been choſen is the former aſſeſſed taxes, liable to certain exceptions, modifications, and deductions: and this criterion has been ſelected as the beſt poſſible mode of apportioning the tax to tangible property of every denomination. Now, Sir, I ſhould be glad to hear what regulation in that tax goes to exclude the property of perſons in office from aſſeſſment: is the income of the gentlemen in office leſs tangible than that of other perſons? Is a ſmaller portion of their income than of the income of gentlemen whoſe opulence is not the fruit of their own labour, but is protected and ſecured to them by law as the fruits of their progenitors' induſtry, ſpent in objects of taxation? Nay, do they not ſpend much more? And ſhall it be ſaid, that while in the form of that great expenditure

penditure neceſſarily attached to their ſtation, they pay more of the ordinary taxes in proportion, than any other claſs in ſociety, they ſhall be ſtudiouſly and induſtriouſly marked out as objects of oppreſſive taxation in another way? Is there any reaſon why a man labouring for his income ſhall be more taxed than the man who poſſeſſes an independent landed property? Or rather, as on the contrary, ſuch an income is much leſs durable, ſubject to larger compulſory expenditure, and attended with a heavy duty, ſhould not the diſtinction, if any there were, be in his favour? In every tax upon conſumption, in every ſumptuary tax, the man in office contributes, I am ſure, at leaſt as much as any other in the ſtate, and I believe it can hardly be maintained that he ought to contribute more.

The only arguments that ſeem to impreſs the honourable Gentleman as being of real weight in favour of his motion is, that it will intereſt Miniſters in making peace; and although he has this night lowered his tone, and aſſumed a milder mode of expreſſion, he at firſt did certainly mention the tax as a threat; for he ſaid, that if I perſiſted in my plan of aſſeſſed taxes, he would perſiſt in bringing forward this propoſition. It was evidently then a menace, for if he had any true reaſon to offer for taxing ſalaries of office, why ſhould his bringing it forward depend upon my refraining from bringing forward my taxes? But now that menace is laid aſide, and it is taken up as a puniſhment on Miniſters for paſt errors, or a correction for future ones. But is this the principle of the boaſtful patriot—the reformer? Is this the extent of his purity, to avow that he brings forward a meaſure, not on the broad bottom of its own merit, but with a view to give Miniſters ſo great an intereſt in the attainment of peace, as would induce them without conſideration of the means or the conſequences, and without regard to their public duty, but merely for their own private purpoſes, to obtain a peace? If the war has been commenced in error, proſecuted with feebleneſs, and continued in corrupt obſtinacy, do not adopt a bad meaſure to puniſh the authors of it, or to correct their future conduct, but addreſs the King to remove them from his councils, as legiſlators; do not make the private intereſt of Miniſters a temptation to them to be guilty of a violation of their public faith and a breach of their duty, and from ſordid, corrupt, and undue motives, to ſacrifice the deareſt intereſts of their country.

Mr. *Curwen* ſaid that, in the preſent ſituation of the country every man was called upon to make ſacrifices, and the ſtruggle we had to maintain could alone be ſupported by œconomy in our expenditure. He was not diſpoſed, however, to ſupport the motion in its preſent ſhape; but if the right honourable Gentleman, would come forward with ſome ſuch propoſition, though the ſum which would come in aid of the public ſervice might be ſmall, the feeling which it would inſpire in the country would be of the utmoſt importance.

The *Secretary at War* ſaid, though the extravagance and abſurdity of the motion brought forward by the honourable Gentleman had already been ſo ſucceſsfully expoſed by his right honourable Friend, he could not help making a few remarks upon ſome of the poſitions that had been laid down. The honourable Gentleman tells us that his object is not to raiſe revenue; his motion is intended for other purpoſes. What then were theſe purpoſes? Why the hon. Gentleman is deſirous of peace and he therefore propoſes to ſubject Miniſters to a fine while the war continues!—This was a whimſical idea ſure enough, eſpecially when it was conſidered that the ſentiments of the Houſe and of the country had already been expreſſed upon the ſubject, and when it was manifeſt that peace at preſent could not be obtained. The honourable Gentlemen, knowing the ſentiments of the Houſe, ſeemed deſirous to entrap them into a meaſure contrary to their ſentiments, to draw them into a concurrence with that wiſh for peace which he felt, even contrary to their judgment. It was ſomething like the mode recommended to little boys to catch birds by throwing ſalt upon their tails, to do that which was in fact no longer wanted. The honourable Gentleman, knowing that he could not catch the Houſe any other way, was anxious to puzzle and perplex them, and draw them by throwing ſalt upon their tails, to do that which would be equally inconſiſtent on their ſentiments, and fooliſh on his own. But then came the honourable Gentleman's great queſtion of general policy. As the honourable Gentleman, however, was an advocate for the new principles of Government, a zealous partizan of reform, it really might have been expected that his great ſcheme of policy ſhould have been a little more dignified in deſign, and ſomewhat more unexceptionable in point of morality. The happineſs of this part of the honourable Gentleman's ſpeech had already been ſo well expoſed by his right honourable Friend, that he had few remarks to offer upon it. To cenſure purity by giving men a corrupt intereſt was, in truth, a very whimſical idea for a reformer, and to give judges a bias in favour of a ſide was in deed

deed a ſtrange way of procuring an impartial deciſion. Such a plan was neither very wiſe in point of policy nor great in conception. Did the honourable Gentleman really think that a few hundred pounds to men who, if ſo corrupt as they were repreſented, had ſo many temptations to withſtand, and ſuch means of making up for what might thus be taken from them, could be an object to influence their conduct againſt their judgment? By what ſcale the honourable Gentleman judged he could not comprehend, when he imagined that thoſe men whoſe power was deſcribed as equal to involve whole nations in war, and to prolong it at their pleaſure, were to be induced to change their ſyſtem for the conſideration of a few hundred pounds. But the rulers of ſtates were to have an intereſt in preſerving peace! This deſire of peace, if it could be made univerſal among the rulers of ſtates might, perhaps, be of ſome advantage in preſerving general tranquillity, but if not, to make it the particular intereſt of the rulers of a particular ſtate to cultivate peace, might ultimately ſubject that ſtate to the moſt unjuſt claims, to unprovoked aggreſſions, and to the moſt partial injuſtice. Till the honourable Gentleman could make the mild, pacific, juſt, and conciliatory ſpirit of the French republic, univerſal, he feared we muſt go on as we had done before. Men might differ, no doubt, in their judgment of the neceſſity of war; but as to the general propoſition, it could ſcarcely be doubted that the evils of war might, in the compariſon, be leſs than the evils of not going to war. There were then ſuch things as juſt and neceſſary wars. Nay the honourable Gentleman himſelf muſt aſſent to the general propoſition, for he was, no doubt, convinced, that ſuch was the nature of the war which France now waged againſt this country. The evils of war might then be leſs than the evils of not going to war, and therefore might be neceſſary. Neceſſary they might not be in that ſenſe that nations might be compelled to go to war—Thus, for inſtance, what the honourable Gentleman probably would recommend, an Ambaſſador might be forced into France, and peace procured by an unconditional ſubmiſſion to every thing which the enemy might exact. He hoped, however, that the country would not be up, or rather down, to ſuch a proceeding. It being evident, then that we could not be ſure that war would not be neceſſary, it certainly would be unwiſe to make it the intereſt of rulers not to go to war whatever might be the neceſſity on which they were placed. He did not know even that the greateſt danger was, that the rulers of a country would be prone to war. The evils of war were more obvious, more preſent, more alarming to the imagination

gination than the evils that might arife from not going to war. The latter required *more* conſideration, more reflection, a greater regard for the intereſt of poſterity, becauſe they were more diſtant. He did not ſee how, therefore, there ſhould be ſuch danger of rulers being more inclined to war than peace; as a general propoſition then, nothing could be worſe founded than the motion of the honourable Gentleman. Indeed he wondered how ſo weak a meaſure could come from a perſon of the honourable Gentleman's gravity and knowledge. Surely the honourable Gentleman had unknowingly received a fee which had biaſſed his underſtanding; he had allowed his zeal for peace to miſlead his judgment, and he had therefore reverſed the general rule in order to make it apply to this particular caſe.

There was ſomething which dropped from an honourable Gentleman (Mr. Curwen) on which he could not refrain from making a few obſervations. The honourable Gentleman ſaid that though ſuch a meaſure as that propoſed might be little to the revenue, it would be of infinite advantage by the feeling which it would inſpire in the country. The honourable Gentleman confeſſes that the meaſure would not remove any of the burdens which the people feel; conſequently in this reſpect, it would be a complete deluſion. What then would be its effect?—The people would not thank the honourable Gentleman for ſuch a meaſure. If it is meant that they would be glad to ſee others pay becauſe they pay themſelves, this was a feeling which ought not to be gratified. By ſuch paltry acts as theſe it was ſometimes attempted to enflame, ſometimes to cajole, the people. Any feeling by ſuch means he was not willing to excite; he utterly diſclaimed all ſhare in practiſing ſuch artifices and deluſions.

Something was ſaid about the difference between the ſalaries of office and incomes ariſing from a landed eſtate. Upon this point his right honourable friend had given ſufficient explanation. By the language which was ſometimes held upon the ſubject, and the alluſions to the burdens which the poor and the rich reſpectively ſuſtained, it ſeemed as if Gentlemen thought the rich felt no ſhare of the burden, but that wars were a kind of ſhew for their amuſement. If it was to be always ſaid the rich ſhould ſupport the whole burden, it would not be thoſe who derived income from land who would be moſt obnoxious to the poorer claſſes, and it would be much eaſier to perſuade them upon the hypotheſis that the rich ſhould pay all, that thoſe who had landed property ought to pay more than thoſe who had ſalaries and were ſuppoſed to perform ſome labour

bour in return for it. Upon theſe points of general doctrine he had thought it important to ſay ſomething, rather as they roſe out of the motion than were neceſſary to the diſcuſſion of it in its preſent ſhape. The doctrines which had been urged in favour of the motion he conceived to be extremely miſchievous, and therefore it was the more important that they ſhould be examined. It had been ſtated rather in a particular manner as an objection to ſpeeches in that Houſe, that they contained addreſſes to the paſſions. The addreſſes thus cenſured, however, were not addreſſes to the low paſſions, they were not directed to the illiterate, to thoſe who from their ſituation were diſqualified to decide great and important queſtions They were addreſſes to the paſſions through the underſtanding, ſanctioned by oratory, calculated to rouſe indignation againſt that which merited indignation. On thoſe addreſſes to the paſſions which appealed to the low paſſions, which appealed to them without at all applying to the underſtanding, addreſſes to the illiterate, to thoſe who could not judge and decide upon the queſtions to which they related, were ſuch as he muſt reprobate in the ſevereſt manner.

Mr. *Tierney* ſaid, that Gentlemen upon the other ſide ſeemed rather to have availed themſelves of this opportunity to indulge in invective againſt his honourable Friend, who, by the candour of his proceeding had ſo little deſerved it, than to ſpeak to the motion itſelf. He would aſk the Houſe, whether his honourable friend had treated the ſubject in ſuch a manner as to call forth reprehenſion. In opening the ſubject he had made no appeals to the paſſion, and he believed altogether he did not detain the Houſe five minutes. His honourable Friend had not, perhaps, ſufficiently conſidered the ſhape in which his motion was made, but he was ſure that his intentions were good, and the principles by which thoſe intentions were guided well founded. To the latter, whatever ridicule he might incur, he was ready to ſubſcribe. Theſe principles might be ſubject of meriment to Gentlemen on the other ſide; the mirth of theſe Gentlemen was ſo much in uniſon with the temper of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that when he ſmiled he was not ſurpriſed that they laughed. The reſolution which, with a mere error of tranſcription, formed the model of the preſent motion, had been paſſed in times fully as good as the preſent, and by a Parliament—no offence to the preſent—fully as much enlightened; he could not ſee, therefore, what reaſon there was for the ſneer which the right honourable Gentleman had indulged. It certainly was the intention of the honourable Gentleman, if the principle had been recognized, to have applied

applied it in different gradations to particular cases. For his part he never considered the measure in the nature of a puniſhment, nor would he countenance ſuch an idea. He agreed that a liberal allowance ſhould be made to thoſe who diſcharged great public offices. He had never given a vote with greater pleaſure than that which he gave the laſt time he had the honour of being in Parliament, to increaſe the ſalary of that Gentleman who ſo honourably filled the chair of that Houſe. Still, however, he could not help feeling indignation when he ſaw the allowances of office perverted, and the emoluments of men encreaſing with the war, nor was his indignation leſſened when he heard ſuch things defended by the right honourable Gentleman in whoſe office they exiſted. His object was to prevent the right honourable Gentleman from baiting his trap with theſe cheeſe pairings, and from drawing his candle acroſs the Houſe to bring the rats to any ſide he choſe. He agreed with the right honourable Gentleman, that thoſe who poſſeſſed high ſalaries of office would feel the burdens that were to be impoſed on the country. For his own part he could not ſupport the motion unleſs it were modified and explained. Where great abilities were placed in a high ſituation, and where they came into it without any other means of ſupporting the rank to which it belonged; but when the ſalary of office was a gratuity, was a hoard, and an undiminiſhed ſource of gain to a perſon who brought a large fortune into public ſituations, he thought the caſe was very different, A noble Lord in that Houſe had boaſted of his ſtake in the country, and talked loudly for the continuance of the war. The connections of that noble Lord had certainly a very conſiderable ſtake in the continuance of the war. A noble Marquis (Buckingham), not a Member of the Cabinet, had a very lucrative office, the profits of which roſe very conſiderably by the war. When ſuch was the caſe, he was not ſo much ſurpriſed to ſee the relations of thoſe who profited ſo much by the war ſo ſtrenuous in its ſupport. When Gentlemen argued againſt the motion as a ſtrange way of compelling the Cabinet to peace by taking from them a few hundred pounds, they argued againſt that which never was thought of. It never was imagined that the Cabinet could be influenced by the loſs of a few hundred pounds, but it was thought that to take away the profits they derived from the ſyſtem might have conſiderable weight upon many who were its ſupporters, Such certainly was the caſe with many. In the article of barracks, was there not an extravagant number of appointments ariſing out of the war for the advantage of its partizans? Was not the Tranſport Office intereſted

intereſted in the continuance of the war? Was not the office of War Secretary intereſted in the continuance of the war, to which it owed its exiſtence? Was there not ſomething in the conſideration that with the end of the war their profits would be diminiſhed, ſufficient to warp the underſtanding? On theſe grounds he hoped his honourable Friend would bring forward this ſubject in another ſhape. He could not vote for the motion as an abſtract meaſure; but when the times were ſuch as to call for a tenth part of the income of individuals, it was the duty of the Houſe to take care that, by the very operation of the war, the incomes of certain men ſhould not riſe to ten times more than they would be in time of peace. He did wiſh that the people ſhould be convinced that thoſe in office had a fellow feeling with them. When the people of this country read in the newſpapers, not pleaſantries ariſing out of the diſputes of contending parties, but reports of the Committee of Finance, which proved that there were men who did gain, and gain conſiderably by the war, was there any wonder that they ſaid this was a war in which its partizans were very much intereſted in its continuance? He differed from thoſe who thought that the object propoſed would produce little in aid of the revenue. He believed that, if well regulated, it would produce a very conſiderable ſum, eſpecially in the article of the collection of the revenue. The collection of the revenue at preſent, as appeared from the reports of the Committee of Finance, coſt a million and a half; the Civil liſt amounted to a million; and was it too much to ſay that a well modified tax on theſe objections would produce a very conſiderable ſum for the public ſervice? He by no means ſupported this principle in the view of a puniſhment on Miniſters, but to do away the unfavourable impreſſion that all wars are for the benefit of thoſe who conduct them, and that this war, moſt of all, is liable to the imputation.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* ſaid, that three-fourths of the honourable Gentleman's ſpeech had no relation to the point. The queſtion was not, whether the emoluments of office in any caſe were too large, but whether they ſhould be diminiſhed when the labour was encreaſed? As to what was ſaid relative to the expence of collection by the honourable Gentleman, the Finance Reports ſtated no ſuch thing, and the fact is, that at no poriod has ſo much revenue been raiſed with ſo ſmall an addition to the expence of management as had been in the taxes lately impoſed. As to the emolument of officeriſing with the war, the honourable Gentleman had ſtated, as an inſtance, one of thoſe offices which he propoſed to exept from any additional

charge; this was the office of Teller in the Exchequer, an office which the noble Marquis inherited from his father, on whom it had been beſtowed as a reward for long and laborious ſervices.

Mr. *Tierney* ſaid a few words in explanation.

The *Secretary at War* ſaid, the great profits in his office aroſe from regulations eſtabliſhed before he was born, and if there was any blame it did not apply to him.

Mr. *Nicholls* withdrew his motion. He ſaid he was againſt Peers interfering in the election of Members of Parliament; he was ſo far a friend to reform, and in this he conceived the preſervation of the throne, of the nobility, and the rights of the people were equally intereſted.

The Houſe was then reſumed, and the report was ordered to be received on Monday.

The report of the Corn Importation Bill was further conſidered, the reſolutions agreed to, and the Bill ordered to be read a third time on Monday, if then engroſſed.

The Scotch Diſtillery Bill went through a Committee, and the Report was ordered to be received on Monday.

The Committee of Supply, and Ways and Means, were then referred till Monday, and the Houſe adjourned.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

MONDAY, *Dec.* 11.

SCOTS APPEAL.

DALRYMPLE *v.* THE FULLARTONS.

Counſel were heard this day (being the 5th) in continuation, on this important Appeal. To proceed further the next day.

The bills upon the table were ſeverally forwarded; after which the Houſe adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

MONDAY, *Dec.* 11.

Mr. *Wm. Dundas* took the oaths and his ſeat.

The Scotch Militia Bill was read a ſecond time, and ordered to be committed for the next day.

The 69th Regiment Augmentation Bill was read a ſecond time, and ordered to be committed on Wedneſday next.

Mr. *R. P. Carew* reported from the Secret Committee appointed to try the merits of the Newton Election Petition, that it

it was the determination of the ſaid Committee, that the right of voting for the borough of Newton is excluſively veſted in the Freemen or Burgeſſes, that is, in perſons poſſeſſed of Freeholds of the value of forty ſhillings a year and upwards. That the Petitioner, Peter Patten, Eſq. is duly elected, and ought to have been returned for the ſaid borough, and that neither the Petition, nor the oppoſition to it, appeared to the Committee to be frivolous or vexatious.

Mr. *Pierrepont* moved, That the accounts preſented from the Board of Agriculture be printed. Ordered.

Mr. *Ryder* moved the third reading of the bill for regulating the exportation and importation of Corn; the bill was then read a third time and paſſed, and is to remain in force for ſix weeks after the commencement of the next Seſſion of Parliament.

The Report of the Committee of Ways and Means was received, and a bill for raiſing three millions by Exchequer Bills, &c. was ordered to be brought in.

Mr. *D. Parker Cake* ſaid, that he would not at preſent, in ſo thin an attendance of the Houſe, preſs the ſecond reading of the Corporation-Cauſes Bill, except *pro forma*. The Bill was printed in the form in which it came amended from the Committee of laſt Seſſions. He hoped that Gentlemen would tranſmit it in that form to their Conſtituents, and come fully prepared after the receſs to diſcuſs the merits of the Bill.

Mr. *Wigley* would have oppoſed the ſecond reading of the Bill, unleſs he had underſtood that it was now to be read a ſecond time merely *pro forma*.

The Bill was then read a ſecond time, and ordered to be committed on Tueſday, the 13th of February next.

The Report of the Indemnity Oaths Bill was received.

The Committees of Ways and Means and Supply were then deferred till Wedneſday, and the Houſe adjourned.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

TUESDAY, *Dec.* 12.

The Houſe proceeded in the Cauſe between Dalrymple and Fullarton.—Ordered to proceed further.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

TUESDAY, *Dec.* 12.

At four o'clock there being only thirty-ſix Members preſent, the Speaker adjourned the Houſe till the next day.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

WEDNESDAY, *Dec.* 13.

The various bills before the Houſe were forwarded in their reſpective ſtages.

Some arrangements were made with reſpect to the hearing Appeals.

Mr. *Hobart* from the Houſe of Commons, preſented the bill for regulating the Exportation of Corn; which was read a firſt time.

A few private bills were alſo brought up, and read a firſt time. After which the Houſe adjourned till the next day.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

WEDNESDAY, *Dec.* 13.

Petitions from Hearſton and Willarton Incloſures were preſented.

Petitions from Oxford, Maidſtone, and Fiſherton Debtors, were preſented. Ordered to lie on the table.

Middlezoy Incloſure Bill was reported, and ordered to be engroſſed.

A new Writ was ordered to be iſſued for the election of a Member to ſerve in Parliament for the borough of Tewkeſbury, in the room of W. Dowdſwell, Eſq. who, ſince his election, had accepted the office of Governor of the Bahama Iſlands.

The Clerk of the Crown having attended to amend the Return for the borough of Newton, in the County Palatine of Lancaſter, by ſubſtituting the name of W. Patten, Eſq. in the room of Thomas Langford Brooke, Eſq. W. Patten, Eſq. took the oaths and his ſeat.

THIRD SECRETARY OF STATE.

Mr. *Tierney* roſe, to give notice, that he ſhould put off his motion relative to the Office of Third Secretary of State, until Friday next.

ASSESSED TAX BILL.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* moved, to put off the ſecond reading of the Aſſeſſed Tax Bill till the next day, and the Committee till Monday next. Agreed to.

The Committee on the Slave-trade carrying bill was, upon the motion of Sir W. Dolben, poſtponed till the next day.

The

The bill for regulating his Majeſty's Marine forces, while on ſhore, was read the firſt time.

The Indemnity bill was read the third time, and paſſed.

The third reading of the Scotch Diſtillery bill was deferred till the next day.

Mr. *Woodward*, from the Exchequer, purſuant to order, preſented an account of the fees received by the Teller of the Exchequer, in the office of the Marquis of Buckingham, for the years 1794, 1795, and 1796, together with the deductions, and the names of the perſons to whom paid.

Mr. *Tierney* moved, that a certain number of copies of the account preſented from the Exchequer, be printed for the uſe of the members.—Ordered.

The report of the Committee on the Scotch Militia amended bill, was brought up by Mr. W. Dundas, and ordered to be received the next day.

The Foreign Proteſtant Officers' Regiment bill paſſed through the Committee, with one amendment, and the report was ordered to be received the next day.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* brought up the bill for raiſing three millions on Exchequer bills, for the ſervice of the year 1798; which was read a firſt time, and ordered to be read a ſecond time the next day.

Mr. *Lubbock* preſented a petition from the South Sea Company.—Ordered to lie on the table.

The other orders of the day were diſpoſed of, after which the Houſe adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

THURSDAY, *Dec.* 14.

The Scotch Diſtillery bill was read a third time, and paſſed.

On motion of Mr. Manning, leave was given to bring in a bill for erecting Wet Docks, on the plan propoſed by the Merchants of London.

On motion of Sir William Dolben, leave was given to bring in a bill for regulating the carrying of Slaves.

ASSESSED TAXES.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* moved, that the bill for raiſing a ſum for the ſupplies of the year, by an increaſed aſſeſſment of taxes, be read a ſecond time.

Mr. *Wigley*

Mr. *Wigley* ſaid, he would not ſuffer the bill to be read a ſecond time, without ſuch oppoſition as he was able to give it. He had entertained hopes that the buſineſs would have been taken up by other Gentlemen more qualified to do it juſtice, and to ſhew how fallacious the ſtatements of the Chancellor of the Exchequer had been; but ſeeing that the queſtion was about to be put without meeting the oppoſition he had expected, he would not ſo far abandon his duty as to give a ſilent negative, but would ſtate to the Houſe ſome of the objections to it that aroſe in his mind. The Houſe would remember that at the opening of the ſeſſion, the ſpeech from the throne, (which muſt be conſidered as the ſpeech of the Miniſter,) ſtated that the reſources of the country were ample, yet the preſent meaſure went the length of ſaying, in contradiction to that ſpeech, that the funding reſource was exhauſted, and that to avoid laying a greater weight upon it than it would bear, the people muſt ſubmit to a novel, unprecedented, vexatious, and to ſome claſſes, oppreſſive mode of taxation. As the voice of the country was now very loud againſt it, he had entertained ſome hopes that the Miniſter would have abandoned it, and thought of ſome means of a better kind; but ſorry he was to find that it was the right honourable Gentleman's intention obſtinately to perſiſt in a meaſure ſo impolitic and unjuſt, which bore entirely on the middling ranks of the people, inaſmuch as the lower and the higher were entirely exempted from it. [*Mr. Wigley was interrupted by a burſt of applauſe and clapping of hands in the lobby, with a cry of "Clear the lobby," occaſioned by Mr. Fox's paſſing through to the houſe.*] Mr. Wigley then proceeded and ſaid, that as the Chancellor of the Exchequer ſeemed to be puſhing forward blindly in the dark, and not to be aware of the true circumſtances of the people, and their means of making the tax effectual by paying it, he earneſtly exhorted the Houſe, before they ſo far pledged themſelves to the principle of the bill by agreeing to its being read a ſecond time, to call the collectors of the revenue before the Houſe, in order to their being examined at the bar. Their report, he was ſure, would induce the right honourable Gentleman to pauſe, and to abandon the ſcheme altogether.

Mr. *Henry Thornton* ſaid, that he had received the particular and unanimous inſtructions of his conſtituents to oppoſe the bill; at a meeting which was held by them for that purpoſe, not only the particular proviſions, exemptions, and modifications

modifications of the bill, but the principle alſo were unanimouſly condemned. Were he to ſpeak merely his own ſentiments, he ſhould wiſh the bill to go to a Committee, in order to ſee how far it might be new-modelled, and rendered more palatable to all claſſes of people; but in their inſtructions, his conſtituents had been ſo earneſt and unanimous, that he muſt give the motion a decided negative. He however wiſhed that a longer time was given for conſidering it; it would become the Chancellor of the Exchequer to allow that delay, and equally become the repreſentatives of the people to conſult their conſtituents, and ſee how the various proviſions of the bill would be found to affect and bear upon the different claſſes which fell under them. It would, at the ſame, be neceſſary for him to inform the Houſe, that the greater part of his conſtituents, and all he converſed with, and he would alſo ſay the ſame for himſelf, were diſpoſed to pay the moſt liberal contribution, if it were only laid equally in proportion to the power of bearing it; but he much feared the preſent bill would not anſwer that deſcription. He had heard, and he believed it was generally underſtood, that the men of property through the country were warm and zealous to come forward with liberal contributions to ſupport the war, if meaſures were taken to diffuſe the tax ſo equally as that none ſhould be left out. From the obſervations he had been able to make, he could not help thinking that the bill was in ſome reſpect miſunderſtood by the people, for while he and his right honourable friend conſidered the bill, taking the aſſeſſed taxes only as the means of judging where the new tax ought to be laid, they conſidered it as a tax upon the articles which were aſſeſſed, and had therefore come to a reſolution to diſcontinue their uſe, or at leaſt diminiſh their conſumption. The circumſtance of ſo many watchmakers and coachmakers being put out of employment ſhould ſuggeſt to the miniſter the neceſſity of conſidering how far the tax might induce the people to abandon the uſe of thoſe articles. It was true the tax might, notwithſtanding the general diminution of conſumption, be made productive to the eſtimated amount for one year, but the next year it would be impoſſible to counteract their effects, for they would then be entitled to exemption, ſo that in that way the tax would, he feared, be found not to conduce to the end in view, for the exemptions would be ſo numerous that a far greater part of the tax would be done away. Thoſe were his ſentiments upon the meaſure as it now ſtood, and as he thought there exiſted leſs exceptionable means of accompliſhing the end propoſed, he earneſtly

earneſtly wiſhed the bill might be poſtponed to ſearch for thoſe means, and take them into conſideration. On the great fundamental principle of the bill he completely coincided with the Chanceller of the Exchequer, for he felt, and was convinced of the great advantage of raiſing a large ſum within the year; and was ſo firmly and alternately decided on that point, that if he thought there was no other method of accompliſhing it but that now under conſideration, he would adopt it without further heſitation. He concluded with ſaying, that if the bill ſhould go to a Committee he would contribute his utmoſt endeavours to its modifications and improvement.

Mr. *Yorke* ſaid, that as he conceived this to be by far the moſt important meaſure he had ever been witneſs to in Parliament, he ſhould think he had deſerted his duty if he declined to offer the Houſe his ſentiments upon it. From the firſt moment that he had been able to reflect on any political ſubject he had adopted the opinion laid down in an old book, that it was his duty and the duty of every man, to do every thing that could tend to "abate the pride, to aſſuage the malice, and to confound the devices of our enemies." In the true ſpirit of this old principle, he ſaid, he had ſupported Miniſters, being convinced in his conſcience, from the outſet of the conteſt, that the war was juſt, neceſſary and unavoidable, and that we had nothing left for us to do with an enemy that ſought our utter deſtruction, but to grapple and fight it out manfully. He ſaid he felt as much as any man, in or out of that houſe, the burthens of the people, and as much as any man did he wiſh to leſſen them. But the preſent was a conteſt in which a leſſer evil muſt be endured in order to avoid a greater, and in which every man who had any property was called upon to contribute a ſhare of it to the defence of the country. For his own part he was willing to pay the laſt ſhilling he was worth, and ſhed the laſt drop of his blood to defend the country againſt the deſigns of France. At this ſtage of the buſineſs he conceived the Houſe had only to conſider the queſtion of principle, and could not regularly enter into a diſcuſſion of the particular proviſions and various modifications, which, when they came into a Committee, might yet render the bill palatable and effectual. In his opinion the bill muſt paſs in ſome ſhape or other, if they hoped for national ſecurity; for if the ſtate of the funds made it neceſſary to raiſe a large proportion of the ſupplies within the year, every poſſible effort ſhould be made to raiſe it. It was, however, ſaid it would be extremely burthenſome; this he would not deny, but in return would put it to the houſe, whether it were better to endure that burthen for the defence of their property, or wait till the

the French came to take it by force out of their pockets, and annihilate their commerce, the ſoul ſource of their proſperity. He was extremely happy to ſee the honourable Gentlemen oppoſite in their places, who had been for ſome time abſent; and more particularly the right honourable Gentleman (Mr. Fox) whoſe talents he had every reaſon to admire; to him and his friends he looked up for an opinion; and if they objected to the preſent bill, he truſted that they would point out other means that would be leſs objectionable, and more advantageous to the country. They certainly had enjoyed ſufficient time to ſtudy the general hiſtory of Europe, and they muſt have had many opportunities to learn the ſituation of the country and the reſources which ſtill offered the moſt ſatisfactory proſpects? He therefore hoped that the reſult of their enquiries would be laid before the Houſe. The principal objection to increaſing the aſſeſſed taxes, ſeemed to be that the plan required a declaration of property, and did not at the ſame time tax property equally; yet what was not a little extraordinary, the perſons who made that objection, forgot that it was impoſſible to tax property, unleſs ſome diſcloſure of property took place. He was, therefore, upon every poſſible review that he had been able to take of the ſubject in its various relations, convinced that the beſt mode of proceeding would be to agree to the ſecond reading of the bill, for the purpoſe of going into a Committee on it, and aſcertaining the different modifications which the nature of the caſe might require. He concluded with reprobating, as unconſtitutional, the doctrine of members of Parliament being guided by the inſtructions of their conſtituents.

Mr. *J. Nicholl* ſaid, he felt with increaſed force the objections he had from the very beginning urged againſt the meaſure; he ſtill retained the opinion that it was neither expedient nor juſt; and he thought that he need not repeat the reaſons he had given for thinking ſo, as they muſt have occurred to every one, and had on a former occaſion been ſubmitted by him to the conſideration of the Houſe: in fact the taxation propoſed ſtopt ſhort where it ought to begin, that is to ſay, at wealth and opulence, leaving the greater part of the weight upon the middle claſſes, who were leaſt able to ſupport it. He would not ſcruple to aſſert, that it was the moſt unwiſe, unjuſt, impolitic and cruel meaſure that he had ever known or heard of being propounded in that Houſe. It would be not only oppreſſive in its operation, but ineffectual to its propoſed end; it would not only cruſh and grind the people, but deſtroy the revenue by leſſening the conſumption of taxable commodities, and diminiſhing the quantity of productive labour, and of the materials

uſed in it. So far from relieving or aiding the funds, it would give them a fatal wound, by taking away the ſource from which the intereſt of the funds was ſupplied, and rendering it impoſſible to pay the dividends. But this was not all---the plan was not only unneceſſary and inexpedient, but abſolutely impracticable---he was confident it was impracticable. Every body was convinced it was impoſſible to raiſe the money in the way propoſed; the Chancellor of the Exchequer himſelf knew it was impracticable---yes, he would repeat it, the Chancellor of the Exchequer was in his heart and conſcience convinced that the money could not be raiſed in that way: and if the Houſe had a doubt of it, or the right honourable Gentleman was willing to ſtand the teſt of an enquiry into the truth, the matter could be eaſily aſcertained, by calling the collectors of the aſſeſſed taxes before the Houſe, and examining them to the point at the bar. The war had been pronounced by an honourable Gentleman to be juſt and neceſſary: ſo was the war againſt the Dutch in the time of Charles II.—To that *juſt and neceſſary war*, the Britiſh Government was inſtigated by a bribe from the French King; yet the parliament at that time in its complaiſance to the court, pronounced it to be *a juſt and neceſſary war*. Such too was the American war, which after having diſgraced this country, abridged its empire, exhauſted its finances, and loaded it with above an hundred millions of debt, was at laſt brought to a termination by the manly exertions and irreſiſtible eloquence of the right honourable Gentleman (Mr. Fox) whom he now with unfeigned ſatisfaction to himſelf, and congratulation to the Houſe, and to the country ſaw once more in his place. It muſt indeed be a ſubject of joy and a ſource of hope to the country, and ſo far the dangerous and extravagant meaſure of the Miniſter was of uſe, that it had called back again to public buſineſs and reſtored to the people the great advocate of their cauſe, he who had ſo long been the firm barrier againſt the corruption of the Court, and the improbity of Miniſters, and the indefatigable and ſucceſsful guardian of the country's rights. As that right honourable Gentleman had been in the hand of Heaven the inſtrument of terminating that impolitic, cruel, unjuſt, and unneceſſary war, ſo it was to be hoped he would be the means of bringing this more impolitic, more cruel, more unjuſt, and more unneceſſary war to a termination, of which it was too evident the right honourable Gentleman was diſinclined. He knew he was averſe to peace, he knew thoſe who miſguided him were determined to carry on the war for ever; he was ſorry that he was ſtill under the ſame baleful influence that miſled his youth, and perverted the

principles

principles derived even from his birth, and inculcated by his education; for until influence over the right honourable Gentleman, or his influence over the country was at an end, the nation might in vain hope for the bleſſings of peace. The nation, he ſaid, were, in a few days, to offer up, in a ſolemn and public form, thankſgiving to God for the bleſſing he had vouchſafed them in the victory gained by Admiral Duncan. A great bleſſing, and a moſt important and fortunate occurrence for this country, no doubt that victory was, ſince it diſabled the enemy from attempting an invaſion; but they had now to offer up their thanks to Providence for the incomparably greater bleſſing, that the people were at laſt awaking from their deluſion, and becoming ſenſible of the danger and difficulty in which a criminal abuſe of the miſplaced confidence they repoſed in the Miniſter had involved them. As to the preſent meaſure, added he, I repeat it, it will be impracticable; it will be fruitleſs and inoperative; it *cannot* paſs; I ſay it *cannot*—I beg pardon, I forget where I am, it *ought* not to paſs; and I cannot be perſuaded that the Chancellor of the Exchequer ſeriouſly intends to perſiſt in it.

Lord *Hawkeſbury* ſaid, that he ſhould not reply to the multitude of extraneous matter, nor to the declamatory topics gone through by the laſt ſpeaker; certainly they were no way connected with the preſent queſtion. Whether the war was juſt and neceſſary was not now the ſubject of enquiry; that queſtion had heretofore been frequently diſcuſſed, and the Houſe had this ſeſſion come to an unanimous deciſion upon the late negotiation. If there were any who entertained a different opinion, then was the time when they ſhould have come forwards and ſtated that opinion. But he had unqueſtionably a right to ſay, that the Houſe came to an unanimous opinion until that vote hereafter ſhould be reagitated; he ſhould therefore aſſume it as a right, that the Houſe voted unanimouſly upon that queſtion. He would not attempt to follow the honourable Gentleman through the devious track purſued by him in his ſpeech, but advert to a few points. He had alluded to an honourable Gentleman whom he characteriſed as having finiſhed the American war; this was indeed new, quite new to the Houſe, for it was a fact evident, public, and notorious, not only that that Gentleman did not finiſh the American war, but alſo condemned very highly the peace when concluded. But leaving that, he would directly come to the queſtion before the Houſe, and at once go into the conſideration of the general principle of the Bill; for the details, as an honourable Gentleman had rightly obſerved, would be properly diſ-

cuſſed in the Committee. He was aware that many attempts had been made to abuſe the people with reſpect to the nature and conſequences of the meaſure, and he believed that many friends of Government had deceived themſelves with imaginary evils, and apprehended improbable and unfounded conſequences would reſult from the meaſure. When he conſidered what the nature of this Bill was, when he looked on its deſcription and ſaw that, in the whole range of its operation, it affected leſs than 800,000 perſons, an inconſiderable part of the population of the country, and that out of 800,000 even 400,000 were but lightly affected, as not paying above 1l. to the preſent aſſeſſed taxes, he would aſk the Houſe, if a loan was raiſed by the ordinary mode, and proviſions made for the payment of the intereſt by duties on articles of conſumption, as tea, ſugar, tobacco, &c. whether in that caſe the burden would not be heavier than it would in the preſent, and with this material difference, that the one is only a temporary weight, and the other would remain a permanent burden? The duties would fall three times higher upon the lower claſſes than they would by this bill.

With reſpect to the higher claſſes, it was a queſtion whether they did not begin too low; but with reſpect to the great body of the people, it would not preſs heavier upon them than it would in the caſe of providing intereſt for a loan, in the ordinary manner. But it had alſo been ſaid that the lower orders, though not taxed, would ſuffer indirectly through the deſtruction of commerce. Perſons in conſidering this part of the queſtion often confound two things totally diſtinct in themſelves, particularly trades and general commerce. It may be very true that under any particular operation of finance a particular branch of trade may ſuffer diminution or decay, and, in ſuch a caſe, where relief can be afforded, moſt unqueſtionably it ought to be afforded. It was impoſſible to deviſe any ſyſtem which might not bear harder upon any one particular branch than another; but if the general commerce remained untouched, he was ſurpriſed how any men could reaſon ſo negligently, eſpecially where connected with another argument which they uſed, that commercial capital was not to be aſcertained. The queſtion therefore reſolved itſelf ſimply into this, whether, if commercial capital was untouched, general commerce was crippled or diminiſhed, whatever might be the effect upon a particular trade?

There were ſome other obſervations which would apply. He knew there had a diſtinction been taken between productive and unproductive labour; and it was a queſtion whether the operation of this tax might not benefit the public by turning unpro-

unproductive into productive labour? This brought him to a conſideration of the principles of all taxation. Taxes muſt bear upon either neceſſaries or luxuries, or upon articles partaking the nature of both. The orders of men were, the poor conſuming the neceſſaries, the rich conſuming alſo the luxuries, and the middle ranks, or poorer gentry, who uſed the articles of the middle claſs. It was the policy of taxation to impoſe no burden, or but a ſmall one, upon the poor; and from the articles of luxury alone conſumed by the rich there could not be ſufficient collected for the purpoſes of revenue; it muſt therefore fall upon the middle claſſes of life, the poorer gentry muſt feel it; the objection conſequently did not apply to this Bill excluclusively, but to every ſyſtem of taxation.

Other topics had been introduced in the courſe of the diſcuſſion of this meaſure, particularly the funded ſyſtem. He was of opinion that the funded ſyſtem was a great inſtrument of the wealth and power of this country. It was a diſcovery attended with the moſt beneficial conſequences, and producing the happieſt effects. Whatever inconveniences had ariſen from it would have been totally defeated, had the ſame wiſe meaſure been purſued in the days of our anceſtors, which had been introduced by his honourable Friend, that of appropriating a ſmall ſinking fund for liquidating the debt in a certain ſpace. But to preſerve the benefits of that ſyſtem it muſt be confined within certain bounds; and this he underſtood to be the plan of his honourable Friend. He did not conceive that he intended to abandon that ſyſtem, but merely to hold it as a reſource which he might avail himſelf of, and which others in future might avail themſelves of, to ſupport the honour, the glory, or the intereſts of the country. He wiſhed to impreſs the Houſe, that nothing could give a deeper wound to the proſperity of the country, or more effectually deſtroy private and individual comfort, than any diſaſter to the funded ſyſtem. The queſtion therefore was, whether we would ſubmit to temporary inconveniences to keep up that which had hitherto ſupported the power and wealth of the country? He was ſatisfied, upon all the reflection and conſideration which he had given it, that the beſt mode was, by raiſing a conſiderable part of the ſupply within the year itſelf; that was the beſt for the public, and muſt, of courſe, be eventually beſt for the individual. It would not preſs too heavy upon the great maſs; and if there were particular caſes in which it did ſo, it did not follow that there was no remedy. In any caſe, by the propoſed modifications, it could not exceed one-tenth. There was another argument thrown out, that it applied againſt the principles of

taxation

taxation more than againſt this meaſure. It was ſaid, that the tax, when paid upon conſumption, was concealed from the conſumer; but when it was a large ſum, ſurely he had better know its amount, that he might make the neceſſary arrangements to provide for it. From theſe obſervations he had been induced to think there was nothing objectionable in the principle, and therefore he ſhould ſupport the Bill's going into a Committee.

Alderman *Luſhington* ſaid, that he meant to oppoſe the ſecond reading of the Bill, if the right honourable Gentleman would not promiſe to modify it anew, not on account of the principle, but becauſe he was perſuaded that, when the blanks ſhould be filled up, it would operate with great ſeverity and oppreſſion againſt the lower claſſes of people. He avowed that he felt the neceſſity of ſupporting the proſecution of the war with a liberal ſupply but at the ſame time he felt it to be his duty, when he ſaw a meaſure of dangerous and injurious tendency brought forward, as he conceived to be the caſe of the preſent, to reſiſt it with his negative, and to give his reaſons for ſo doing. He declared that he was free from all partialities in public affairs, and free from any part of that ſuppoſed deluſion which had been hinted by an honourable Gentleman on the oppoſite ſide (Mr. Nicholls); and he hoped that what he had to ſay would not be diſtorted or wreſted from its true meaning, or a meaning attributed to him different from the ſentiments he ſhould deliver. Throughout the war he had concurred with Miniſters; ſince he had had a ſeat in the Houſe he had ſupported them; and before he had attained that honour he had with the utmoſt zeal endeavoured to impreſs upon the minds of the people a full ſenſe of the neceſſity to repreſs the attempts of the French Revolutioniſts to infuſe their dangerous principles into the boſoms of Engliſhmen, and to meet every attack or approach of that people, whoſe intention it was to ſtrike at the very root of the exiſtence of this country. The preſent Bill was intended to make proviſions for this purpoſe, and, in his opinion, very properly, by raiſing a large ſum in the courſe of the year to lighten the weight of the funds and keep them more clear for emergencies. On the other hand, an honourable Gentleman (Mr. Nicholls) had inſiſted that recourſe ſhould be had to the funded ſyſtem, but at the ſame time very inconſiſtently ſpoke as if he deſired to let down the reputation of the funds. In political œconomy luxury was in ordinary caſes the true object of taxation, but in extraordinary circumſtances it might be neceſſary to have recourſe to extraordinary expedients. If in the Conſtitution of the State a novel criſis occurred,

curred, and that criſis appeared to be dangerous, was it not prudent to meet it with novelty of ſyſtem? In this way he conceived the principle of the preſent meaſure was juſtified; but at the ſame time great caution and diſcretion were required in carrying the principle into practice, and accommodating it to the infinite variety of circumſtances it might in its courſe involve. The peculiar policy of the preſent time, in his opinion, ſuggeſted that the ſtaff of the country was in the claſs called the lower; they were happy in the protection they found, and bleſſed that Conſtitution which at once ſupplied them with, and ſecured to them the comforts they enjoyed: but if thoſe little enjoyments were taken away, and their comforts were contracted and limited, they would ceaſe to bleſs, and though he was convinced of the general honeſty, fidelity, and ſincerity of the hearts and diſpoſition of Engliſhmen, he ſhould be unwilling to provoke human nature by too ſevere a trial. He therefore hoped, that if the Bill went to a Committee, the right honourable Gentleman would introduce ſuch modifications as would ſhew the People that the burthen of the tax would fall in proportion to the property of the perſon taxed; becauſe, if ever there was a war in which it was peculiarly incumbent on property to come forward, it was the preſent; indeed he was happy to have good reaſon to believe that this would be the caſe, and that univerſally the men of large property were diſpoſed to come forward liberally. Thoſe were certainly wrong who held that it was not pecuniary income but expenditure that ſhould be taken as the criterion of the tax; for if a tenth, that is to ſay, 20l. a year were taken from 200l. it robbed the perſon of all the comforts, but if a tenth, *i. e.* 500l. a year, were taken from 5000l. it would only deprive the perſon of a ſuperfluity, perhaps of two horſes and two ſervants. As to the general reſources and radical ſtrength of the country, they were in a ſtate that would bid defiance to any thing but the moſt groſs and ſtupid miſmanagement. In point of wealth and metalic ſpecie we are above all nations, and our commercial ballance was more than would repay all the expences of the war, for at this very moment we were enriching ourſelves by all the nations in the world. He confeſſed that he was inſtructed to reſiſt the principle of the Bill; but he for his own part held the principle to be good, and ſhould continue of opinion, that until the ambition of France was conſiderably abated we muſt do every thing to check her, or elſe fall a ſacrifice to her monſtrous deſigns.

Mr. *Sheridan* ſaid, in ſubſtance as follows: Sir, when any ſtranger, or perſon who has been a long time abſent, firſt enters

ters a houſe of any eſtabliſhment, it is the ordinary cuſtom for the maſter of the houſe to do the ceremonies of the place, and welcome him on his arrival with ſome expreſſion of pleaſure or politeneſs, as a mark of hoſpitality. In this Houſe, I know, Sir, there can be no maſter—but if there were any, I am ſure it is not the honourable Gentleman (Mr. Yorke) who has ſo taken upon himſelf, with ſuch officious kindneſs, to act that part, and hail, with compliments ſo truly worthy of himſelf, the arrival of my right honourable Friend and myſelf. I cannot help thanking the honourable Gentleman for his politeneſs, though I cannot but acknowledge my gratitude would be of a warmer kind, if the honourable Gentleman had not, under form of predicting, taken upon him to preſcribe what ought to be our conduct now that we have come. Whether we were or were not right in abſenting ourſelves, is a queſtion, which, as was well remarked, in one of the daily papers, cannot very properly come before the Houſe, but is to reſt with our conſciences and feelings, and to be canvaſſed only by ourſelves and our conſtituents. However, Sir, when we did come down laſt Tueſday, with full expectation to find a full Senate arrayed, anxiouſly hearing the diſcuſſion of this very important and momentous queſtion, with the right honourable Gentleman and his faithful friends and colleagues ſeated in their places, I found, not leſs to my ſurprize than diſappointment, that only thirty-ſix Members were then preſent, and that the Houſe and the buſineſs was to be adjourned over to a future day, for want of a ſufficient number to conſtitute a Houſe. The leſs, therefore, that is ſaid upon Gentlemens *abſenting* themſelves, the better; I will therefore drop the ſorry ſubject, and apply myſelf to ſuperior matter.

My honourable Friend (Mr. Nicholl) has been rebuked for introducing the queſtion, whether the war was undertaken from neceſſity, and for calling it *bellum internecinum*, while it was manifeſt from the proceedings of his Majeſty's Miniſters, if it were to be judged of by their conduct with reſpect to France, that it could not be called by a more appropriate name. The noble Lord who has taken upon himſelf the taſk of rebuking my honourable Friend, has ſaid, that if any one differed from the opinion reſpecting the expediency and neceſſity of war, which had been ſo unanimouſly declared by the Houſe; or choſe to give an opinion in contradiction to the unanimous Reſolution of the Houſe, he would have done it better by introducing it in the ſhape of a new queſtion. Now, without diſputing the noble Lord's authority in this particular rule, I muſt take the liberty of denying the propriety of his application

of

of it; for, according to my notions of the long eſtabliſhed privileges of the Houſe of Commons of England, it is one of their leading rights, whenever they *Give and Grant*, to reviſe every part of the conduct of the Miniſters to whom they have entruſted, or are about to entruſt, the diſpoſal and expenditure of the public treaſure. And, if this privilege exiſts in us, ſhall we, Sir, be barred of it by the management of his Majeſty's Miniſters, coming forward on the firſt day of the Seſſion, and, with a trick entrapping the Houſe into an addreſs unanimouſly declaratory of their approbation of thoſe very Miniſters? I fancy not; for, if there be a time when, more than at any other, the good ſenſe and feeling of the people ought to be appealed to, it is when we put our hands into their pockets.

I will not now, Sir, enter into a diſcuſſion of the queſtion, whether the war was juſt, wiſe, or neceſſary; or unneceſſary, impolitic, and wicked; for I hope to ſee the day, and that not a very diſtant one, when it will undergo full conſideration—but in the mean time I hope it will not, on the other ſide, be inſiſted that Peace is unattainable, and that we ſhall, on our part, be prevented from objecting that the war is unneceſſary. An honourable Gentleman on the other ſide has put the queſtion, Whether we will rather carry this meaſure through the Houſe, and ſubmit to its proviſions, or leave it to the French to tear the money from our pockets? If, indeed, Sir, this were the truth, and this the only alternative, I do hope, and I muſt ſincerely believe, there is not a man in this Houſe, or in this country, let the Miniſter be who he would, that would heſitate to ſupport him in the proſecution of the war with purſe, hand, and heart. If there be any who would refuſe, in ſuch a cauſe, to expend the laſt ſhilling of his property, and ſhed the laſt drop of his blood, he is not to be found among thoſe who, from the beginning, have oppoſed the war, as equally abſurd and unjuſt. If France looks for friends and abbetters here, they muſt look among the ſlaves who bow to power, and barter their principles for their private advantage, and not among the real friends of freedom.

But here, Sir, let me be indulged in a few obſervations reſpecting the ſincerity of his Majeſty's Miniſters in their attempts at negotiation. For my part, when I look at the heap of papers that have been laid before the Houſe on that ſubject, I can diſcover nothing in them but a trial of diplomatic ſkill, a conteſt of dexterity, who ſhould beſt ſucceed in avoiding the imputation of duplicity, and moſt ſpeciouſly impoſe on the credulity, and fruſtrate the expectations of Europe. Indeed it is my opinion that both parties were

equally indiſpoſed to peace. But admitting that ſuch was the diſpoſition of the French government; admitting that the French Directory have behaved inſultingly towards our Ambaſſador; admitting that the whole of the French nation entertain an inveterate hatred and rancorous hoſtility againſt us, and that they are actuated by the ſame hoſtile reſolution of aiming at our deſtruction; muſt I therefore ſubmit to the inference, that becauſe pacific offers have been made and rejected, and becauſe Miniſters and their plenipotentiary repreſentative have been diſreſpectfully treated by the French government, Miniſters are now to ſtand proudly erect, and imperiouſly to demand the general concurrence of all thoſe who firſt had thought proper to condemn and oppoſe their meaſures? That I and my friends have frequently urged the propriety of making ſpecific propoſitions to the enemy; that we have alſo pledged ourſelves, ſhould the enemy perſevere in an obſtinate refuſal to liſten to reaſonable and adequate conditions, that we would ſupport even the preſent Adminiſtration, I am ready to confeſs; but that ſupport it was our intention to afford them only as long as we thought it poſſible that ſuch Miniſters might yet obtain a peace. That ſupport we were diſpoſed to lend them while our efforts were as yet ſeconded by powerful allies, and before the French nation had graſped at and attained their preſent enormous power; that pledge and promiſe were given while the Bank of England was yet in credit, and while the public faith remained inviolate. But from theſe propoſitions of peace, and from theſe pledges of ſupport to the preſent Miniſters, we deſiſted laſt ſeſſions; circumſtances compelled us to adopt a contrary conduct, inſtead of pledging ourſelves any longer to countenance the meaſures of Miniſters, an honourable friend of mine, a worthy Alderman, (Mr. Combe) brought forward a motion for an addreſs to his Majeſty, humbly beſeeching him to remove his preſent Miniſters; and repreſenting to his Majeſty that under their auſpices the attainment of peace was impoſſible, for that inſtead of accelerating the return, they on the contrary ſtood directly in the way of peace; or as the worthy Alderman then very happily expreſſed it, that the bleſſings of peace and the bleſſings of the preſent Miniſtry were wholly incompatible; yet after this direct avowal of our total diſtruſt of their conduct, they now come forward and tell us that we muſt ſtill give them our ſupport; that Parliament is ſtill to countenance and defend the meaſures of the right honourable Gentleman, when in reality the only countenance he looks for, is, that we defend his exiſtence in adminiſtration;

tion; he who has broke the Bank and ruined the public credit, though it was his proud boaſt that his exiſtence in power, and that of the proſperity of our finances, were involved in one and the ſame fate.

Nor am I backward, Sir, alſo to declare, that it is not to curb the ambition of the enemy, or to fruſtrate the views of French aggrandiſement, that the war is now continued. The war, Sir, is continued for the ſole purpoſe of keeping nine worthleſs Miniſters in their places. When I profeſs this to be my opinion, I by no means intend any thing perſonally diſreſpectful to them; their public conduct is all that I impeach, and the calamities that redound from it to the country. Indeed I feel and know it, that as long as they remain in their preſent ſentiments, there is no poſſibility of their obtaining peace; and thoſe of them who poſſeſs a ſound and ſincere underſtanding, muſt be as ſenſible of this their inability as I am. Why then will they perſevere in a mercenary preference of their own intereſts to thoſe of their country, convinced as they muſt be that the principles they have acted on and which they ſtill avow, muſt effectually prevent them from negotiating with ſucceſs? And how is it poſſible they ſhould ever treat with ſucceſs, while they continue ſolemnly to hold out to the country that the enjoyment of all that is dear to it, and that the exiſtence of the Britiſh conſtitution, are inconſiſtent with the exiſtence of the French Republic? That with the principles on which that Republic is founded, none of the old-eſtabliſhed forms and inſtitutions of Europe, in a word, the order of the civilized world, cannot be reconciled? That with a power ſo principled and diſpoſed, they will accede to no terms, unleſs they be driven to it by the laſt extremity? From this unwiſe and inadvertent declaration, what will be the concluſion which the French government muſt naturally draw? Why, that when we attempt a negotiation, we do ſo only becauſe we are reduced to the laſt extremity, as we were prepared to make every ſacrifice ſooner than attempt it. On the effects of ſuch a concluſion I muſt beg the Houſe ſeriouſly to reflect. But what was the obſtacle, the *ſine qua non*, which impeded the progreſs, and finally broke off the firſt negociation? The obſtacle publicly held out was the poſſeſſion of Belgium by the French. As long as France continued in poſſeſſion of that country, it was impoſſible to think of peace; not, however, that we deemed it neceſſary for the Emperor, but rather for ourſelves. We next gave in a project of our own; and we ſtill continued to contend that

the war originated in aggreſſion on the part of the French. But here I muſt beg leave to ſay that the drift of our own arguments, and the principles upon which we have proceeded, would prove the aggreſſion to be on our ſide. For after the repeated avowal of the high-minded principles upon which the right honourable Gentleman entered into the war, and upon which his new allies are diſpoſed to continue it, would they now ſay that they never would have intermeddled in the affairs of France, unleſs France had directly attacked us? If ſo, then what becomes of the proud cauſe in which we thought ourſelves to be engaged, the cauſe of religion, of humanity, of morality; the defence of civil rights and of regular governments? The principles of the French Republic are ſtill ſaid to be inimical to this cauſe, and againſt ſuch principles we muſt all concur in continuing the war. Then England muſt appear to be the aggreſſor, whether we perſevere in the conteſt from the magnanimity of theſe principles, or from ſome other leſs glorious motive.

When then may we now expect to treat? If religion, morality, civilized government, &c. &c. invaluable objects, no doubt, are to be no longer contended for; if religion was to be counterbalanced by a barren baiting-place, morality to find an equivalent in a ſpice iſland, and a rocky and ſandy ſpot was to be looked upon as a ſufficient compenſation for the intereſts of civil ſociety? Are we to perſiſt in the war for the poſſeſſion of the Cape of Good Hope, the iſlands of Ceylon and Trincomale; and are theſe the fair prizes to which we aſpire, and to which the boaſted defence of religion morality, &c. muſt be ſacrificed? Muſt we then for all our indemnities fall foul on our allies, and the conceſſions we contend for, be torn from the Dutch? If we perſiſt in theſe demands, and the French continue to reject them, what then will remain to be done? Muſt we again rear the ſtandard of morality and religion? Is it then we are told that we muſt fight manfully? Would it not be better that thoſe who would have us fight manfully, ſhould manfully give up their places? But it was his (Mr. Sheridan's) opinion, that there were no nine men in the whole country, ſave and except his Majeſty's preſent Miniſters, that could not make peace with France. Nor was there, did he believe, any one man whom his Majeſty might at any time meet in his journey from Windſor to London, that would not be able to make peace with the French Republic, which the preſent Miniſters, with all their experience, could not accompliſh. He ſhould

not

not have mentioned the ſubject of negociation ſo particularly but that he conceived he poſſeſſed a right, in conjunction with his honourable friend, and thoſe few uncorrupt men who ſupported them, to ſay in expreſs terms that they did not accede to the boaſted unanimity of the Houſe, with reſpect to the proceedings of the negociation. And by what means do Miniſters endeavour to reconcile us to this hopeleſs conteſt? By craftily ſetting up our pride againſt our intereſt. By aſking us, are we not ready to ſpend our laſt ſhilling, and the laſt drop of our blood, ſooner than permit the enemy to dictate to us the choice of our Miniſters? This betrays only mean and little craft, and no foundneſs of judgment. Have not Miniſters themſelves endeavoured to dictate to France the mode of government it ſhould adopt? Have they even contented themſelves with preſcribing the principles it ſhould act on? Have they not, moreover, inſiſted on their choice of perſons and of forms? That ſuch was their intention appears from no leſs an authority than his Majeſty's ſpeech, wherein Parliament is told that when ſuch an order of things is eſtabliſhed in France, as may enable their government to maintain the uſual relations of peace and amity, then he would have no objection to treat with them. Is not this dictating to France the form of government ſhe ſhould embrace; and has not the Directory a right to retort upon us, and ſay that until we adopt the form of government they chuſe to preſcribe, France will continue in her hoſtility to England; and there can be no ſolid and ſecure peace between the two nations, but at beſt an hollow truce, a mere ſuſpenſion of arms? In this opinion my honourable friend (Mr. Windham), if ſo I may preſume to call him, muſt undoubtedly acquieſce; for according to him a peace with France, while France continues to act on her preſent principles, would be far worſe than any thing that may ariſe from the continuance of the war. He was afflicted with the moſt dreadful bodings of the diſmal effects of pacification. He was ſtruck with terror at the thought of witneſſing the introduction of French principles into this country, and of ſeeing the tri-coloured cockade worn here; but if any judgment could be formed from the tone which he had aſſumed after the rupture of the laſt negociation, it was to be inferred, and indeed it was evident, that he rejoiced peace was not made. He would even put the queſtion to him (Mr. Windham) whether it was not a matter of ſincere joy to him, for the ſake of poliſhed ſociety, and the ſafety of regular government,

vernment, religion, and morality, that peace had not been concluded?

The people, we are told, muſt now ſubmit to great burthens, and theſe burthens ſhould fall where property is great. But when they are called on to ſubmit to great burthens, in my opinion they ſhould have great examples to encourage them. They are told your private intereſt is nothing, the the public intereſt muſt be all to you. But with what face can this language be held to them, either by the right honourable Gentleman or his new converts? For is there a man among them who has not betrayed more anxiety to ſecure his own individual job, at the expence of the country, than to contribute towards relieving the country from the burthens under which it groans? When we hear that in one office, that of the Secretary at War, the clerks have fees and perquiſites from the amount of 5000l. to 18,000l. ſome Gentlemen may treat ſuch perquiſites as mere parings of cheeſe and ends of candles, but the public muſt wonder at the immenſe ſize of this conſecrated cheeſe, and be dazzled with the light of thoſe flaming tapers that thus blaze on the altar of corruption.

As to the meaſure more immediately before the Houſe, I cannot but mark it with my ſtrongeſt diſapprobation; nor can I wait for its going into a Committee before I expreſs this my opinion of it; for no poſſible modification it can receive will be able to reconcile me to a meaſure the principle of which I abhor. It is a meaſure that argues the groſſeſt and moſt irrational violation and outrage of the regulation of all taxes; it runs foul on all the principles on which they can be raiſed; it is a penalty on œconomy, a bounty on perjury, a libel on the public ſpirit of the country, a commiſſion of bankruptcy againſt the whole commercial part of the community. To ſhew the impracticability of ſuch a meaſure, I ſhall not now detain the Houſe with any detail of argument; it ſtands ſufficiently evidenced by the reſolutions unanimouſly voted this day by the city of London, and which ſhew that it is impoſſible for a very numerous claſs of houſeholders ever to pay the tax, ſhould the propoſed mode of raiſing it be unfortunately paſſed into a law. It is a fact equally evident that they are not able to pay the taxes now impoſed upon them. Indeed when ſo large a claſs of the community are unable to contribute to the exigencies of the ſtate, we muſt be then very near the end of our reſources. But we are told it will not affect the poorer deſcriptions of the people. No aſſertion can be more unfounded.

Muſt

Muſt it not touch all thoſe profits ariſing from the luxuries in which the rich indulge? Muſt not the retrenchments of the wealthy trench on the means of ſubſiſtence of the poor? Yes, you may tell us, they are not taxed. The poor are not taxed, I allow you, but they will be ſtarved. For they muſt be ſtarved who derived their livelihood from the expences of the great, if the expences of the great are curtailed and diminiſhed. The right hon. Gentleman, in opening his new plan of finance, has talked much of economy, and has recommended retrenchment; but would not that prove a burden greater than the tax itſelf, on the lower ranks of ſociety? It had been well remarked by an hon. Gentleman, that the coach-makers, who were a numerous claſs of mechanics, had already ſuffered in a very ſevere degree from the propoſed increaſe of aſſeſſments; and if the right hon. Gentleman's plan of economy and retrenchment were followed up cloſely, the workmen would not be taxed, but ſtarved.

Numberleſs are the objections that might be urged to the principle of this bill. It goes to impoſe a tax on expenditure, and not upon property. I would agree with the right honourable Gentleman, that property ſhould be taxed, could he deviſe a criterion by which it could be accurately eſtimated. Surely he will not ſay that carriages, horſes, &c. are a perfect criterion of property. He has already admitted that they are not, and in this I alſo agree with him. Sure I am that the ultimate operation of the preſent bill muſt tend to ferret out all property; but can this end be attained without the diſcloſure of the means of individuals? He deſired it might be maturely conſidered, that a free and commercial country, like this, could give no contribution to defray the expences of the State, but optionally. The principle of the bill is alſo objectionable, becauſe it takes for granted that we could recur no more to the funded ſyſtem, and an admiſſion from the right hon. Gentleman of that kind was perhaps a dangerous one. If the meaſure were taken in the utmoſt variety of views, it could not be controverted by the moſt zealous ſupporter of it, that we were come to a forced contribution at laſt, which was to be levied upon every man in the country, with reſpect to his means. It was ſaid that the aſſeſſed taxes formed the beſt poſſible criterion to judge of property, yet the right hon. Gentleman would admit that they did not conſtitute a perfect criterion. He therefore entreated gentlemen to reflect how they involved themſelves in a perilous

a perilous criſis, by once admitting the eſtabliſhment of any criterion, for if they once came to a ſtate in which the preſent criterion ſhould not be thought a good one, means would undoubtedly be adopted to provide a better. Thus they would finally come to a complete diſcloſure of property, which would be totally deſtructive of commerce, and of the various connections and relations of trade. If ſuch a ſyſtem ſhould therefore be enforced, will it not not go to erect in every pariſh fiſcal inquiſitions to pry into the property of individuals, to aſcertain their gains or profits, and thus lay open and expoſe the improvement or decay of their circumſtances. Would not ſuch a ſyſtem prove hoſtile and fatal to all induſtry, to all trade, and cut up by the roots every ſpecies of property? Look at the bill. What does it tell you? If you are over-rated then you may appeal—and to whom? To your own neighbours and fellow-pariſhioners, if any deſcription of men can be found of ſo baſe a nature as to undertake an office ſo degrading. To what a trying ſituation muſt the perſon ſo appealing be expoſed? If the ſpies of Government ſay they doubt his word, he is then to be examined upon oath, and evidence may alſo be brought on oath to contradict his declaration. To what ſituation, I ſay, is he then reduced? Either he muſt incur the ſuſpicion of being a perjured man, ſo ſtrong are the temptations held out to him; or if he makes a fair avowal of his circumſtances, and ſays his income amounts to 200l. without taking into account the accidental circumſtances that may impair it, ſhould it come to be impaired, and that the next year it amounts but to 150l.; either he muſt appeal, and divulge the decay of his circumſtances, or he muſt hold up a falſe front, to thoſe with whom he deals, and, ſhould he fail, be accuſed of having held out falſe pretences, to have upheld his credit by fraud. If he comes forward, and makes this diſcovery of his ſituation, he is acceſſary to his own ruin, and if he ſhrinks from this diſcovery he may forfeit his character for integrity. Upon the whole, if you follow up the principle, you muſt get at the actual property. To this it muſt ultimately go; but then it will be found a mean and narrow principle, and principally ariſing from narrow prejudices. If you attempt to call on the highly opulent, whoſe income may exceed 20,cool. per annum, but who ſpend comparatively little, how are you to aſcertain the proportion they ſhould pay? It cannot be done, and if it could, the attempt would be impolitic and unjuſt. It had, on former occaſions, been ſtated to the Houſe, that perſons might retrieve and recover their affairs,

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were they not compelled to make a diſcloſure of their property, and the fact had been clearly proved by the ſequel. Exchequer aid had been extended to merchants in a needful ſituation, who were not forced to make any allegations diſcovering their property, which diſcovery would have completely prevented them from retrieving their credit, and the reſult of ſuch ſalutary aſſiſtance was, that theſe merchants were now very reputable men. He only mentioned that circumſtance to ſhew, that by paſſing the Bill the Houſe would find themſelves to get at the beſt means of aſcertaining the property of the People, and it was therefore incumbent on them to weigh maturely the danger to which they expoſed both themſelves and the intereſts of the trading part of the community. Men would be apt to ſay, "it is hard that I, who have only 2000l. a year, ſhould pay ſo much, while others, able to pay 20,000l. pay ſo little." The honourable Gentleman has ſaid, that he wiſhed he could get at the hoards of the miſer; that miſers ought not to be permitted to delight in preſſing their bags under their pillows, without coming forward with their due proportion for the protection which the ſtate gives to their treaſure. If ſuch treaſures had never been actively employed in induſtrious commerce, it might be proper to derive a reſource from them; but who would toil for an income, if they were not permitted to ſpare or expend it according to their own notions, and in the ſame ſpirit with which it was amaſſed? Such a treaſure was ſacred, and ought not to be touched. It was by capitals accumulated in this way, that a Wedgewood and an Arkwright had ſo eſſentially contributed to the rapid improvement of arts and manufactures, and had been enabled to employ and provide a livelihood for thouſands of their fellow-cretures. The revenue, it is true, depends in a great meaſure on the liberal, or rather prodigal expenditure of the opulent; but if there was permitted to be no ſaving, and all muſt ſpend to a proportionate extent, then you enforce a maxim deſtructive of the vital principle of all induſtry and proſperity. To the ſacred principle of ſaving, I cannot but profeſs myſelf a friend, though the habits of my own life have been little regulated by it; and to encroach on this ſacred principle, would be utterly to extinguiſh the ſpirit which enlivens induſtry, and from which all private and public wealth can alone be derived. However the right honourable Gentleman may be diſpoſed, from the general oppoſition with which he ſees the country receive his propoſal, to give a variety of modifications to it, there is no poſſible modification which can reconcile me to its adoption.

Mr. *Burdon* complained that the honourable Member who had juſt ſpoken, had thrown out ideas of jobs, &c. in ſuch a general way, as almoſt to include every Member who ſupported the meaſure. He, for one, did not know the perſons to whom he alluded. He avowed his own independence; he had been uniform in his Parliamentary duty, and ſhould have felt his mind unhappy had he deſerted his place when duty called him to attend. He, for one, approved of the principle of this Bill, which went to raiſe a conſiderable ſum of money within the year, nor had it been proved how money could be raiſed upon a better plan; for, as the honourable Alderman (Luſhington) had ſatisfactorily ſtated, if the whole ſum were attempted to be raiſed by a Loan, it would prove injurious to the country. He aſked how it was poſſible to raiſe ſuch a ſum without the general body feeling a conſiderable preſſure? He wiſhed to ſee various modifications introduced, and other ſtages of progreſſion; and ſuggeſted that thoſe whoſe Aſſeſſed Taxes amounted to 75l. and from thence to 100l. per annum, ſhould pay four one-half additional, and thoſe who paid above 100l. per annum, in a ſtill higher proportion, ſo as to make the tax bear as equally as poſſible upon the different ranks.

Under the circumſtances in which the country was at preſent, clamour and induſtrious miſrepreſentation ought not to induce the Houſe to ſhrink from diſcharging its duty. He mentioned inn-keepers, as a claſs of perſons among whom miſapprehenſions were formed. An inn-keeper, a widow, on the Bath road, had been told ſhe muſt pay 600l. whereas, upon a ſtatement of her income, it would probably not exceed 30 or 40l. He hoped, that when the tax was properly modified, the country would ceaſe its alarm, and that then things would return to their uſual channel, and tradeſmen (coach-makers), &c. to their uſual occupations.

Feeling, as he did, that the Miniſtry of this country were perfectly in earneſt in their late Negotiations for Peace, and that they had acted according to their duty, he thought himſelf called upon to give them his ſupport; and he had pleaſure in reflecting, that almoſt the whole country were at the time ſatisfied as to the ſteps which had been taken, although, from the ungovernable ambition of the enemy, the reſult had not been attended with the deſired ſucceſs.

Mr. Secretary *Dundas* ſaid, he would neither praiſe nor blame the conduct of thoſe Gentlemen who had withdrawn themſelves from the performance of their Parliamentary duty. He would leave that to their own conſcience, and to the opi-

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nion of their conſtituents. They certainly exerciſed a Parliamentary privilege, but he felt a little hurt that the honourable Gentleman (Mr. Sheridan) had let out all that weighed upon his mind on a day intended for a purpoſe of moſt important conſideration. The remarks which the honourable Gentleman had dealt about him with ſo much aſperity, might be retorted on himſelf; for if he doubted the ſincerity of others, they in juſtice might be authoriſed to entertain ſimilar doubts with reſpect to his conduct. As to the unanimity of the Houſe on the ſubject of the negociation, it appeared that ſuch had been the real fact, though ſome Gentlemen had run out of the Houſe, and others had been ſo overwhelmed by the magnitude of their thoughts, that they could not find eloquence expreſſive enough for the occaſion. It was not, however, too much to ſay, that the Houſe was unanimous on the proceedings of the negociation, and that was all he aſked. With reſpect to the principle of the Bill, the honourable Gentleman had not ſtated a ſingle objection againſt the principle on which it was founded. The mode adopted by the Bill in apportioning the tax, would be the beſt criterion of the income of individuals. If any Gentlemen thought that it was neceſſary to relieve the funding ſyſtem, and at the ſame time diſapproved of that ſyſtem, they were not entitled to vote againſt the principle of the preſent Bill. His right honourable Friend, after poſſeſſing himſelf of every poſſible means of information on the ſubject, had brought forward the preſent Bill under ſuch qualifications as were judged proper, and was then open to the opinions of every Gentleman, and ready to make ſuch modifications in it as ſhould be neceſſary. He ſaid that he ſaw no growing diſcontent againſt raiſing the propoſed ſum in order to relieve the funding ſyſtem. The reſolutions of the Borough of Southwark, and of the Common Council of London, only diſapproved of the propoſed mode of raiſing that ſum. It was impoſſible that many of thoſe who objected to the meaſure, ſhould have found fault with the principle. They could not clamour againſt it on the ground of its being an oppreſſion, becauſe they would all be obliged to pay more, if a general mode of taxation had been adopted. The queſtion then before the Houſe was, whether the preſent meaſure ſhould be adopted with modifications. It would not follow from that, that the Houſe was departing from the funding ſyſtem. He would not agree to the opinion that had been advanced, that every fund raiſed for the ſervice of the Government was ſo much taken from the wealth of the country. Did it not in a great meaſure flow back again into the general maſs of capital? When an army was to be clothed, was all the

money expended for that purpoſe entirely loſt, and did none of it ever return into the country again? Or did that deſtroy any part of the manufactures of the country? Or when a navy was to be fed, did it take away from its agriculture? Quite the contrary. It was erroneous therefore to ſay, that any fund taken from the country was taken from its expenditure. He wiſhed Gentlemen would be impreſſed with the idea—that the war muſt be carried on. With that opinion they muſt perceive, that they ſhould not ſubmit to any thing which might undermine the courage of the country. He then alluded to the pledges that had been given by Gentlemen on the other ſide of the Houſe, to ſupport the war in caſe the enemy ſhould be unreaſonable in their demands; and aſked, what they conceived their duty to be at the preſent time, when the enemy had declared their intention of deſtroying the wealth and navy of this country; and when they told their own people that they ſhould find numbers to join them the moment they ſhould invade England? If the honourable Gentleman who ſpoke laſt ſhould then find that the majority of the Houſe did not agree in opinion with him, muſt he on that account abandon the country by refuſing her his ſupport? He might indeed upbraid the majority with want of underſtanding; but could he think himſelf a friend to his country, when he came to refuſe his aſſent to that meaſure which was intended for its ſalvation? He was ſure, that if any nine Gentlemen in that Houſe would propoſe a better mode of procuring peace for the country, and pledging themſelves to carry it into effect, would form an Adminiſtration which ſhould gain the confidence of the Public, he would agree with the honourable Gentleman that the preſent Adminiſtration was the worſt and the moſt diſgraced that could exiſt in any country.

Mr. *Sheridan*, in explanation, ſaid, that he was ſurpriſed the right honourable Gentleman could have liſtened to him ſo attentively as he ſaid he had done, and yet have ſo much miſunderſtood him. He had declared that he did oppoſe the principle of the Bill, thinking it incapable of any modification that could induce him to approve it, and was much ſurpriſed to hear the right honourable Gentleman ſay that he had admitted it. The fact was, that the right honourable Gentleman underſtood one thing as the principle, and he (Mr. Sheridan) another.

Mr. *Dundas* maintained, that unleſs the expediency of a general contribution was denied, it followed of courſe that the principle muſt be admitted; and not underſtanding the right honourable Gentleman to deny that propoſition, he thought himſelf warranted in ſaying that he admitted the principle.

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Mr. *Fox* ſaid, I do not conceive that the attendance or non-attendance of any particular Member of this Houſe can be a fit ſubject of obſervation. I agree in that reſpect with the right honourable Gentleman who ſpoke laſt, that the propriety of attending this Houſe, or abſenting, is a matter that ought to reſt with each individual. I have nothing to ſay upon that ſubject, further than that the ſame motives which induced me to abſent myſelf for ſome time, are now as prevalent in my mind as ever. My opinion is now what it has long been, that the preſent Adminiſtration of this country have by the unfortunate blindneſs of this Houſe, by the too eaſy temper of the people of this country, ſo impaired and deranged its finances, ſo increaſed its embarraſſments, but above all ſo diſfigured its Conſtitution, that no ſervices which any individual can render by his attendance, will be ſufficient to balance the miſchiefs which muſt ariſe from giving countenance to an opinion, that the deciſions of this Houſe are always the juſt reſult of full diſcuſſion. In that opinion I am as firm as at any time of my life. It is not by the eſtabliſhment of this or of that regulation in a particular inſtance, of this or that modification of a particular meaſure, that can eſſentially ſerve the people of this country. Nothing ſhort of a total reform of your late ſyſtem, nothing ſhort of your reverting to the true principles of our Conſtitution, to the popular maxims of our anceſtors, can ſave us from utter ruin. Seeing that by my attendance I was unable to prevail on this Houſe to adopt theſe principles, I omitted to attend it. But I attend to-night in conſequence of what is to me at leaſt an important ſentiment—the propriety of yielding to the requeſt of my conſtituents. This is not a moment to enlarge upon the duties of a Member of this Houſe, but it appears to me that to comply with the general deſire of his conſtituents, eſpecially in ſuch a caſe as that which is now before you, is one of thoſe duties. I have been told to-night that I have been much impoſed upon in the repreſentations of many important public events; that I have formed erroneous concluſions from them; that I in my retirement have had leiſure to re conſider my former opinions; and that I, like others, may have had much to learn. Thoſe who think they have arrived to that degree of knowledge beyond which they have nothing to learn, are in a ſtate which when they effect it, ſhew they have learnt but little. But I ſhould hold myſelf much indebted to the honourable Gentleman who made this obſervation, if he would tell me in what book of ancient or modern hiſtory---in what ſchool of admired philoſophy---in what ſyſtem of any admired politician, ſince the creation of this world to the preſent hour,

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I am to find that perſeverance in a ſyſtem which has led you to the brink of ruin, is the way to extricate you from your difficulty. That indeed is one of the leſſons which I have yet to learn. I had no hopes of gaining for the public any advantage by my attendance; but my conſtituents deſired me to attend, and I determined to comply. I know it is popular, in this Houſe at leaſt, to hold that a Member of Parliament is not particularly bound to obey his own conſtituents, whoſe opinions may be guided by local prejudices, and partial intereſts; that he is to conſider himſelf as the Repreſentative of the People at large; and that he is to act as appears to him moſt favourable to that enlarged view of the intereſt of his country. I truſt that I ſhould be no more ready than others to obey the wiſh of a particular claſs of men who happen to be my conſtituents, if by ſo doing I was convinced I obeyed them to the prejudice of the whole community, of which I am a member. But in this particular inſtance, as indeed moſt inſtances in which I have been concerned, I have the comfort to feel that my ſentiments and thoſe of my conſtituents perfectly coincide. The right honourable Gentleman ſays, that the moment we are here, each of us is the repreſentative of every man in this country; there are others who may ſay, as they have ſaid, we may as well call ourſelves the repreſentatives of any other country as of this; that indeed we ought to be the virtual repreſentatives of the people, but that our meaſures have too clearly proved how capable we are of acting upon another principle.

My conſtituents have deſired me to attend this bill, and if I thought my own opinion more important than theirs, I ſhould have endeavoured to have reaſoned with them upon the futility of that attendance; but their deſire controuls my conduct. I am bound to ſtate their caſe in this Houſe. They think, and ſo do I, that by this Bill all the principles of our anceſtors are abandoned, and a profligate contempt of property, (the protection of which was one of their favourite objects) is now manifeſt from the tenor of the Bill before you.

The right honourable Gentleman who ſpoke laſt ſtates two grounds upon which this ſubject may be conſidered. He admits, firſt, that every man who oppoſes all means of ſupply except ſuch as ariſe from the funding ſyſtem may fairly oppoſe the principle of this bill; certainly he may. Secondly, he ſtates that thoſe who think that taxes ſhould not be laid upon income, but generally upon property, may alſo vote for the ſecond reading of this bill, with a view of modifying it in ſuch a manner as to anſwer the object which the principle of the bill is ſuppoſed to have in view, namely

ly, a tax upon property, ſo as to raiſe a conſiderable part of the ſupplies within the year; that is to ſay, that any man who objects to the increaſe of Aſſeſſed taxes may yet vote for the ſecond reading of this bill as a meaſure, the foundation of which is to call for the contribution of property for the ſervice of the ſtate. I confeſs that argument was perfectly new to me. Where am I to look for the principle of this bill? I ſhould think to the reſolutions on which it is founded. They certainly are very long and verboſe, but I do not ſee one line in them that relates to the principle of the meaſure, which does not ſtate the aſſeſſed taxes as their baſis as well as their criterion. And yet I am told that any man who thinks that theſe aſſeſſments are the worſt of all poſſible criteria, may vote for this bill, becauſe it is that which has for its object a general taxation upon property. This I conſider as the mere ſhuffling language to which gentlemen are driven to ſupport the infamous ſyſtem on which they endeavour to load the people of this country. The right honourable Gentleman ſays he knows of no diſcontent which has been expreſſed againſt the principle of this bill as a tax upon property; that all the objection ariſes from the aſſeſſed taxes being taken as a criterion whereby that property is to be gueſſed at. The objections which have hitherto been made by thoſe beſt capable of judging, at leaſt moſt ſincere in examining, namely, thoſe who are to be called upon to pay, have been made to the bill which is now before you, and it would be ſtrange indeed if they did not object to a bill which tends to the immediate deſtruction of their trade, the annihilation of their fortunes, and poſſibly the loſs of the liberty of their perſons. I conſider their objections as pointed againſt the fundamental principles of the bill. Another hon. Gentleman ſeems to think that the unpopularity of the meaſure is no argument againſt it. He ſeems rather to think it an argument in its favour; for he ſays, he believes that the people would not cry out againſt it unleſs they thought it a meaſure effectual for the purpoſe of raiſing a large ſum of money. That honourable Gentleman ſeems to think the objections of the public unreaſonable in this particular. I underſtand he is connected with commerce himſelf, and I therefore appeal to him, whether he would not himſelf claim the privilege of complaining at leaſt, if a demand were made upon him for money which he felt he could not pay; and which by the theory of our conſtitution, he was not bound to pay without his own

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it. The annuities on the funds have been ſecured from year to year, and Parliament ſtands pledged not to touch that property with taxation. So ſtands the law. But this Bill will tax indirectly that which no Miniſter has yet dared to tax in a direct manner. It has been ſaid that our funding ſyſtem has contributed to preſerve the effects of our revolution, to preſerve the intereſts and keep up the ſpirit of this country, to enable us to thwart the ambitious views of the Houſe of Bourbon. See whether this plan does or does not tend to the diminution of the value of that ſecurity. I am ſure it is underſtood by my conſtituents not only likely to affect ſuch ſecurity, but alſo all their commercial intereſts. Let us ſuppoſe, for inſtance, that two gentlemen of equal fortune ſetting out in life, the one of them with his ten thouſand pounds, laying it out upon mortgage, and living upon the intereſt of his money, which would be five hundred pounds per annum, you will tax him, according to the principle of this Bill, for that income, and no more. Suppoſe the ſecond applies his ten thouſand pounds in commerce, and it produces to him one thouſand pounds per annum, you will tax him at the rate of one thouſand pounds a year. What is the reaſon of this difference? They are both equal in point of real property. But as you make income the baſis of your taxation, you impoſe upon diligence, upon activity, and upon induſtry, double the weight which you lay upon him who chuſes to repoſe indolently and ſupinely upon the produce of his capital. It is thus you propoſe to preſerve in men that ſpirit by which this country has been diſtinguiſhed from other nations. Idleneſs is favoured, diligence diſcouraged. A principle ſo deteſtable, that I could not have conceived it poſſible to enter into the mind of any man acquainted with the ſprings of human action. You call this, in another view, a tax upon luxury. Is a houſe a luxury? In the caſe of a multitude of my conſtituents it neither is nor can be ſo conſidered. You ſay that where a man contributes largely to the payment of aſſeſſed taxes, he gives evidence of wealth. What you conſider as evidences of his wealth are nothing more than the implements of the trade by which he exiſts. There are many, eſpecially among my conſtituents, whoſe conſtant cuſtom it is to let lodgings. They are objects of the preſent Bill. I know you may ſay, I dare ſay you will, that they ſhall be relieved by proviſions which are to be adopted in the Committee. You pretend to ſomething like a proviſion to thoſe who let furniſhed houſes. Let us ſuppoſe that a tradeſman who pays a great rent for his houſe, ſuch as would induce you, by the preſent plan, to conſider him as a man of one thouſand pounds a year income;

income; his next door neighbour may be a private gentleman, whoſe real income is two thouſands pounds a year, but who, by choice or accident, inhabits a houſe of much inferior value; he will, by this tax, have a lighter impoſt than the tradeſman. That is only one of the ſubjects of complaint againſt this Bill. With reſpect to thoſe who have ready furniſhed houſes, I underſtand they will be liable to the full extent of this tax, and that whether they be tradeſmen or gentlemen, the one living upon a certain, the other upon an uncertain income, will make no difference; whereas it is moſt clear and manifeſt the one lives upon a fortune, the amount of which he knows, and the other embarks the little capital he is able to collect in order to furniſh a houſe, and to take the chance of ſubſiſting upon the fruits of it. I ſhould like to be made acquainted with the juſtice and the equity of a Bill which confounds the diſtinction between theſe caſes. I am told indeed that with regard to thoſe who take furniſhed houſes from their landlords, the occupiers are made anſwerable to Government for this aſſeſſment, but that, under certain modifications, they are to call on their landlords to defray the expence of it, which if the landlord refuſes to pay, they are permitted to recover by means of an action at law. A very pleaſant, a very certain, and a very conciſe remedy, eſpecially as it may frequently happen that the landlord may not be forthcoming to anſwer this exigency of the ſtate, but who may very legally empower another perſon to receive his rent. I know that remedies may be inſerted in the preſent Bill to protect thoſe who let lodgings in houſes furniſhed by themſelves. I dare ſay they will be much of the ſame complexion with that relief which is offered to thoſe who take furniſhed houſes, and it will have much the ſame efficacy. But to try the merits of this Bill by another teſt: If you think horſes or dogs, or male ſervants, fair teſts of opulence, in God's name how can any houſekeeper in Weſtminſter or London, or the borough of Southwark, or any other conſiderable town, be fairly aſſeſſed? Is it poſſible to take any ſuch criterion as the teſt of wealth in a populous place? It is quite impoſſible that it ſhould enter into the mind of any man who governs his deciſions by reaſon to think ſo; and I am quite ſurpriſed that the Chancellor of the Exchequer ſhould have taken advice ſo groſs as that which leads him to blunder upon the principle of the preſent Bill. He ſays, "here are horſes, they are to be conſidered as articles of luxury." They are ſo, generally ſpeaking, to Members of this Houſe; to which, however, there are ſome exceptions. They are by no means to be conſidered as articles of luxury to

merchants, or to traders whoſe buſineſſes are conſiderable or extenſive, for many of them neceſſarily employ riders in the courſe of their commercial dealings. There are many others to whom horſes are abſolutely neceſſary. Medical men, who are compelled to go from place to place in the courſe of their profeſſion, have occaſion for horſes; as well as many others whoſe caſes it is not neceſſary for me to mention. I ſay, therefore, that this Bill proceeds upon a principle which, in every view of it, is vicious as far as I have hitherto conſidered it. But this is not all, you are called upon to regulate your future exactions, not by the future prudence of men, which would be a fair rule of impoſt in certain caſes, but by the moſt unjuſt, the moſt unreaſonable, the moſt iniquitous rule that can be poſſibly adopted; that of the paſt expenditure of men. A man may have lived improvidently or imprudently, but who, from experience, finds it wiſe to contract his expences? By this Bill you allow him no chance of retrieving his fortune by that prudence which is the effect of his experience. You do not allow a man the benefit which ought to be the reſult of a long and prudent life. Let us ſuppoſe, for inſtance, that a man who by his induſtry and frugality in life, or who is poſſeſſed of a competent fortune from his parents, reſiding in the country, ſhould wiſh to come to London for a ſeaſon with his family; from the ſhort ſtay he intends to make, it may not poſſibly be a great object with him what his expences are. He wiſhes to ſhew his wife and daughters the gaiety of the town; he conducts them to places of public amuſement, and determines to retire into the country again to enjoy his rural occupations. This he might have done at any time previous to this Bill, without any other expence than ſuch as he expected to attend his excurſion to, ſtay in, and return from the metropolis. But if he take ſuch an excurſion in the year 1797, woe be to him, to his wife, to his children, and to all thoſe who are moſt dear to him, for he is to pay, not only for the expence of that excurſion, but the expences of that excurſion are to be eſtimated according to the aſſeſſment which was made upon him in that day of his levity, and is to be called the teſt by which his ability to ſerve the State is to be eſtimated. This is ſaid—I know it is only to be a temporary meaſure. It would be extravagant to conſider it an impoſt for life. Upon that a word or two by and by. I ſay he is ſettled by this with a large, a heavy, an enormous, an unjuſt, an inequitable impoſt. This mode of calling upon men for future exertions in the ſervice of the State is too iniquitous to bear the teſt of one moment's reflection.

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This principle of injuſtice reminds me of the illuſtration which Sterne gives of the violent extortion of the ancient government of France. The caſe is exactly in point: When at Lyons, Yorick reſolved to change his mode of travelling, and ſail down the Rhone inſtead of going poſt. The poſt-maſter, however, applied to him for ſix livres ſix ſous, as the price of the next poſt. "But I do not intend to travel poſt," ſaid Yorick. "You may if you pleaſe," replied the poſt-maſter. "But I do not pleaſe," ſaid Yorick—"I mean to go by water." "That is no matter," ſaid the poſt-maſter: "you muſt pay for the next poſt, whether you have changed your mind or not." And, ſaid Mr. Fox, here the word *principle* or *ſpirit* was uſed, as they are always uſed, to ſanctify injuſtice; for, ſays the poſt-maſter—"The ſpirit of the impoſt is, that the *Grand Monarque* ſhall not ſuffer by your *ficklenеſs*."

Charged he was, and obliged to pay: ſo it is with the preſent tax, for all the people who have paid aſſeſſments in this country are called upon for great and additional aſſeſſments, which they muſt pay, or which muſt rather be wreſted from them by diſtraining upon their goods, not upon a computation of their future ability, nor in proſpect of their future views, but in conſequence of their former expenditure, whether wiſely or imprudently occaſioned. By this plan it is in vain that a man's prudence is called in to regulate his circumſtances. Let us conſider this as applicable to perſons in trade, as diſtinguiſhed from thoſe who poſſeſs permanent and ſpecific incomes. A man in trade may ſay, that the laſt year was a good one, and therefore he kept his one-horſe chaiſe, but whether he ſhould continue it muſt depend upon circumſtances; that he governed his expenditure prudently by the fluctuation of his circumſtances, and therefore if his trade was worſe this year than it was the laſt, he would ſet aſide his one-horſe chaiſe and many other conveniencies. But by the principle of this bill you do not allow him to do ſo, and you add a mockery and inſult to an injury, by telling him that you will call upon him to ſupport the exigencies of the ſtate according to his eſtabliſhment, as appears by a former aſſeſſment, and you tell him that he ſhall pay hereafter triple what he formerly did, and this you intend as a compliment to his growing wealth as a tradeſman. But it ſeems there is to be ſome relief in this bill to thoſe who are overrated. They are to have abatements, in proportion as they prove they are aſſeſſed beyond their income. But how is this

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abatement to take place? By the diſcloſure of all the private affairs of a man in trade. A mode of relief which, if it deſerves the name, is as intolerable as the grievance. Take any tradeſman, a watch-maker for inſtance, he would tell you that his income, prior to the laſt impoſt upon watches, was much ſuperior to what it is now. That muſt be the caſe with every other man in trade, eſpecially as he does not know how he may be taxed hereafter. I am the more ſupported in this part of my argument, when I refer to the future proſpects of the Miniſter, for he tells us that a very conſiderable part of the Ways and Means are yet to come. How therefore is it poſſible for a tradeſman, without knowing what the future ſubjects of taxation are to be, to gueſs at his future income? Under ſuch conſiderations, the idea of calling upon a tradeſman to gueſs at his future income, is the moſt horribly unjuſt proceeding that ever could be deviſed by any Miniſter of ſtate.

It is ſtated by a noble Lord, that this tax will neceſſarily fall heavy upon the middling claſs, becauſe, generally ſpeaking, they conſume articles which partake of the double quality of luxuries of life and neceſſaries. To which I muſt anſwer, that it is a great grievance to any claſs of men, particularly ſo to thoſe whoſe incomes are limited to a certain amount, not to have the benefit which generally ariſes from a prudent diminution of expences. It is allowing them no advantage from any œconomy they might be diſpoſed to adopt; and it is expoſing them, notwithſtanding all diſpoſition to œconomy, to utter ruin.

It is not what the tradeſman will have to pay to the aſſeſſment in direct contribution, but what he will have to ſuffer in diminiſhed trade; for by the attack on all the claſſes of gentlemen, you drive them to privations which are ruinous to trade. They may œconomiſe; they may drink leſs wine; they may indulge leſs in the comforts that are peculiarly dear or habitual to them; but this evil, great though it is, is little in compariſon of the miſchief it will do to trade. It will, however, introduce new manners and habits among us; and I will fairly ſay, that I am not for confounding the ranks of ſociety. This is one of the evils with which this meaſure is pregnant. No act of the Directory ever did ſo much to confound the ranks of mankind as this meaſure will do. It will out of the race of gentlemen, create two orders, princes and beggars. All the body of middle gentlemen will be reduced to beggary, for it is in vain to ſay that it is to be conſidered

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as a ſingle or a ſolitary exertion. It is announced for two years and a quarter, but who will ſay that it is to cloſe there? Who will ſay that we have any near proſpect of peace, or that this is likely to give us a peace? A tenth of the income is the nominal amount of the aſſeſſment. But in this the aſſeſſment is proportioned in name, not in ſubſtance, and there is no equality in its burthen on the people. The gentleman of 1000l. a year, for inſtance, who has to pay 100l. a year, is much more ſeverely taxed than the man of 10,000l. a year, who has to pay 1000l. A very little reflection will prove to gentlemen that the one caſe is infinitely more ſevere than the other. But whatever may be the hardſhips which it may bring on gentlemen, they are nothing, I repeat it, in compariſon of its effects on the commercial part of the community. To gentlemen it may operate to retrenchment, and to the privation of indulgences, but to the trader it is ruin. The oſtentation of the beſt race of gentlemen may ſubſide, and the young men may be taught more prudent habits; but this very retrenchment will be fatal to trade, and fatal alſo to the exiſting revenue. Commercial people have no refuge. They cannot retrench, for they do not now indulge.

By every amount which I have been able to collect; by the report of every perſon, whom I have ſeen; and by the whole tenor of the meetings of my Conſtituents, I find that men of all deſcriptions, and whatever be their party feelings, unite in abhorrence of the principle and tendency of this Bill. They all object to the principle, becauſe the Aſſeſſed Taxes are not merely not a juſt criterion of wealth, but the worſt and moſt fallacious that could be deviſed—for in every part of this metropolis, ſo fatal has been the diſaſtrous war in which we are involved, that the Aſſeſſed Taxes are now with the greateſt difficulty collected. They are either in arrear, or poſtponed, and the goods of the unhappy perſons are regularly diſtrained; and they all unite in declaring, not merely againſt the inexpediency, but againſt the total impracticability of forcing the receipt. This is not the opinion of one diſtrict, or of one party, but it is the general opinion of every part of the people who have had time to examine the proviſion of the Bill; and really it will be a ſingular thing, if the Houſe ſhould oppoſe themſelves to the univerſal voice of the kingdom. Gentlemen ſeem to forget that we affect at leaſt to call ourſelves the Repreſentatives of the People. I know that we are no ſuch thing, but we affect to call ourſelves ſo. Yet in this Houſe only fifteen Gentlemen could be found to vote againſt a meaſure upon which,

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out of that Houſe, there was not merely a majority, but an unanimity of diſſent. Miniſters, in this inſtance, cannot plead their uſual ſubterfuge, that it is the mere cry of a party. It is no ſuch thing. Unanimous diſapprobation has come from the moſt extraordinary places. Even the Common Council have been unanimous. There are but two ſorts of Repreſentation, actual and virtual. You cannot pretend to call yourſelves the actual Repreſentatives of the People, but you ſay you are the virtual. Prove yourſelves ſo, then, by obeying their united voice. I hope and truſt that you will come round, and ſhew yourſelves, in ſome degree, entitled to the name of virtual Repreſentatives. I will fairly tell you, that if even you were to do ſo, I ſhould not conſider it as a ſufficient proof that you are even the true virtual Repreſentatives of the People, unleſs I ſee you alſo ſympathize with the people. You muſt make common cauſe with them. You muſt invite them to ſacrifices by your own example---You muſt lead the way. I remember an Honourable Member, now no more, who had the happy art of mixing argument with pleaſantry in a way that was never excelled. Mr. Burke illuſtrated this principle by a ſtory very much in point. A French Regiment in ſpeaking of an Old Colonel whom they had loſt, and of a new one that had ſucceeded him, extolled the firſt to the ſkies—"What particular reaſon have you for your ardent affection for the Old Colonel, rather than the new?" ſaid a perſon to them. "We have no other reaſon, ſaid they, than this—the old Colonel always ſaid, *Allons mes enfans!* The new Colonel ſays, Allez, mes enfans!" This was indeed a ſtriking contraſt; and juſt in this manner I aver we ought to act towards the people. We ought not to ſay to them, "*Go make ſacrifices!*"—but, "*Let us* make ſacrifices." To rouſe the energy of the people let us hear of the ſacrifices of the Crown. It is from the higheſt place that the example ought to be given. It will animate and cheer the heart of the Kingdom:

"Solamen miſeris ſocios habuiſſe laborum."

When men are called on to give up their pleaſures, whatever they may be, whether of horſes or gardens, it is but reaſonable that they ſhould ſee the Crown participating in the ſacrifice. But then, inſtead of this, we ſee only that new patronage is to be obtained out of the levying of 14 millions in this way, we muſt feel that theſe are bad ſymptoms, and that there is no common cauſe in the exertions we are called upon to make; and we are made to believe that there is ſomething in this war, which makes it unfit for all ſuch examples to be given.

An Honourable Gentleman (Mr. Dundas) ſays, that expenditure

penditure will not be diminiſhed on account of this Tax---it will only change hands---great ſums will be wanted, he ſays, to clothe and to maintain the army. I wiſh the Houſe to remark the expreſſion---I certainly believe him---great ſums will go to the army. But is that any conſolation to me? If 20ol. is to be taken out of my pocket, what care I to whom it is to be paid? But this very argument is and ought to be an object of juſt and ſerious alarm to the nation; for while theſe enormous ſums are to be paid into the hands of Government it becomes almoſt the ſole conſumer. Let us examine the fact. One tenth of the expenditure of the whole kingdom is eſtimated at 7 millions. That makes the total expenditure 70 millions; but perhaps, as this is not the juſt teſt, and that there may be evaſion, the total expenditure may be 100,000,000l. On this ground it appears that the public expenditure has been between 30 and 40,000,000l. a year during this war. If then it be true that the expences of the war are ſo eſſential to revenue, what a proſpect for us when this ſource of revenue ſhall be cut off! The honourable Gentleman, in ſpeaking of a pledge, is extremely deſirous of overlooking and explaining away his own. He is not willing to remember the emphatical pledge that he gave, never to make peace with the Jacobin Government of France. What can we expect from men who have through the whole of the war ſhrunk from every pledge they have ever given? It is only by their removal that the nation can be ſaved from its preſent perilous ſituation. They are either fools or hypocrites who attempt to ſeparate Miniſters from their meaſures, or affect to think that our affairs can be retrieved in their hands. The country muſt take its fate, if they are ſo dull of intellect, or ſo infatuated as to conceive that they can be reſcued from their preſent ſituation by the imbecility that brought them into it. We are called upon to make this dreadful ſacrifice in order to terrify France! We are to give up 7,000,000l. in one year, in addition to all our other burdens, to ſhew to France, that we have what their poet calls *l'embarras des richeſſes*. Terrify France! What, by ſhewing that we are forced to abandon the funded ſyſtem, which has ſupported us through ſo many difficulties, becauſe we dare no longer perſiſt in it? Terrify France---by an exaction which will not be paid ---which will convulſe the country from one end to the other---or which, if it were poſſible to harbour the frantic idea of its poſſibility, would certainly paralyze all our future operations, and lay us helpleſs at their feet! But is it not too much to call for unanimity in the further proſecution of this war? They whoſe incapacity has been proved by a ſeries of the moſt unva-

ried diſaſters, call for unanimity! Can their late acts, their perſecutions, their violences in England and Scotland, and ſtill more ſo in Ireland, delude the people of France into an idea that they have the hearts of the country with them? Take the converſe of the propoſition. Would not the miniſters of the Crown deride a declaration from the Directory, in which, if a La Vendee were ſtill raging in France or Ireland now, they ſtill talked of poſſeſſing the unanimous ſentiments of the people. The treatment of Ireland was ſuch as to harrow up the ſoul---it was ſhocking to the heart, to think that a nation of brothers was thus to be trampled on like the moſt remote colony of conquered ſtrangers; and it was monſtrous to hear the Miniſter talk of wielding Ireland as a weapon of force, Ireland which he was now holding himſelf under a military hand! The honourable Gentleman takes it amiſs that my honourable Friend ſhould ſay, that the whole conteſt is about nine or ten worthleſs men who are our miniſters: and yet, can any man queſtion the truth of the aſſertion who has obſerved their manners? During the whole courſe of our misfortunes they have not failed in their ſole undivided object---in amaſſing for themſelves and followers, Places, Penſions, Peerages and Honours. But what is the true and only ground of Unanimity? In the ſupport of a Miniſter, confidence in the rectitude of his ſyſtem, and in his capacity for carrying it into effect. Can they expect this unanimity? Review their grounds of the war, the Scheldt, Flanders, the Decree of the 19th of November, &c. have they not given up every one of theſe motives, as well as all that followed them, and their talents were now employed in explaining away the declarations they had made. They could not, however, ſo eaſily explain away the quotation that they made from Virgil. It ſtood on record:

——— potuit quæ plurima Virtus
Eſſe ſuit, toto certatum eſt Corpore regni.

They firſt held out to us the tempting occaſion of attacking France, united with all Europe. Year after year their object changed, as well as their temptation; the brink of bankruptcy; ruined finances; diſtracted country: reign of terror unſupportable; reign of terror at an end, and conſequently the vigour it created; all in their turn were the baits they held out, and all, as they failed, made way for new deluſions. Every thing was to be effected by our Allies; and accordingly four millions one year, two millions another, and two millions ſent by ſtealth in the third, were declared to be the cheapeſt way of carrying on the war: now we are cut off from this cheap mode of defence. I was alarmed for the conſequence; ſince being cut

cut off from this cheapeſt mode, I feared we muſt be forced to take more extravagant means; but here I was happily diſappointed; for this relief from the Emperor has been accompanied by lowering our Army and Navy at home. Where he has failed, therefore, he has gained. Again, ſaid he, that there was no way of ſupporting the Bank but by ſending money to the Emperor; he did ſend it, and the Bank ſtopt! He is now prevented from ſending any more money to the Emperor; and I underſtand that the paper of the Bank is in better credit than it was! In the ſame manner every declaration that he has ever made has failed him; but none ſo lamentably as in his finance. He has uniformly, in each December, ſtated the expence of the year millions under what it has turned out to be; and yet he calls for unanimity! He can expect no unanimity; and in truth there is no remedy for our evils, but Peace. And this is not all; we muſt have peace and repoſe, not merely by the change of Miniſters and their condign puniſhment, but by a thorough change and reform in the ſyſtem which has brought us to this ruin, by a return to the principles of liberty, not of power. Without this there can be no preſervation for this country. I feel it as my moſt ſolemn duty to ſpeak out. Unleſs Ireland is inſtantly conciliated, and brought back to the enjoyment of its genuine rights and communion in the Conſtitution; unleſs Scotland is alſo reconciled; unleſs all the three kingdoms are reſtored to the bleſſings of that peace and perfect freedom of which they have been deprived, there can be no chance for the country to riſe out of her preſent misfortunes; nor until you accompliſh this can you hope ever for peace, becauſe until you obtain this you cannot ſpeak to France with the power of union; nor can you delude the Directory with the boaſt of ſtrength while they ſee you alienating by perſecution every part of the empire.

In the argument which I have taken the liberty to trouble you with, I have not wandered from the particular meaſure of the day, becauſe it is inſeparable from the cauſes that have given riſe to it. This is no common tax; and it is our duty, on a queſtion of ſuch dreadful import, to follow the wiſe practice of our anceſtors—to conſult our conſtituents. Do not let us delude ourſelves by the idea that there is no danger. It is imminent. No human being can calculate the horrors to which this meaſure may give riſe. I deprecate raſhneſs. I know that men are fond of talking of the theoretical bleſſings of our Conſtitution—I ſay, that unleſs you make the people feel the practical bleſſings, yo do nothing. Talk of the Jacobin principles of the French Directory! No man has made ſo many Jacobins

as the right honourable Gentleman; and if this meaſure is to be perſevered in, there is no ſaying to what we ſhall be driven. The tax may be put under the management of the military. It cannot be collected—what comes next?—They may diſtrain, and when they have ſeized on our beds and chairs, they may take our perſons—*Contra opes, primum, et poſt in corpora ſerviri.* Is ſuch a meaſure to be hurried through this Houſe? I am guilty of no exaggeration. I am ſure that if time be given, you will have from all the great towns, from Briſtol, Birmingham, Mancheſter, Liverpool, and elſewhere, remonſtrances as ſtrong as thoſe you have ſeen from the city of London, from my conſtituents, and from the Borough of Southwark. I ſhudder at the conſequences if you perſiſt. They may be dreadful. It is only by a quick return to the genuine principles of our anceſtors that we can be ſafe. If we do not, I can only ſay that "the days of theſe kingdoms are numbered and that their ruin is not diſtant."—The hon. Gentleman (Mr. Dundas) has ſaid, that "if there were men who could give peace to the country, without throwing things into confuſion, the preſent Miniſters would be the baſeſt of mankind if they did not yield and make way for them." If there are any men who feel themſelves capable of reſtoring peace to theſe kingdoms, without a change of ſyſtem, or reſtoring the conſtitution to its vigour, I can only ſay they are more ſanguine than I am. I can ſpeak without any perſonal motive on the ſubject, for I publicly declare, that I never will have a ſeat, high or low, in any adminiſtration, until public opinion ſhall have decided for a thorough and perfect reform of all our abuſes, and for a direct return to the genuine principles of the Britiſh conſtitution. If there are men bold and ſanguine enough to think that they can not only procure peace but tranquillize the country without this, let them try it—*but I will make no part in any ſuch adminiſtration.*

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* ſaid, before I proceed to make any remark upon the wide variety of topics which the honourable Gentlemen upon the other ſide of the Houſe have introduced, I ſhall juſt advert to the laſt point on which the right honourable Gentleman inſiſted. The other parts of his ſpeech were directed againſt the whole of the meaſure in ſubſtance, but in the latter part he ſeparately urged the propriety of delay. The right honourable Gentleman founds this argument for delay upon the agitation which this queſtion has excited in the public mind and the objections to which the meaſure is liable in its application to a great number

number of his conſtituents. I am aware that in all great towns, particularly in the metropolis, the objections will be felt with peculiar force, but at the ſame time I am ſenſible that in the proviſions of which the bill is ſuſceptible many modifications may be expected, many are practicable conſiſtently with the leading principle of the meaſure, and many are neceſſary in order, as far as poſſible, to prevent it from bearing hard in particular inſtances. I am aware even that greater modifications may be neceſſary than appeared to me requiſite upon the firſt conſideration of the ſubject, and when the firſt imperfect outline of it was preſented. This, however, does not by any means tend to impeach the general principle of the meaſure. Theſe objections are capable of modification without defeating the ſalutary object which it is the purpoſe of the meaſure to ſecure. Inſtead of feeling theſe objections as completely deſtructive of the principle, every hour's reflection convinces me that though it is our duty to enquire in what reſpects modification may be proper, how it may be practicable, how mitigation may be given ſo as to prevent any oppreſſive application of the meaſure, yet as to the general neceſſity of providing for the public ſafety, and repelling the danger by which we are threatened, on the determination we ſhall form upon this queſtion after mature diſcuſſion, demands, whether by the action we have pledged ourſelves to make, we ſhall reſcue the country from impending calamity, and lay the foundation of as great a portion of future greatneſs and proſperity as any nation ever enjoyed, or whether we ſhall ſurrender the dignity of the Britiſh nation, and expoſe to inevitable ruin the ſources of its glory and its power. Feeling as the repreſentatives of the people, that it is our duty to provide for theſe important and eſſential objects, we ſhall be deterred by no difficulties, we ſhall ſpare no pains, we [illegible] ſacrifice every local prejudice, every partial opinion to a conſciouſneſs of the neceſſity in which we are placed, to make a vigorous exertion. Feeling as I do that neceſſity, I know my duty too well not to perſiſt in what I conceive to be a meaſure calculated to ſave the country from the preſent danger, and to enable it to ſtruggle againſt future attacks. It is our firſt duty, as guardians to provide for its preſent ſafety, and to tranſmit to poſterity the bleſſings which we have enjoyed, and the means of preſerving them. It is by theſe conſiderations that our conduct ought to be directed; it is by theſe great maxims of policy that the meaſure ought to be judged.

Can

Can we then conceive it our duty, on account of ſome particular objections of ſome alledged hardſhip of application to hang up the bill altogether before its proviſions have been diſcuſſed, before its details have been arranged? Muſt we forego the opportunity of ſuggeſting the caſe where the evil would be felt, of removing prejudice where it exiſts, and obviating objections where they are well founded? Inſtead of agreeing to any delay both in real reſpect to thoſe who complain of the hardſhip with which the bill in its preſent ſhape would attach, in duty to the public for the ſervice of which, in this important criſis we are called upon to provide, we ought to loſe no time to examine the bill with the utmoſt attention, and ſee where the preſſure which it would occaſion may be mitigated. What are the particulars and extent of the farther modifications which it may ſtill be neceſſary to introduce, it will not be incumbent upon me now to ſtate. It will be recollected that, when I firſt opened the ſubject, I ſtated that as a viſible criterion of income, I preferred the payment of the aſſeſſed taxes, becauſe it was more comprehenſive, better calculated to diffuſe the burden, more ſuſceptible of modification in the various claſſes where it would be required, than any other criterion which could be taken. It will be recollected, not by the honourable Gentleman who had thought it proper to abſent himſelf from his attendance in Parliament, but it will be recollected by the Houſe, that one great recommendation of this criterion I ſtated to be, that the principle being ſtill preſerved, it furniſhed greater means of modification, more opportunity for providing for the particular caſes of hardſhips and inconvenience than any other criterion which could be adopted. The means of this modification, are now in our power, and we ſhall but perform our duty to our conſtituents, by ſhewing our readineſs to conſider the inconvenience, and to apply the remedy. That many modifications are neceſſary I am aware, and in the Committee, both thoſe which I may propoſe, and which others may ſuggeſt, will be conſidered. This I truſt will be a ſufficient anſwer to what fell from a worthy Alderman (Luſhington) at the beginning of the debate. Much as I differ from that honourable Gentleman as to the extent of the abatement, and the nature of the ſcale of contribution he propoſed, I was glad to hear the manly and decided manner in which he enforced the neceſſity of great exertion, and the propriety of raiſing a conſiderable ſum, without recurring to the ſyſtem of funding. I am convinced

that

that the ſentiments he expreſſed were congenial to the feelings of a great majority of his conſtituents and of the country, and I could not help remarking the contraſt between the language he held, and the tone of the honourable Gentleman on the other ſide, compared with the ſentiments of their reſpective conſtituents, in the indiſcriminate oppoſition to every part of the plan, which characteriſed the ſpeeches of both the hon. Gentlemen.

Having made theſe obſervations on the queſtion of delay, I ſhall proceed ſhortly to conſider ſome of the other topics on which the honourable Gentlemen inſiſted. I do not complain of the wide field of argument which they took up; I know that in a Parliamentary ſenſe they were regular; whether they were juſtifiable in the uſe they made of this privilege, and whether they made a proper choice of the topics which they introduced on the preſent ſubject, I ſhall leave for the Houſe to determine. The object of this bill ſhortly is, for an extraordinary grant of money for the ſupport of the war; it propoſes to raiſe within the year a certain part of the ſupplies, by a tax on income, on the viſible criterion of the aſſeſſed taxes, ſubject to modification as circumſtances may require. In conſidering the whole of the caſe then, the firſt queſtion that occurs is, whether it is proper to grant any money at all? Then, whether the principle of raiſing a certain part within the year ought to be admitted? And, thirdly, whether by this criterion attaching to income in the courſe of expenditure, the burden would in general be fairly apportioned? As to the firſt point, whether any money at all ought to be granted, the honourable Gentleman (Mr. Sheridan) though he did not ſay ſo in very words, by the whole of his argument ſuppoſed the negative. The right honourable Gentleman who ſpoke laſt diſtinctly argued, that while Miniſters continued in power, he could not agree to any ſupplies being granted. In ſtating this to have been their meaning, I am endeavouring to do juſtice to their mode of reaſoning. Unleſs upon this idea, more than three-fourths of their obſervations were irrelevant to the ſubject now before the Houſe If they do not contend that peace cannot be obtained by the preſent Miniſters, that they ought to be diſmiſſed before any ſcheme of ſupply can at all be a fit ſubject for diſcuſſion, the greater part of their argument is quite foreign to the matter now under conſideration. The right honourable Gentleman, while he argues that my honourable Friend (Mr. Dundas) conſidered the majority of the

the Houſe and his Majeſty's Miniſters as the ſame, forgets that his honourable Friend (Mr. Sheridan) when he talked of our going out of our places, did not addreſs himſelf to the Houſe, but gave, it as a very friendly advice no doubt, perſonally to us. It was expreſſed with a hope that we would of ourſelves abandon the offices we held as the means of obtaining peace. The honourable Gentleman then muſt ſettle this inconſiſtency with his honourable Friend beſide him. But before the honourable Gentleman, with all his talents, can demonſtrate the propriety of our diſmiſſal, he ought to ſhew that the nine perſons whom he propoſes to pick up between London and Windſor will adminiſter the public affairs better than thoſe by whom they are now adminiſtered; he muſt bring forward ſomething more concluſive and more convincing than any thing he had to offer when the diſmiſſal of Miniſters was laſt diſcuſſed, the failure of which attempt had induced him to quit the ſervice of his conſtituents, and his deſpair of ſucceſs had led him to abdicate his public character. If I underſtand him right, he conſiders as preliminary to every meaſure of public defence, to every exertion in ſupport of the war, a radical change is neceſſary. What the right honourable Gentleman means by this preliminary, expreſſed in a manner ſo large and comprehenſive, in terms no leſs obſcure than undefined, whether a Parliamentary Reform is to be only a part of this ſweeping change, how this change of ſyſtem is to operate as a means of ſaving the country, how this unlimited change is to conduce to the public ſafety, in preparing exertion and in repelling danger, I am really at a loſs to conceive. In conſidering the propriety of ſuch a change of ſyſtem, or preliminary, the introduction of new men into office, it certainly will be important for the Houſe to conſider, whether ſuch a change of Miniſters is calculated to ſecure us againſt the dangers with which we are threatened, whether it is calculated to check the ambition of the enemy, and to procure a peace that will ſatisfy the honour of the nation, and preſerve the ſources of the public wealth and proſperity. But the honourable Gentleman ſays, that the whole tenor of our language at the beginning of the preſent conteſt was, that no peace could be made with the Jacobin Republic, and that France is thus juſtified in refuſing to make peace with the preſent Adminiſtration. At no period of the war did we ever expreſs ſuch a ſentiment, or even entertain the idea that no peace could be made with Republican France. I remember the quotation from Virgil to which he has alluded, and as far as I can recollect it was uſed in one of thoſe debates in which the right honourable Gentleman propoſed that overtures

tures ſhould be made for peace at a period when we contended that no ſecurity for peace could be obtained, and that the evils of war were not to be compared to the inadequate peace which then could have been concluded. The right honourable Gentleman then urged the queſtion, whether no extremity of danger could induce us to make ſuch overtures? I then anſwered, that this muſt ever be a queſtion of compariſon, that we muſt decide as circumſtances might ariſe, and at leaſt we ought to perſevere till our means were exhauſted, till we could ſupport the conteſt no longer, and we could ſay

Toto certatum eſt corpore regni.

The honourable Gentleman ſays, that the meaning of Virgil cannot be explained away, but he ſeemed to think that Virgil's language might be improved. The honourable Gentleman urged the propriety of making overtures even at that period, and contended, as he often had done, that if reaſonable terms of peace were refuſed, it would unite England and divide France. He then retorted, that after ſuch overtures were rejected

Toto certandum eſt corpore regni.

The honourable Gentleman has now ſeen theſe overtures made and rejected; and now, when he wiſhes to bind me down to the meaning of Virgil, I think he ought not to forget his Latin pledge. If the honourable Gentleman has ſeen that all attempts at negotiation have been unavailable, if he can look to any period in which he is called upon to fulfil his pledge, if he means to animate the public exertions, to exhort to perſeverance, to ſtimulate their zeal for the maintenance of the national honour and the national ſafety, at a moment when theſe objects are thus unequivocally ſtated, he would not, as he now does, attempt to diſarm their courage and to diſtract their efforts. What did the honourable Gentleman expect from the overtures he propoſed? What degree of inſult and contumely did he lay his account to endure before he was to be rouſed to energy and to honour? Did he expect any thing more inſulting than the reception our overtures had obtained, any thing more repulſive, more haughty, more injurious, than the proceedings of the enemy; any thing more deciſive of their determined ſpirit of hoſtility than their refuſal to diſcuſs the terms we propoſed, or to propoſe any terms in their turn on which they were willing to conclude a peace? If any thing can meet the honourable Gentleman's ideas of inſult ſufficiently humiliating to require him to act upon his pledge, let him look to the negotiation at Liſle, and the conduct of the enemy upon that occaſion. The honourable Gentleman, though he admitted formerly that there might be occaſions to demand una-

nimity and exertion, thinks himſelf freed from his pledge becauſe Miniſters were never ſincere in their exertions for peace, and France was juſtified in refuſing to treat with them. But when did the honourable Gentleman diſcover this? When did the light flaſh upon his mind that Miniſters originally were hoſtile to the Republican Government of France, and therefore could not be ſincere? It is ſomewhat ſurpriſing that this never occurred to the honourable Gentleman before the pledge was given, inſtead of diſcovering it as our apology for eluding the pledge after it was given. If the diſlike of Miniſters to French principles proves their aggreſſion, and juſtifies the hoſtility of the enemy, this cannot be a new diſcovery; it certainly would have juſtified the honourable Gentleman in diſtruſting any efforts they might make, even while they urged the overtures, on the refuſal of which they promiſed unanimity, as now when they have ſeen their overtures made without effect. The declaration of France at the beginning of the conteſt, proved that on their ſide it was a war of aggreſſion, and on our's a war of neceſſity and good faith towards our allies. If Miniſters did at firſt ſee the danger of French principles without embarking in the conteſt, muſt they have been the aggreſſors when they ſaw their fears valued in the actual aggreſſion in which the principles they had apprehended finally terminated? At no period of the conteſt did we ſay there could be no peace with republican France. We ſaid that for peace we would not agree to proſtrate the nation at the feet of the enemy; that we could not agree to give up what was eſſential to the ſafety of the country. If the honourable Gentleman can prove that we have applied for peace, diſowning the juſtice of our cauſe, abandoning the principles on which the preſent ſafety and future proſperity of the country are founded, he would prove that we conſidered the period arrived when every exertion had been made, and when the ſtruggle was to be given up becauſe it could no longer be ſupported. The honourable Gentleman, however, does not ſay that we have acted in this manner. What then are the opinions of thoſe who have uniformly, or rather with growing zeal and devotion, have contended that the war was juſt on the part of France, and unjuſt upon the ſide of this country? Have they not repeatedly ſaid on former occaſions, that our ordinary reſources were exhauſted? And to-day, with myſterious ſilence, they paſs over the ſubject, and cautiouſly decline giving any opinion on the efficacy of former reſources, while they reprobate new expedients;

expedients; and ſay nothing about the propriety of reſorting to the funding ſyſtem, while they condemn the principle of every plan by which it may be relieved. The honourable Gentlemen have ſaid, that our ordinary ſources are exhauſted, and that no extraordinary reſources can be employed. I leave it to the Houſe then to judge how far thoſe, who in principle give the enemy a right to aſk all, who, by decrying our reſources, give them confidence to advance every pretenſion by kindly informing them, that from our inability to reſiſt, they may extort whatever they demand, are the true friends to their country, or the enlightened advocates of peace? I am convinced that the majority of the Houſe and of the country will feel that peace is not likely to be obtained upon terms conſiſtent with our honour or our ſafety, by diſmiſſing Miniſters, if they are to be followed by men who have ever viewed with kindneſs the principles of the enemy; by men who have juſtified every act of the enemy, while they have traduced every meaſure of the Britiſh Government; by men who have extolled the reſources of the French, with a zeal equalled only by the perſeverance with which they have depreciated the energy and the reſources of their own country. Whatever opinions ſuch men profeſs to have of the ſincerity of Miniſters, of their capacity for the conduct of affairs; whatever concluſions they may draw from the review of the finances and the magnitude of our expence, I leave it to the country and to the world to determine, whether, under ſuch auſpices, there could be any chance of peace upon terms ſhort of the baſeſt humiliation to an inſolent foe, and the moſt criminal ſurrender of every principle of national honour, and every ſource of national greatneſs.

The honourable Gentleman ſpeaks of peace as abſolutely neceſſary, but has the honourable Gentleman explained how peace is to be obtained. After encouraging the perſeverance of the enemy in their wild and deſtructive deſigns, by holding out how little reſiſtance we can oppoſe to their attempts, the honourable Gentleman ſays not a word of this. He thinks he does his duty to his country and his conſtituents by enforcing the neceſſity of peace, without ſaying a ſyllable of the means of pacification. Becauſe he thinks peace cannot be obtained without a change of ſyſtem, he would in the mean time ſuſpend all grants of ſupply. After diſavowing every opinion we have pronounced, after recanting every principle we have maintained, after abandoning every pledge we have given, after neglecting every means of defence, and renouncing every manly exertion, how would the

honourable Gentleman have us appeaſe the fury of the enemy, and to ſecure the ſafety of England? Why there muſt be a total change of ſyſtem in England and Ireland! Till Ireland was in a better ſituation France could have no inducement to make peace? What this change, ſo myſteriouſly announced is to be in detail, we are left to gueſs. Are you to neglect the means of defence, if you cannot perſuade the enemy to make peace. The change which the honourable Gentleman recommends, I ſuſpect would be to remove thoſe diſtinctions, and to ſweep away thoſe privileges which have raiſed the hatred and the envy of France; but the honourable Gentleman contends that the French would be juſtified in refuſing to make peace, becauſe Ireland is not unanimous; but would he conſider Miniſters juſtified in refuſing to make peace, becauſe La Vendee was in a ſtate of inſurrection? If in his eyes this would be an inſufficient reaſon for refuſing to make peace with France, when nearly one-fourth of its inhabitants were in a ſtate of open hoſtility againſt the tyranny under which they were oppreſſed; will he ſay that it is reaſon for the perſevering hoſtility of the enemy, that Ireland is in a ſtate of danger, ariſing from the neceſſary exertion of vigour to reſiſt the operation of French principles diffuſed every where with ſuch aſſiduity, and in Ireland with peculiar ſucceſs; circulated with that induſtry which they have ever ſhewn to ſupplant by their deſolating principles of liberty, the real practical bleſſings of the Britiſh conſtitution?

The Chancellor of the Exchequer declared, he could not conceive how that degree of perfect unanimity, which the right honourable Gentleman ſeemed to think ſo neceſſary, could be obtained while theſe principles were diſſeminated with ſuch induſtry; but this was not the time to enter into this diſcuſſion; and he had only alluded to this ſubject, to ſhew the conſiſtency of the right honourable Gentleman's argument, when applied to the caſe of La Vendee. But after all, did the right honourable Gentleman ſeriouſly imagine that he had convinced the Houſe that it was unneceſſary for them to make great efforts? He had relied much upon the declarations which had been made out of doors reſpecting this tax; as far as the public opinion accorded with the right honourable Gentleman's views, ſo far he ſeemed inclined to treat it with reſpect; but he totally laid out of his conſideration thoſe ſentiments which accompanied thoſe declarations. Though, in ſome inſtances, the people had expreſſed their diſapprobation of this tax, in its preſent

ſtate,

ſtate, without any of the alterations and modifications which it would be neceſſary to make, yet they never went the length of the right honourable Gentleman, and ſaid, that no ſupplies at all ought to be raiſed; on the contrary, in the caſe of the Borough of Southwark, they had expreſſed the ſtrongeſt ſenſe of the neceſſity of making great and vigorous exertions for the public defence. Could this be a ſubject of doubt, after all the Papers relative to the rupture of the Negociation had been laid before the Houſe, and above all, ſince they had ſeen the late Proclamation of the Directory? Indeed he ſhould feel aſhamed if it could now become matter of argument. If then it might be aſſumed, as an indiſputable propoſition, that great and vigorous exertions were neceſſary at the preſent arduous criſis, the next point for conſideration was, whether a large part of the ſupplies of the year ought to be raiſed, by the mode now propoſed, within the year; or whether the whole ſhould be raiſed by the old ſyſtem of funding? This was the real queſtion for conſideration: but, inſtead of diſcuſſing it, the Gentlemen on the other ſide had exerted all their abilities to prove that we ought to make no efforts at all. They had never given any anſwer to the only important queſtion, viz. If great exertions were neceſſary, how they were to be made? Inſtead of this, they had only ſaid, that a propoſal to depart from the Funding Syſtem came with a very bad grace from him, who had funded ſo much. This could not be conſidered as a very ſtrong argument; and he ſhould have thought, that the Gentlemen after ſo long an abſence from their Parliamentary duty, would have diſcovered ſome more efficacious mode of reaſoning, than to ſay, "Do not adopt a good meaſure, becauſe you ought to have adopted it ſooner." Surely the Houſe had a right to expect, from a grave and experienced Stateſman, ſomething more than a declaration, that if any means could be deviſed to raiſe a large proportion of the Supplies within the year, and if theſe means were in their nature unobjectionable, he ſhould not oppoſe them. This could not be conſidered as a very great inſtance of condeſcenſion. However, the principal objection of the right honourable Gentleman ſeemed to be, that thoſe extraordinary means ought not to be reſorted to now, when a great and obvious neceſſity exiſted, becauſe we had not employed them when no ſuch neceſſity did exiſt.

But Gentlemen ſeemed to conſider, that by adopting the preſent mode of raiſing a part of the Supply, the ſyſtem of funding was to be given up, and the preſent ſubſtituted in its room. If Gentlemen had been preſent in their places when this meaſure was firſt propoſed, they would have known that the

the funding ſyſtem was not given up; on the contrary, he had propoſed that the larger part of the ſupplies of the year ſhould be raiſed by way of loan. It was thought adviſeable, as the funds had been ſo much increaſed, to eaſe them, by procuring a large part of the ſupplies in a different mode; therefore, ſo far from giving up the ſyſtem of funding, the preſent plan was intended to relieve it. That this object, if it could be attained, would be moſt deſirable, could not be queſtioned, even by thoſe who diſliked the preſent tax. Having ſaid thus much, he did not think it neceſſary to argue this point more at length upon the preſent occaſion. The point that called particularly for the conſideration of the Houſe was this, aſſuming that it was neceſſary to raiſe a large ſum within the year, was the preſent plan, the moſt expedient, and the moſt likely to be effectual? In conſidering this ſubject, the two honourable Gentlemen on the other ſide had argued very differently. The firſt called it a tax upon property—the other, a general tax upon income. The latter was nearer the truth, but neither of them were correct. With reſpect to the honourable Gentleman who called this a tax upon property, it was aſtoniſhing that he ſhould be ſo ill informed of what paſſed in that Houſe, even though he was abſent, as to ſtate as arguments againſt this plan, the very topics which he (Mr. Pitt) had urged in order to obviate ſome objections which had been made to it. The honourable Gentleman had contended, that a tax upon property, ſuppoſing it poſſible that the amount of the property could be aſcertained, would not be a proper meaſure. In this opinion, however, the honourable Gentleman differed from thoſe declarations out of doors againſt this tax, upon which ſo much reliance had been placed on the other ſide of the Houſe. However, the honourable Gentleman had puſhed this argument to a greater length than he had done. He (Mr. Pitt) had ſaid that if the amount of every man's property could be aſcertained, it would be a moſt deſirable thing to make the people contribute to the public exigence, in proportion to their wealth. But there exiſted no means of aſcertaining the property of individuals, except ſuch as were of a nature that could not be reſorted to. Inſtead, therefore, of a tax upon property, this was what he had ſtated it to be, a Tax upon general Expenditure; in opening it to the Houſe, he had anticipated an objection which he thought would be made, viz. that this tax applied only to ſuch income as was in expenditure. This was an inconvenience which it was impoſſible to avoid, without having recourſe to ſuch a ſcrutiny of property as muſt, in every point of view, be highly objectionable. That the preſent plan was

in

its nature imperfect he was ready to admit, and had ſtated it to be ſo when he firſt introduced the ſubject; but he thought it the beſt and moſt general criterion that could be found. The queſtion then was, whether this plan was ſo very imperfect, and ſo objectionable in principle, that it ought immediately to be rejected; or whether after proper alteration and modification, it might not be of the greateſt public benefit? The right honourable Gentleman oppoſite to him had not conſidered this with his uſual accuracy; for becauſe this tax was calculated at ſeven millions, and that it was not to exceed a tenth part of a perſon's income, he had calculated the whole income of the country at only ſeventy millions; but the inaccuracy of this calculation muſt be obvious to the right honourable Gentleman, when he recollected that though this tax never took more than one-tenth of the income, yet in many caſes it took only the 120th part, and in ſome caſes took nothing. At all events, this obſervation was inapplicable, becauſe he had never ſpoken of the general income of the country, but only ſo much of it as was in expenditure. Without dilating more upon this part of the ſubject, he ſhould ſay a few words upon what he conſidered as the leading objections to the meaſure. The right honourable Gentleman had made a diviſion of the different kinds of property, which appeared to him to be incorrect, inaſmuch as it omitted one great ſource of income. The right honourable Gentleman's diviſion was, income ariſing from landed eſtates, from commercial purſuits, and from property in the funds. As to the income derived from profeſſional exertions, the right honourable Gentleman had very properly claſſed it under the head of commercial gains. But he had omitted one great ſource of income, viz. that which was received as the reward of labour; and of the latter claſs many were exempted by the criterion now propoſed. The right hon. Gentleman had contended, that this would operate as a tax upon funded property, which always had been, and muſt ever be, conſidered as inviolate. But the meaſure now propoſed by no means tended to affect property in the funds. No deſcription of income, whether ariſing from landed eſtates commercial purſuits, or funded property, was meant to be exempted from the operation, becauſe it was meant to attach upon expenditure in general. Where was the injuſtice of this? "Why," ſays the right honourable Gentleman, "by taxing the expenditure of a man whoſe income is derived from the funds, you do in fact tax his property in the funds."

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If this was a valid objection, it ought not only to induce the Houſe to reject this meaſure, but to repeal every tax that ever was laid on; becauſe it was impoſſible to ſuggeſt a tax which would not be paid by people having money in the funds. Every tax impoſed upon conſumption, of courſe muſt be defrayed by people having property in the funds. If this objection was never made to taxes which were in their nature perpetual, it appeared to him ſingular that it ſhould now, for the firſt time, be made to a tax which was merely temporary.

The next objection of the right hon. Gentleman was, that a tax upon commercial income was not juſt, for, ſaid he, a man's landed property is his own; but the income he derives from commerce, is partly derived from his induſtry. This was not a time to enter into a minute diſcuſſion of theſe arguments, but ſurely the right hon. Gentleman did not mean to contend that commercial gains were not a fair object of taxation. Thoſe gains were derived under the protection of the laws of the country, and conſequently ought to contribute proportionably to ſupport them. He did not, however, mean to contend that many diſtinctions ought not to be made, and in the Committee modifications would undoubtedly be propoſed.---As to perſons who employed great capitals, in proportion to their annual gains, they would be leſs affected than perſons of landed property; but all that could be inferred from this was, that it was a recommendation of the criterion. Perhaps this criterion, as far as it affected the lower claſſes, did not make diſtinctions enough. It would be recollected, that the particular reaſon he aſſigned for making this tax lower upon houſes than upon the other articles was, that it ſhould not fall too heavily upon that ſpecies of income ariſing from retail trade. The right hon. Gentleman had next cenſured the mode of appeal given in this caſe. Some alterations might alſo be made upon this ſubject; but ſtill he thought that mode of correcting the operation of the tax might be uſeful. The right hon. Gentleman himſelf had admitted, that it might with propriety be applied to landed property; and, on the other hand, he (Mr. Pitt) was willing to admit, that as far as it related to the lower claſs of retail dealers, ſome modification was neceſſary. Theſe were the general objections which had been made to the plan, and he ſhould now leave them to the conſideration of the Houſe, with the obſervations he had made upon them.

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He was aware that there were many who thought that rather than take this viſible criterion of aſcertaining property, it would be better to lay a general tax upon property. Undoubtedly, if they could find the means of taxing property equally, without compelling improper diſcloſure, it would be a moſt deſirable object; but as that could not be done without being open to ſtronger objections than the preſent plan, it became neceſſary that ſome viſible criterion ſhould be found. If that were the caſe, could any criterion be found more general in its nature than the aſſeſſed taxes? The perſons immediately affected by this tax amounted to 800,000, and through them extended to about 4,000,000 of perſons. By this plan a great number of poor perſons would be wholly excluded, and above half of the number before-mentioned would contribute very little.

The Committee upon this bill might, and he had no doubt would, make many amendments in favour of ſhop-keepers; but all this would be conſiſtent with the principle of the bill. The Committee might, if they thought proper, make an alteration in the ſcale propoſed, without any dereliction of the principle of the bill. Many mitigations were, undoubtedly, neceſſary; but if the utmoſt inference that could be drawn from this was, that the exemptions ſhould be carried farther than was propoſed in the Committee of Ways and Means, how did that affect the general principle of the meaſure, when they had the means of obviating in the Committee the only objections that had been made againſt it? Without going now into thoſe details, which he wiſhed to reſerve for a future period, he ſhould only ſay, that if it was admitted that great exertions ought to be made, and that a large part of the ſupplies ought to be raiſed within the year, and if the only objection to this criterion was, that it would bear hard upon the lower orders of retail dealers, and it appeared to be within their power to obviate this objection; then, upon what ground could they heſitate, unleſs they had changed their opinions; unleſs, inſtead of making preparations for war, they were determined to begin by begging for peace from an haughty and inſulting enemy. If they were not determined to give up every means of exertion, had they any option but to go into a Committee upon this bill, to remedy the inconveniencies that might reſult from it, if paſſed in its preſent ſhape? What was the conduct which the gentlemen on the other ſide wiſhed the Houſe to adopt? It was to reject this meaſure at once, and thereby to declare that they

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would make no great efforts to raiſe the ſupplies within the year. If the Houſe adopted this advice, it would be proclaiming to France and to the world, their repentance for having dared to ſtand up in defence of their laws, their religion, and of every thing that was valuable to them as Engliſhmen. It would be humbling themſelves before a haughty adverſary; and when they had no means of defence, imploring mercy and forgiveneſs from an enemy from whom we had to expect neither.

Upon theſe grounds, he hoped the Houſe would read the bill a ſecond time, and let it go into a Committee.

Mr. *Fox*, in reply, ſaid, the change I want is a radical reform of the corruptions that have crept into the conſtitution. and of the abuſes which now deform its practice; a reform in the repreſentation of the people in Parliament, and a reſtoration of the pure rights and privileges of the people at large, which have been lately entrenched upon by perſecutions and reſtraints of every kind. This is the change that I want. It is a change which has for its view to bring back to its purity, and to preſerve the Britiſh conſtitution; and to incorporate all ranks of the people in its ſupport.

Mr. *Sheridan* alſo explained.

Mr. Alderman *Combe* ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the bill.

Mr. *Fierney*, to prove the unpopularity of the meaſure, ſaid, that a worthy magiſtrate (Mr. Stoneſtreet,) who was one of the greateſt admirers of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, was the perſon who preſented the reſolutions of the Borough meeting againſt the bill. That worthy magiſtrate had declared that the bill, if ever paſſed into a law, would be ineffectual, as the augmentation propoſed could not be collected.

Mr. *H. Thornton* made nearly ſimilar aſſertions reſpecting the operations of the bill.

Mr. *Mainwaring* ſaid, I am fully perſuaded that no meaſure agitated in Parliament was ever ſo obnoxious to the people. I have received inſtructions from a vaſt number of my conſtituents of the different pariſhes of the county which I repreſent, (Middleſex) almoſt unanimous againſt the bill. The aſſeſſed taxes are already ſo heavy and oppreſſive, that very many of my conſtituents ſuffer the greateſt diſtreſs. An augmentation, therefore, is totally inadmiſſible. No modification or amendment will render the meaſure acceptable. They are hoſtile to the principle, it being oppreſſive in the extreme.

extreme. If the Bill paſſes, the people will be called upon either to reſiſt it, or—ſink under the preſſure."

The Houſe then divided,

Ayes	- -	175
Noes	- -	50
	Majority,	125

The Bill was ordered to be committed on Monday,

Mr. *Fox* declined attending the Committee, convinced that no modification or amendment of the Bill would ſatisfy the people. He promiſed, however, to return to his ſeat when it came from the Committee, and make another effort to obtain its rejection.

Adjourned about one o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

FRIDAY, *Dec.* 15.

Mr. *Wilberforce Bird* moved, that there be laid before the Houſe an account of all perſons aſſeſſed for all clocks and watches, diſtinguiſhing the claſſes.—Ordered.

Sir *William Dolben* moved, that the Houſe ſhould reſolve itſelf into a Committee of the whole Houſe on Monday next, to conſider of a proper bounty to be given to Maſters and Surgeons of ſhips employed in the conveyance of ſlaves.—Ordered.

A new writ was ordered for the borough of Great Bedwin, in the county of Wilts, in the room of Major General Bruce, deceaſed.

The Scots Militia Bill was read a third time and paſſed.

The Marine Mutiny Bill was read a ſecond time, and ordered to be committed to a Committee of the whole Houſe on Monday.

THIRD SECRETARY OF STATE.

Mr. *Tierney* roſe, in purſuance of his notice, to call the attention of the Houſe to the ſituation of the office of the Third Secretary of State. He adverted to the laſt report of the Committeee of Finance, from which he ſaid he drew his facts, and which he ſhould ſubmit to the conſideration of the Houſe. From the fatigue which the Houſe had undergone laſt night, he was induced to ſpare them the trouble of hearing a long ſpeech from him. The whole of what he had to ſubmit was contained in an Addreſs, which was a pretty long one. He then read the Addreſs and moved it, which is as follows;

"That an humble Addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, to repreſent to his Majeſty, that we obſerve, with great concern, the new diviſion of the State Office which his Majeſty has been pleaſed to make by the creation of the office of a Third Secretary of State for the War Department; a department inſtituted, for the firſt time, in the month of July 1794, as ſubſequently recognized and confirmed by an order of his Majeſty in Council, on the 27th of February 1795. By that order it appears that the ſaid War Department is put upon an eſtabliſhment which gives to the Crown a diſtribution of the following new ſalaries, namely, one of 6000l. one of 1500l. one of 1000l. one of 650l. one of 450l. two of 300l. one of 200l. one of 150l. and three of 100l. per annum each; all of them ſalaries free from any deduction.

"That we feel ourſelves called upon to obſerve, that the buſineſs of the State Office has uſually been tranſacted by two principal Secretaries of State, and that the office commonly called the office of Third Secretary of State, or Secretary for the Colonies, was unknown previous to the year 1768. That in the year 1782 his Majeſty was graciouſly pleaſed to order that it ſhould be ſuppreſſed, and that, by an Act paſſed in the twenty-ſecond year of his Majeſty's reign, it was enacted that it ſhould be utterly aboliſhed and taken away.

"With all becoming deference to ſubmit to his Majeſty, that the revival of the office of Third Secretary of State can be regarded by his faithful Commons without jealouſy, only when ariſing from the evident neceſſity of the caſe. That the new diviſion of the State Office, againſt which we humbly remonſtrate, cannot, from what appears before us, be conſidered as neceſſary, while, from the profuſion of emoluments with which it is accompanied, and by the nature of arrangements with which it has been carried into effect, it excites in us feelings of deep anxiety for the ſecurity of the Conſtitution, the honour of his Majeſty, and the liberty and independence of Parliament.

"That it appears that the right honourable Henry Dundas did, while he performed the duties of the office now filled by his Grace the Duke of Portland, and known by the name of the Home Department, tranſact every part of the buſineſs which has ſince been made to conſtitute the ſeparate employment of the new War Eſtabliſhment. That he ſo tranſacted this buſineſs, not only during a period of peace, but alſo during a long period of war, namely, from the month of February 1793, to the month of July 1794, and that the only additional expence incurred during the increaſed buſineſs of the latter period, was 530l. per annum, being the ſalary of four extra clerks. Further to repreſent to his Majeſty, that the right honourable Henry Dundas did, while Secretary of State for the Home Department, not only diſcharge the entire duties of that office, including, as at that time it did, thoſe of the preſent new War Eſtabliſhment, but did likewiſe conſider himſelf as competent to execute the additional buſineſs of the Treaſurer of the Navy, of the Chief Commiſſioner for the Affairs of India, and of the Keeper of the Signet in Scotland.

"That it would have afforded us ſome ſatisfaction to have perceived, that when the new office was created to execute a part of the buſineſs of the Home department, the Home department had undergone a reduction of eſtabliſhment proportioned to the decreaſe of the duties remaining to be diſcharged. But we obſerve, with ſurpriſe, that no ſuch reduction has taken place; on the contrary, we find the eſtabliſhment to have been encreaſed.

"Humbly to repreſent to his Majeſty, that in the year 1782 the nett receipt of the State Office (including certain offices annexed to it) was 26,515l. per annum. The nett receipt eſtabliſhed by his Majeſty in Council, in 1795, is 41,430l. The total number of perſons employed in the

State

State Office in 1782 was 48; the number at preſent employed is 66; ſo that the amount of nett eſtabliſhed emoluments is encreaſed by the ſum of 14,915l. per annum, and the number of perſons employed encreaſed by an addition of 18. That we cannot avoid obſerving alſo, that by a minute of the Board of Treaſury, dated the 14th of March 1783, it appears to have been his Majeſty's gracious intention to allow to each of his principal Secretaries of State, being then two in number, a nett ſalary of 4500l. making together a ſum of 9000l.; whereas, by the eſtabliſhment ſettled in 1795, they have each of them, being three in number, a nett ſalary of 6000l. making together a ſum of 18,000l. We humbly conceive that the buſineſs of the State Office being divided amongſt three Secretaries inſtead of between two, would rather have juſtified a diminution than an increaſe of thoſe ſalaries, which in 1783 his Majeſty conſidered as ſufficiently liberal.

"To repreſent to his Majeſty, that deeply as we are impreſſed with the magnitude of this increaſed influence, there are other circumſtances attending the new arrangements of the State Office, which we contemplate with ſtill greater anxiety.

"By the order of his Majeſty in Council in 1795, the fees and gratuities heretofore received by the different officers in the State Office were directed to be applied towards the expence of the eſtabliſhment, and fixed ſalaries given in lieu of them. That much as we approve of the principle of this regulation, we cannot refrain from humbly repreſenting to his Majeſty, that, by the application of it in the inſtance before us, it has been made to ſerve as a ſecret and indirect mode of increaſing the influence of the Crown, and of adding to the revenues of the Civil Liſt without the knowledge or conſent of Parliament.

"It appears that the ſum annually paid from the Civil Liſt to the ſupport of the State Office, previous to the preſent arrangement, was 14,240l. That in the year 1795, in conſequence of the new appropriation of the fees and of the arrangement made on the diviſion of the office, no more than 3379l. was to be provided for out of the Civil Liſt, which therefore gained in that year the ſum of 10,861l. That by the increaſe of fees received in the firſt three quarters of the year 1796 (the lateſt period to which the accounts before us are made up), the Civil Liſt was exonerated from any payment beyond the ſum of 2178l. and even that ſum liable to be diminiſhed by the receipt of fees in the fourth quarter of that year; ſo that the gain to the Civil Liſt, from the order in Council in 1795, was in 1796 at leaſt 12,072l. which, added to the preceding 10,861l. makes a ſum gained to the Civil Liſt in two years of the war, of 22,933l. excluſive of what may have been derived from the operation of this arrangement in the years 1794 and 1797, of which we poſſeſs no authentic information, but which cannot be eſtimated at a leſs ſum than was obtained in the eight years of which we have an account.

"That the Civil Liſt has not, however, gained theſe ſums by the ſingle operation of bringing the fees to account, but by certain arrangements of a nature which we cannot contemplate without the moſt lively concern. It is with regret we ſee any part of his Majeſty's Civil Liſt depending on the generoſity of his Miniſters, and the patronage of the Crown appearing to be dealt out as a matter of bargain.

"It appears that, by the arrangement in queſtion, the right honourable Lord Grenville having, as Auditor of the Exchequer, a ſalary of 4000l. per annum, and as Secretary of State a ſalary of 6000l. per annum, does not receive of the latter ſum more than 3200l. and conſequently gives to the Civil Liſt the annual ſum of 2800l. That the right honourable Henry Dundas having, as Treaſurer of the Navy 4000l. as Commiſſioner for

for the Affairs of India, 2000l. as Keeper of the Signet in Scotland, 1500l. and as Secretary of State, a ſalary of 6000l. per annum, does not, in fact, receive from this laſt appointment more than 2000l. and conſequently gives to the Civil Liſt the annual ſum of 4000l.

"That we humbly intreat his Majeſty's royal attention to theſe facts, the reſult of which is, that the influence of the Crown has been largely and unneceſſarily increaſed; that enormous ſalaries have been aſſigned to perſons who, by a private arrangement, were to ſurrender a large proportion of them to other uſes than thoſe for which they were oſtenſibly granted; and, that a large ſum has been ſecretly furniſhed to the Civil Liſt without the knowledge or conſent of Parliament.

"That our duty to our country and our attachment to his Majeſty demand from us, particularly at the preſent awful criſis, this repreſentation; and that we ſubmit it to his Majeſty's royal wiſdom to take ſuch ſteps, in regard to the matter of it, as may appear to his paternal goodneſs moſt likely to contribute to the honour of the Crown, the independence of Parliament, and the ſecurity of the Conſtitution."

Mr. *Tierney* then ſaid, that he had done his duty in laying before the Houſe the Addreſs they had juſt heard, and giving them an opportunity of deciding upon it.

Mr. Secretary *Dundas* complained of the ſituation in which he was placed as a very unpleaſant one, that of being compelled to ſpeak a great deal of himſelf. He ſhould, however, leave moſt parts of the topics to be diſcuſſed by his friends. He then entered into a hiſtory of the office of Secretary of State, and ſaid that he had never deſired it; nor had he any idea of continuing in it above a few months when he was appointed. He ſaid it was a very laborious office indeed, ever ſince it became neceſſary to be ſo attentive to the police of the country, and that duty aroſe chiefly in conſequence of the unfortunate introduction into this country of principles and political ſentiments that were incompatible with our Conſtitution. He took notice of his office of Preſident of the Board of Controul, the duty of which was very laborious alſo. And with regard to the office of Treaſuer of the Navy, it had been conſidered by ſome as a ſinecure, but it had not been ſo to him. He had attended a great deal to the intereſts of thoſe whom it was his buſineſs to pay; the ſailors and thoſe relatives who were to receive their wages, and although the Bill he brought into Parliament upon that ſubject was a ſhort one, yet the attention he gave to the ſubject was very long and laborious. He ſpoke handſomely of all the Gentlemen in the office under his direction, for their talents and diligence. He confeſſed, however, he could give the Houſe no encouragement to expect any reduction in the public expenditure of his offices, for he knew not of one point in which, conſiſtently with the due diſcharge of official duty, there could be any retrenchment. He muſt decline ſaying any thing of his talents, but he could ſafely lay his hand upon his heart and declare,

clare, that in no one inſtance was he conſcious of having neglected his public duty.

Mr. *Garthſhore* ſaid, that after the explanation afforded by his right honourable Friend, it was unneceſſary for him to trouble them with many obſervations. The hon. Mover of this Addreſs had thought proper to allude to a ſituation which he held in one of the offices of Government, and repreſented it as an extenſion of influence, that the Secretaries in thoſe departments were alſo Members of Parliament. Whatever opinions Gentlemen might entertain of the expediency of ſuch eſtabliſhments, it would be no more than decent to avoid imputing improper motives to others. The fact was, that neither his appointment, nor that of the other honourable Gentlemen alluded to, were conferred with a view of obtaining their ſupport for Miniſters, as neither of them were in Parliament at the time they were appointed. As to the diviſion of the Office of Third Secretary of State, it appeared from the report of the Committee of Finance, that the additional expence to the nation was at preſent little more than 4000l. while great accommodation was afforded to the ſervice of the public. Mr. Garthſhore ſtated, that he would not have obtruded himſelf on the Houſe, had not the honourable Mover choſen to implicate him in ſome degree by the preſent queſtion. When this buſineſs was laſt agitated in Parliament, he recollected ſome inſinuations of a ſimilar nature againſt him; but as all the arguments of the honourable Mover had then, as they have been now, ably refuted, he had declined to trouble the Houſe with any obſervations which regarded himſelf perſonally. When, however, the ſubject was renewed by the ſame honourable Gentleman, who gave an ample ſcope to his fancy in the wide field of ſurmiſe or conjecture, he hoped for the indulgence of the Houſe, while he ſubmitted to their conſideration a few remarks. The honourable Gentleman had challenged his motives for accepting and continuing in an office, which he had once the honour to hold; but he had no objection to avow, that his motives were governed by the moſt honourable impulſe of the mind. The honourable Gentleman, inſtead of indulging himſelf in vague ſurmiſes, might have diſcovered the motives in the laudable ambition which every man naturally feels to render himſelf as uſeful as his talents will permit. Mr Garthſhore proceeded to examine the Addreſs, which he objected to, as having no ſpecified object, or, if any, as tending to diſturb an arrangement of public buſineſs, which the experience of every official man had ſanctioned as neceſſary. He contended that the ſtatement of the honourable Gentleman, as to the expence,

was

was unfair and uncandid. When the division of the
firſt took place, the War department was put at 10,000l. but
in point of fact it had never reached 7000l. and it was his opi-
nion, that the conſideration of ſuch a ſum was too trivial to in-
duce the Houſe to approach the Throne with an addreſs, tend-
ing to a complete change of official arrangements confeſſedly
requiſite. That as to the office alluded to having been created
to influence Members of Parliament, the inſinuation was rather
ill-founded. On the firſt arrangement, there was not one
Member, beſides thoſe of ſuperior authority, who had the
ſmalleſt influence in that department. It was well known
that the firſt Under Secretary was not then in Parliament; and
that the preſent one (Mr. Huſkiſſon) to whoſe diligent diſ-
charge of the office he could bear ample teſtimony was not in
Parliament until laſt Seſſion. Mr. Garthſhore inſiſted that the
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The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* ſaid, that the hon. Gentle-
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pointed. He concluded with obſerving that he could not aſſent
to ſending to his Majeſty an Addreſs which contained a miſtate-
ment of facts, and in which were drawn erroneous concluſions.

Mr. *Wilberforce* ſaid, that through the whole of his Parlia-
mentary life, he had never witneſſed an inſtance of a motion
being brought forward which betrayed a more ſtriking example
of prejudice than that made this night by the honourable Gen-
tleman. No diſtinction was made by him between a prodigal
profuſion of the public money, and a wiſe and liberal expenditure
of it, where the nature of the office to be executed, and the ta-
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Mr. *Abbott* thought himſelf bound to defend the Committee of Finance, of which he had the honour of being a member. To the Report of that Committee he would adhere, nor could he bring himſelf to agree with the opinion now delivered in the rival Report, brought forward by the honourable Gentleman. He then appealed to the hiſtory of the laſt century, to prove the neceſſity of a third Secretary of State. As to the mere ſinecure places, he thought they afforded a very proper and practicable field for reform, and the preſent was a moment which called for every poſſible retrenchment in that reſpect, but he was averſe to any retrenchment that could tend to diminiſh the ſplendour and dignity of the Crown. The addreſs he looked upon as impolitic and imperfect.

Mr. *P. Carew* was of opinion, that the ſeparation of the two offices was highly neceſſary in time of war, and would be alſo adviſeable in time of peace.

Mr. *Scrope Bernard* defended the Committee of Finance, and obſerved, that it had been recommended by the Committee of Enquiry, that the ſurplus fees ſhould go to the Civil Liſt, to make up for the Extraordinary Expences to which it was expoſed in time of war.

Mr. *Tierney* roſe in reply: he obſerved, that the moſt important part of the addreſs, namely, the facts it contained, remained ſtill uncontroverted; the objections offered to them were unſupported by a tittle of what could be called evidence. He contended that the addreſs was drawn up with the moſt

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Mr. *Tierney* roſe in reply: he obſerved, that the moſt important part of the addreſs, namely, the facts it contained, remained ſtill uncontroverted; the objections offered to them were unſupported by a tittle of what could be called evidence. He contended that the addreſs was drawn up with the moſt

guarded circumſpection; it principally ſtated the abuſe in eſtabliſhing an increaſed ſyſtem of patronage, and reprobated the meaſure of aggrandizing the civil liſt, by giving to it the fees of the offices of Secretary of State, as unconſtitutional and unwarranted in the higheſt degree. He perceived that the office of Third Secretary was intended as a permanent eſtabliſhment, the allegations referring to that point were uncontradicted, and the Houſe would decide on the juſtice of his inferences. He could not help obſerving, that ſome gentlemen on the Finance Committee felt ſore at his ſtatements; and a diſtinguiſhed Member went ſo far as to call it "a rival report." The prayer of the petition to his Majeſty went to induce him to do away the impreſſion, in a conſiderable inſtance, of the war being productive of a ſyſtem of emolument and patronage. The idea of the appointment of a Third Secretary of State, namely, for managing the affairs of Scotland, was by no means an argument in favour of the appointment of a Third Secretary of State at preſent: the circumſtances of that kingdom might require it at the time; however in due time it died a natural death, it was no longer found neceſſary. The office of American Secretary did not long exiſt; Parliament decidedly ſet its face againſt it, and declared the office to be at leaſt unneceſſary; in 1782, by the operation of Mr. Burke's bill, it was ſuppreſſed. With reſpect to what an honourable Gentleman had ſtated, relative to the omiſſion of the next clauſe of the bill, to that ſet forth in the addreſs, the omiſſion had by no means the effect alluded to; the office might certainly be revived by the Crown; but let the language of the act reſpecting a revival of the office be ſeen, and the heavy penalties attached to the holder of the office will clearly appear. The bill could not be ſaid to ſpeak in terms of approbation of the revival of the office; as well it might be ſaid that a penal ſtatute recogniſed the crime of burglary, becauſe it mentioned it for the purpoſe of attaching the penalty of hanging to the offender.

Mr. Tierney then adverted to what he deſcribed as the unwarrantable perſonality manifeſted by thoſe who oppoſed his motion. He aſſured Gentlemen, it was equally painful to him to adopt perſonality in his defence, as to hear it applied to himſelf. He was fairly committed with one right honourable Gentleman. He aſſerted the office in queſtion to be unneceſſary; that perſon averred it was neceſſary. In this point of view they could proceed no further. He was as willing to give credit, as to aſſume it, that they both ſpoke their

their genuine ſentiments and feelings. But perhaps the right honourable Gentleman felt a little bias, from the circumſtance of his being in poſſeſſion of the office himſelf; of that others were to judge He repeated, however, that the appropriation of the fees to the civil liſt, without a vote of that Houſe, or the ſanction of Parliament, was highly reprehenſible and unconſtitutional: and this was one great ground of his preſent charge. If the civil liſt was inadequate to its purpoſes, or to the dignity of the Crown, it ſhould be made adequate by fair, open, and conſtitutional means. The main points of the addreſs were two: firſt, the allegation that the office was unneceſſary; againſt which there was no evidence offered, but the bare aſſertion of the right honourable Gentleman: his allegation was borne out by the teſtimony of Mr. Pollock, who decidedly ſtated his opinion, that the office was unneceſſary. With reſpect to what was ſaid of the unwillingneſs of the right honourable Gentleman to accept the office of Secretary, and that he had executed it gratuitouſly, it ſhould appear that he ſoon repented of that conceſſion, for he contrived to get a ſalary annexed to the office of Preſident of the Board of Controul, and ſpeedily after, to get two friends of his, Members of Parliament, accommodated with ſituations of 1500l. a-year each; indeed that Gentleman never was without a train of friends to trumpet forth his praiſes when occaſion required. It was alſo ſtrongly objected to the addreſs, that it had no ſpecific object; it however had obviouſly a ſpecific object, which was the abrogation of an unneceſſary office, and the conſequent retrenchment of large ſalaries. The exiſtence of the office militated againſt the ſpirit of Mr. Burke's bill, and the deprivation of the Secretaries office to a certain amount in fees, of 22,000l. per annum, and which ſum was known to be much larger ſince the war, without any account of the particular application of it being laid before Parliament, ought ſeriouſly to be enquired into. The addreſs involved a ſpecific object, as far as it was in his mind decorous or proper to do ſo; it pointed to the grievance, but left the ſpecific remedy in the breaſt of his Majeſty. His view was to make him appear as the father of his people; he wiſhed to ſee the Sovereign popular; he thought the redreſs had better come from that quarter; he did not like to ſuggeſt any thing that might appear like an interference with the prerogative; the object of the addreſs was clear and defined, no doubts could be entertained about it. The arrangement of the fees, and their ap

plication to the civil liſt, he thought highly reprehenſible. No gentleman, except thoſe immediately concerned in the office, had directly averred his opinion that it was neceſſary: he was free to allow that certain parts of the official conduct of the right honourable Secretary, and the accuracy, correctneſs, and regularity which pervaded his departments, had conſiderable merit, and deſerved the encomiums which were beſtowed upon him. For his own part, he had no other motives in thus coming forward, but a fervent regard to the public welfare, loyalty to his Sovereign, and a wiſh, in times like the preſent, to ſee the moſt rigid œconomy enforced. With theſe impreſſions, he deemed it his duty to perſiſt in moving the Houſe to addreſs his Majeſty.

Mr. *P. Carew* explained.

Mr. *Martin* ſaid, that he had conſtitutional grounds for ſupporting the addreſs; he would avow his opinion and that was, that the office in queſtion tended to give an unconſtitutional patronage to the Crown.

The queſtion was then put on the addreſs, which was negatived without a diviſion.

The other orders of the day were deferred, and the Houſe adjourned.

LIST OF THE MINORITY,

WHO VOTED AGAINST MR. PITT'S BILL FOR DOUBLING, TRIPLING, AND QUADRUPLING THE ASSESSED TAXES,

DEC. 14, 1797.

Barclay, Geo.
Beauclerk, C. G.
Bird, W. W.
Bouverie, Hon. E. (Northampton.)
Brogden, J.
Burch, J. R.
Burdett, Sir F.
Byng, George
Clayton, Sir R.
Coke, D. P. (Nottingham.)
Copley, Sir L.
Courtenay, J.
Deniſon, W. J.
Edwards, Bryan
Fitzpatrick, R. H. R.
Fox, Right Hon. C. J.
Hare, James
Hawkins, Sir C.
Howard, Henry
Huſſey, Wm.
Jekyl, J.
Kemp, T.
Knight, R. P.
Langſton, J.
Lloyd, J. M.
Mainwaring, W. (Middx.)
Nicholls, J.
North, Dudley
Petrie, ——
Peirſe, Henry
Pochin, W. (Leiceſterſh.)
Rawdon, Hon. John
Rawdon, Hon. George
Richardſon, J.
Robſon, T. B.
Ruſſel, Lord Wm.
Sheridan, R. B.
Sinclair, Sir J.
Spencer, Lord Robert
Stanley, Lord
St. John, Hon. St. Andrew
Tarleton,

Tarleton, General	Tufton, Hon. John
Thompſon, Thomas	Walwyn, James
Thoſnton, H. (Southwark)	Weſtern, C. C.
Tierney, George	Wigley, E. (Worceſter.)
Tufton, Hon. Henry	Wilſon, R. (Barnſtaple.)

TELLERS.

Tierney, George — Combe, Alderman

HOUSE OF LORDS.

MONDAY, *Dec.* 18.

SCOTS APPEALS.

Sir Hew Dalrymple, Bart. *v.* the Hon. Marianne Fullarton and Col. Fullarton.

Their Lordſhips reſumed the conſideration of this important caſe, when

Lord *Thurlow* roſe, and ſtated his opinion thereon at ſome length, deeming it proper that certain points of the caſe ſhould be referred back to the conſideration of the Scots Court.

The *Lord Chancellor* followed, and ſhortly ſtated the grounds of his acquieſcence in the opinion of the noble and learned Lord. He concluded by moving a reſolution to the following effect: "That the caſe be remitted to the Court of Seſſion, in order that they may ſpecify the grounds on which they gave their opinion on certain points, which do not appear to be aſcertained," &c.

Their Lordſhips acquieſced in this determination.

John, Viſcount Arbuthnot, *v.* Colin Gillies, Merchant, in Brechin.

The counſel for the appellant were heard in continuation, and concluded; when

The *Lord Chancellor* ſeeming to entertain no doubt of the merits of the caſe, declined troubling the reſpondent's counſel.

The *Attorney General*, on the part of the reſpondent, ſuggeſted the propriety of annexing coſts.

The *Lord Chancellor* acquieſced in this point, and after a brief ſtatement of the merits of the caſe, in which the conduct of the appellant did not eſcape animadverſion, moved their Lordſhips to affirm the decree of the Scots Court, and to attach 100l. coſts, which was ordered accordingly.

The various bills upon the table were forwarded in their reſpective ſtages, after which the Houſe adjourned till eight o'clock the next day.

HOUSE

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

MONDAY, *Dec.* 18.

The Marine Mutiny bill went through a Committee, and was ordered to be reported on Wedneſday.

Mr. *Mainwaring* preſented a petition from the inhabitants of the pariſh of Clerkenwell, ſtating that the pariſh contains 21,000 perſons, 7000 of whom were watch and clock-makers; that by the effects of the duty laid on watches and clocks, that body of men were thrown out of employment in ſuch numbers that the aſſeſſment of poors-rate in that pariſh amounted to 54,000l. and that if the tax ſhould remain in force, there would be a great addition to the number who are driven to the pariſh for neceſſary ſupport. The petition therefore prayed conſideration and relief.

Ordered to lie on the table.

A petition of the ſame kind was brought up from the pariſh of St. John, by Mr. Mainwaring, and ordered to lie on the table.

Sir *Charles Bunbury* roſe to give notice of a motion; he ſaid that great diſcontents had ariſen in his part of the country, from the preſent mode of taxing pleaſure-carts, he would, therefore, after the receſs, make a motion to amend that act.

On the motion of Sir *W. Dolben*, the Houſe reſolved itſelf into a Committee, and voted ſome reſolutions reſpecting the bounties to be given to maſters and ſurgeons of ſlave-ſhips.

ASSESSED TAXES.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* ſaid, that he ſhould in a very few words ſtate to the Houſe the general nature of the modifications which he intended to ſubmit with regard to the bill for increaſing the aſſeſſed taxes. He propoſed that the modifications ſhould apply to the general amount of the houſe-tax, the window-tax, and a further abatement of the duty in certain caſes, to thoſe houſekeepers who keep ſhops, and others who were to be included in the indulgencies; alſo he ſhould propoſe an augmentation in the duty on thoſe who kept carriages and male ſervants, &c. The detail he ſhould enter into hereafter. He was perfectly aware that the matter could not be finally diſcuſſed that night for many reaſons, and for one too obvious to need a comment, the early hour at which the Houſe was to aſſemble in the morning. It would, therefore, in his opinion, not be adviſeable for the Houſe to ſit until a late hour that night. He therefore intended to propoſe

poſe that night one or two clauſes, leaving the whole of the matter to be afterwards diſcuſſed, for which purpoſe he ſhould wiſh that the Chairman ſhould report progreſs, and aſk leave to ſit again, and then to reſume the buſineſs on Wedneſday next, and proceed on it afterwards with as little delay as poſſible. He wiſhed alſo that the report ſhould be printed, and that a ſhort interval ſhould be allowed to conſider the whole Bill. That period he conceived ſhould not be longer than Wednesday ſe'nnight. He thought that this was the beſt mode he could take to ſatisfy Gentlemen as to what his intentions were upon this matter.

Mr. *Plumer* ſaid, he was very glad that the Miniſter had given this notice of his intention. He muſt now declare, that if he attended to the Bill in the Committee, he was not afterwards to be conſidered as having given up his right to oppoſe the Bill altogether. He objected to the principle of it. It was unjuſt at all events, and might in many caſes be extremely oppreſſive, in having a retroſpective effect.

Mr. *Nicholls* objected to the Bill on two grounds —Firſt, becauſe it was unjuſt, partial and moſt oppreſſive. Secondly, becauſe it would be inefficient; for by the general diſtreſs it would occaſion there would follow a diminution of the revenue in articles that are already taxed. He objected to it further, becauſe it was not what the Miniſter ſtated it to be, namely, a tax upon property. It was a tax upon income, and that was uncertain in its nature, for the moſt eminent perſons in the country, who ſupported themſelves by their talents, Gentlemen of the learned profeſſion, and phyſicians had no certain income from property; it was always ſubject to great fluctuations, and could never be otherwiſe, and therefore it was impoſſible to make a tax like this applicable to the caſes of theſe perſons. He objected to the tax on the ground that it was novel in its nature, unknown in the practice of our anceſtors, and repugnant to the ſpirit of our Conſtitution. He apprehended that it would be quite impoſſible to carry it into effect upon the principle of its author, namely, that of "Taxing every man according to his income," without eſtabliſhing an inquiſitional power to examine into the private circumſtances of every man in this country. That was an objection which could not be remedied in the Committee; the Bill muſt create that power to be productive. He was not ready to aſſent to the eſtabliſhment of an inquiſitorial power over the circumſtances of every man in the country, and therefore he muſt oppoſe the Speaker's leaving the chair to allow the Bill to go into a Committee.

Mr. *Jolliffe* thought that the principle of the Bill was not underſtood,

underſtood, but was much miſapprehended by the public; he believed that if the principle of the Bill were generally known, there would be a general conſent to it. There were parts that wanted modification, but that was eaſily done. The queſtion now ought not to be in what way the Miniſter ſhould be oppoſed, but how we were to exert ourſelves againſt the common enemy? The Chancellor of the Exchequer had ſtated the other day, that this conteſt was one in which all law, order, morality, religion, and all the bleſſings of civil ſociety were at ſtake. He thought it a paltry way of deſcribing the conteſt; not only our law and religion were at ſtake, but what were of much greater conſequence were at ſtake—our property and our exiſtence. Should the French come among us, they would not want our laws or our religion, or our morals; they would take away our property and our lives. As a tax upon income he thought this a proper meaſure; he knew of nothing that was better in principle; he hoped that the public would have ſome ſatisfactory account of the manner in which this money was to be applied when raiſed, as well as a better account of the manner in which former grants had been expended than they hitherto had, for certainly the people were not now in as good a humour as they had been. Although he approved of the general principle of the Bill, he objected to that part of it which made the charge retroſpective. He hoped that would be altered in the Committee.

Lord *W. Ruſſell* ſaid, that notwithſtanding the modification which the Miniſter propoſed, he could not help conſidering it as his duty to reſiſt the queſtion for the Speaker leaving the chair. After the determination of the Houſe on a former night, when ſuch arguments had been ſo well and ſo powerfully urged, he could not expect to produce much effect by what he had to ſay, but he muſt perform his duty. He was unavoidably abſent when this meaſure was diſcuſſed, or he ſhould then have oppoſed it. He was one of thoſe who thought that a Member of that Houſe ought to follow the direction of his conſtituents upon points which either promoted their moſt immediate intereſts, or involved their inevitable ruin. If not, he knew not what ſort of repreſentation the Houſe was to be called. Nor did he know how Gentlemen who held a contrary doctrine, ſuch, for inſtance, as that the unpopularity of the meaſure is a reaſon for adopting it, he knew not, he ſaid, how ſuch perſons kept their conſciences at eaſe, or how they were to face their conſtituents, if they intended ever to face them, but perhaps the Miniſter might place them beyond the reach of their conſtituents. He, however, would obey the voice of his conſtituents, which were alſo agreeable to his opinion. A great many of them attended the meeting in the Borough

Borough when this Bill was taken into conſideration, and their ſenſe was there expreſſed. He had received communications from various others, and they all agreed in reprobating the meaſure as being to the laſt degree tyrannical. This was admitted by the moſt able advocates the Miniſter ever had—of this there was a ſtriking inſtance in the Borough (alluding, probably, to what was ſaid by Mr. Stoneſtreet.) Indeed the bill appeared to him in a light ſo odious that he could not think of aſſenting to its progreſs one ſtep further; and ſhould it, in the phrenzy of the day be paſſed, he knew not how it was to be put in force. We had indeed heard of a "vigour beyond the law," perhaps this was thought a fit time to exerciſe it, eſpecially when we ſaw the ſituation to which Ireland was reduced; a ſituation that excited in his mind nothing but horror. It had been ſaid that this Parliament was not the Parliament of the People, but the Parliament of the King—and this meaſure was admirably adapted to that idea; indeed he could not help feeling ſome apprehenſions of that kind upon reflecting on the tenor of the ſpeech from the Throne, for it ſeemed to breathe a ſpirit of interference with the ancient and excluſive privilege of the Houſe of Commons, by pointing out how the revenue was to be managed in ſome degree. He knew not how others felt upon this idea, but he had very ſtrong and unfavourable apprehenſions upon it, and he had no difficulty in ſtating them. He had no difficulty either in joining an honourable Gentleman in the aſſertion, that he had a general retainer to oppoſe the preſent Miniſters; that he was ſure it was the wiſh not only of a great and decided majority of his Conſtituents, but alſo of the great maſs of the people of England. That they are in ſuch a ſituation from the frantic ravings which the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Secretary at War, eſpecially the latter, had urged againſt the French, that it would be madneſs to expect peace while they continue in office. He muſt, therefore, as a friend to his country, never entruſt them with the public purſe.

Mr *Shaw Lefebvre* ſaid, that there was nothing novel in the principle of the preſent meaſure. About the latter end of the laſt century a much ſtronger meaſure was voted in a Committee of Ways and Means. After what had been ſaid by the Miniſter, he thought the Houſe was bound to go into a Committee upon the Bill. He believed, indeed, that the people miſtook the principle of the Bill, with which, after ſome modifications, when they underſtand the whole, they would be ſatisfied.

Mr. *Wilberforce* conſidered Gentlemen on the other ſide as

having made up their minds to oppoſe the ſupplies while the preſent Adminiſtration continued, and therefore they were bound to make out a caſe againſt the Miniſters in defence of themſelves, and ſurely the caſe ought to be ſtrong, indeed, before a Member of the Houſe of Commons ſhould vote againſt the ſupply of the year. That was the amount of the oppoſition of the noble Lord who ſpoke laſt: indeed, with the materials they had, Gentlemen had made out a pretty good caſe. They ſaid that peace could not be made by the preſent Adminiſtration, and therefore they would not vote for any ſupplies until they were removed; and then, inſtead of diſcuſſing the meaſure itſelf upon its own merits and demerits, they oppoſed it altogether on account of the objections they had to the Adminiſtration. Did they mean to ſay that, even if the enemy was in the kingdom, they would not vote any ſupply unleſs the Miniſters were removed? That was the tendency of their arguments, and he apprehended it had a tendency to increaſe the ambition of the enemy. Far otherwiſe were his views, and he would ſpeak out, for his ſentiments in public and in private had nothing in them which he wiſhed to conceal. If we wiſhed to preſerve any of the bleſſings we enjoy, we muſt be prepared to make very large ſacrifices; very large ſums of money muſt be raiſed. He verily believed, that although there was ſo much violence of contention in that Houſe, and out of it, almoſt every man meant nothing but the good of his country. He admitted that the noble Lord who ſpoke laſt, and many others, really thought it was dangerous to this country that the preſent Adminiſtration ſhould continue. They all meant equally well for their country. They differed only upon the means of ſerving it. He did not, however, think, that thoſe who thought the worſt of Adminiſtration could be juſtified in withholding the ſupplies altogether until their removal, for that was an invitation to the enemy. He had not heard any thing ſaid to prove that this Bill, however defective in its preſent form, could not be modified in a Committee, and therefore he ſhould vote for its going into that Committee, in which ſtage he had many modifications himſelf to propoſe. He thought the people of this country ought to know their ſituation. They ſhould know, that unleſs they are prepared to make great ſacrifices, they will not only loſe all their relative importance in the ſcale of Europe, but muſt inevitably, and that ſoon, be deprived of every one comfort which they now enjoy at home. They ſhould be faithful to themſelves, and that they could never be, if they refuſed to make very great ſacrifices. Government muſt be ſupported, or there muſt be an end of us as a people.

people. He cared not who was the Miniſter; any man in that ſituation, who was a friend to the Conſtitution, ſhould have his ſupport. He would ſay again, that unleſs very opulent commercial men came forward in a manner that no Miniſter could propoſe, nor hardly any Parliament inſiſt upon, they would be wanting in the duty they owed to their country, and our ruin muſt ſoon follow. But if we all united and came forward, each according to his ability, and ſubmit to Parliament to regulate the direction of our public ſpirit, all the difficulty would ſoon be over. The contrary conduct tended to bring about, among us, thoſe ſcenes which had excited ſo much horror in another country. Alas! alas! Theſe very perſons who were now ſo active in creating the diſcontent of the people againſt the Government, would ſoon be the victims of their own policy. He begged pardon, but he ſpoke from the feelings of his heart when he deſired Gentlemen to lower their tone when they ſpoke of the effect of public meetings, and the neceſſity of yielding to the public voice. We knew how deſtitute of reflection many of theſe oppoſitions were. He wiſhed us to have the preſent Conſtitution, not ſomething elſe, which ſome perſons might think a better ſyſtem. He wiſhed us to conſider Monarchy not merely as a thing to be endured or tolerated, or ſuffered, but a form to be loved, cheriſhed, and preſerved with all the ſplendour which adorns it, as well as the happineſs which it is calculated to ſecure, by preventing, among other things, the horrors of civil war, which it did by the check it always held againſt individual ambition. Gentlemen when they made obſervations in general terms againſt the corruption of Executive Government, did not always reflect what their obſervations tended to—the deſtruction of all authority, and the commencement of anarchy. He was ſorry to ſay he had heard many obſervations made under colour of ſupporting our Conſtitution, which certainly were not agreeable to our Conſtitution at all. Let us remember our ſituation. *Next year we may wiſh to meet upon another place of a ſimilar nature with the preſent.* He owned he wiſhed to meet at the ſame place; but if Gentlemen indulged in general invective againſt the Houſe and againſt the majority, perhaps a much larger one would be neceſſary. He then expreſſed a hope that this meaſure would be followed up with œconomy in our affairs, both in public and in private, and that we ſhould be all united in one vigorous effort againſt the common enemy. Of the Bill before the Houſe he ſhould ſay nothing, for of it he had formed no opinion, but as it was introduced with a view of being modified in the Committee, he ſhould vote for its commitment.

Mr. *Manning* profeſſed himſelf friendly to the principle of the meaſure, and was for the bill going into a Committee, when he ſhould himſelf propoſe ſome clauſes. He lamented much that the monied men did not come forward, and by voluntary contributions aſſiſt their country in this emergency. He was ſure that the bill had been much miſrepreſented, and ſtated, that he had received a letter from Briſtol, from a very intelligent and reſpectable perſon, which aſſured him, that the meaſure was much approved of there. He did not in the leaſt doubt of the good intentions of the rich people of this country, and was convinced they would contribute, if any equitable mode of taxation was diſcovered; and until ſome better meaſure was propoſed, he ſhould ſupport the preſent one.

Mr. *Simeon* ſupported this Bill as the lighteſt of two evils; it certainly was not free from objections. He conceived it was faulty in this reſpect, that it included in its operation ſo ſmall a part of the population of the country. It would afford topics for the enemy. "If," they would ſay, "the expences of the war are borne by ſo few, let us perſevere, and we muſt exhauſt them." If alſo we were, as was likely to be, in the ſame ſituation this time twelvemonth, all thoſe claſſes now exempted would imagine themſelves entitled to future exemptions; ſo that if there was a neceſſity for extending the tax, it could not be done without difficulty. If any better meaſure could be found out, he truſted the honourable Gentleman would bring it forwards; but at all events he ſhould ſupport the preſent Bill.

Mr. *Bragge* ſaid, he ſhould be wanting in duty to his conſtituents if he were not publicly to do them the juſtice of ſaying, that no ſet of men were more deſirous than they were of contributing their full ſhare to the public neceſſities. He had heard no objection to the general plan, though ſome of the details were liable to objection; and when the Bill went into the Committee he ſhould propoſe ſome alterations. He muſt alſo remark, that thoſe who wiſhed the adoption of vigour did wrong to throw out other general propoſitions without ſtating any thing ſpecifically; by ſo doing, they, in fact, combined with thoſe who acted upon other principles, and ſo equally impeded and delayed the ſucceſs of the preſent meaſure.

Mr. *Vanſittart* ſaid, the only queſtion was, which was the beſt mode of raiſing a large ſum? For it was admitted by all that a large ſum was neceſſary for the public ſervice. When the noble Lord (Ruſſel) objected to the mode, he ſhould have heard him with much more pleaſure if he had ſtated as a reaſon that the immenſe property of his family was not enough touched.

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In fact, he was of opinion, that the very rich were too leniently treated by the operation of this meaſure. Many others could be adopted, to which he ſhould give the preference, particularly to an equal land tax, extended to all ſorts of property; but if no other meaſure was adopted, he ſhould give his aſſent to the preſent.

Mr. *Martin* ſaid he would vote for the Speaker's leaving the chair, without however pledging himſelf to give the bill any future countenance, unleſs its main objections were done away.

Mr. *Tierney* ſaid, he waited a moment or two before he roſe, to ſee what effect the very eloquent appeal of an honourable Gentleman would have upon thoſe Gentlemen commonly called the monied intereſt. He waited in hopes they would have caught the hint, and expected that there would have been a race among them, of who ſhould be the firſt to ſubſcribe for the ſervices of the country. But after all, nothing was heard except a letter, ſigned by nobody knew who, brought forward by one of that claſs, ſtating, that the people of Briſtol were very well contented with the meaſure. He was much ſurpriſed at this conduct, after their declarations to the contrary. He believed he ſpoke accurately; but there was a worthy Alderman preſent, who, if he recollected right, laſt year propoſed taking the chair on a certain day at the London tavern, for the purpoſe of receiving ſubſcriptions for the ſervice of the country. Notwithſtanding the very enticing terms in which the advertiſement for that meeting was couched, he believed, except the occaſional attendance of the waiter, no one interrupted the profound ſilence of the room. One Gentleman, indeed, ſat down his name 1500l. which he ſuppoſed was never paid, for he had ſearched for it in vain in the accounts of the Committee.

From the commencement, he had uniformly oppoſed the preſent meaſure, and therefore now felt it impoſſible for him to give his aſſent to the Speaker's leaving the chair. The principle was not at all altered by the modifications, and it was one, not only that did not ſavour of Britiſh taxation, but was a ſyſtem, and one of the worſt, engendered by the French Revoluſion. He had before ſtated, that ſuch were his ſentiments of the meaſure, and on that day he ſhould not have felt it neceſſary to have riſen, but for the ſpeech of a right honourable Gentleman who ſpoke laſt but two. That Gentleman, it was true, ſpoke but ſeldom; when his eloquence was called forth, it was not by any trifling occaſion. He had no general retainer; on the contrary, he was what, among the lawyers, was called a foreigner upon the circuit. It was, however, very pleaſing for him to hear from that honourable Gentleman that he had made

made out a good caſe. The honourable Gentleman ſaid, he was induced to ſupport the bill, from the ſtatement of his hon. Friend, ſhewing how many modifications and correctives the general principle was capable of receiving. True it was, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer did ſo ſtate it; and he might have gone on to add, that he did not at that time know what theſe modifications and correctives were to be. Though at that time he refuſed the ſmalleſt delay, yet now he was not anxious to come to ſo ſpeedy a deciſion. The honourable member aſſerts, that ſome thouſands have deceived themſelves with reſpect to this bill: where he found theſe thouſands he knew not; it muſt be in ſome of the diſtant counties; for near the metropolis, where they had aſſembled, thouſands upon thouſands, they had all been unanimous againſt the principle of the meaſure. The honourable member had ſaid, that it was a good opportunity of knowing the value of a meaſure, to hear what their enemies ſaid of it; but it unfortunately happened that the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in meetings called by his enemy, had an opportunity of knowing what his friends thought of him. He had the pleaſure of ſeeing friends and foes, forgeting the diſtinction, all unite in deprecating and condemning his propoſed plan. Nay, they accuſed him of that which he ought particularly to guard againſt; they ſaid, he meant to ſubvert all ſocial order. Upon the ſubject of a change of adminiſtration, the honourable Gentleman indulged himſelf with unmitigated harſhneſs; and upon that ſubject he would again ſay, and moſt diſtinctly repeat, that he never would vote for any ſupply to the preſent adminiſtration. He acted thus, becauſe experience told him that whatever was granted, it was not oeconomically, judiciouſly, or beneficially employed for the ſervice of the country. In this he thought he might have expected the concurrence of that honourable Gentleman, when he ſaw one half of the cabinet acting diametrically oppoſite to the other; with one ſet, religion, order, &c. was every thing; and with the other, it was nothing. He was the farther induced to this, becauſe, if aſked, he could not lay his hand upon his heart and reply, that it would tend to the advantage of the country. He declared, upon his honour, this was his opinion; and he, as ſolemnly as that honourable Gentleman, appealed to God for the truth of his aſſeveration, when he declared, that he believed no ſupply granted to the preſent adminiſtration could accelerate the event of peace. But when he went a ſtep farther, he did not accompany that honourable Gentleman; for he never had declared that he would oppoſe every meaſure of adminiſtration. Adminiſtration by accident might

might be right, and when they happened to be ſo, he would ſupport them by deſign. He would always oppoſe the ſupplies; but when they were voted, he had another duty: he would not oppoſe the ways and means, but he ſhould endeavour to make them ſuch as the country could beſt bear. But here the honourable Gentleman had another mode of argument: he turned ſhort round, accuſed them of deglect of duty who ſeceded, and blamed thoſe who remained as turning the Commons into a debating ſchool. But until the honourable Gentleman had ſucceeded in driving them all from the Houſe, ſuch inſinuations ſhould never go without a reply. Whenever the day of trial came, then the real intentions of men would be ſeen; then they would ſee, whether whether thoſe who made fewer proteſtations would be remiſs in forming a phalanx round the throne, though now they did not make half the noiſe of the adverſaries.

It was not his intention to have debated the bill again on that night. He had originally ſtated his objections; now he underſtood the modifications were to be varied, by removing the preſſure from the lower claſſes to the higher ones, particularly he underſtood that the modifications were to be extended to retail ſhopkeepers. In all that there was no change of principle, and indeed he believed there would be no benefit to thoſe whom he pretended to favour. He believed he was now doing what his friend had charged him with doing, courting popularity. But he knew not the reſolutions of the metropolis; the ſhopkeepers would not be ſo deceived, they had more good ſenſe, and knew that they muſt ſuffer, notwithſtanding the apparent favour ſhewn them; they would feel for their neighbours, and knew that if their cuſtomers were deſtroyed, they in conſequence muſt be the ſufferers. They had more underſtanding than not to perceive that if the middling claſſes were done away, they would ſuffer far beyond what any little alleviation would recompenſe them. When the honourable Gentleman talked of miſrepreſentation, an honourable Gentleman on that ſide had been ſeduced into an approbation of the bill going into a Committee, by an underſtanding that the retroſpective clauſe was to be repealed; therefore, unleſs that honourable member heard from authority that it was to be cut out, he could not conſiſtently vote for the farther progreſs of the bill. But the remedy for all inequalities was a diſcloſure of circumſtances: in that light it was a penalty upon the man who did not chuſe to make diſcovery of his circumſtances. This was farther ſupported by a ſcale of oaths, outraging the whole genius of legiſlation. It was

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alſo ſomewhat extraordinary, that this plan ſhould be ſupported by an honourable Gentleman, who ſo ably and firmly ſupported the principle of the abolition of all unneceſſary oaths. He ſaid, that the ſcale of oaths was contrary to the genius of Engliſh legiſlation: ſo it was. Would you examine a huſband againſt his wife? By this bill you placed the ſanctity of an oath on one hand of a man, and on the other the bread of his family. Would an Engliſh Houſe of Commons endure ſuch a bill? The other objection which he had made not only remained in full force, but had acquired even freſh ſtrength. He had ſtated, that if the adminiſtration were obliged to abandon ſuch a haſty meaſure, they would be in a worſe condition than if they had never undertaken it: if it failed, and it was ſure of failing, we remained expoſed to the ridicule of France. He would now like to ſee how our miniſter could bluſter; how he could now boaſt of the inexhauſtible reſources of the country. They might tell him "to return, and before his arrival, to find the Chancellor of the Exchequer defeated in a favourite ſcheme of Finance." If even the meaſure was good in the abſtract, it could not be ſo unleſs the adminiſtration confeſſed the confidence of the country; and did they poſſeſs that confidence? Was it not notorious that they had no confidence in matters of finance? That ſuch an adminiſtration ſhould remain in office, he could only lament; for of all the blows that the country could ſuffer, this was one of the ſevereſt that could be inflicted; the malice of an enemy could not give a deeper wound. Under theſe circumſtances, he thought it was not too much to ſay, that they would not vote it. He did not hope that the honourable Gentleman himſelf would give it up, but he truſted the good ſenſe of the Houſe would not paſs it. If they did, what concluſions muſt the French draw? That the people and the Government were of different parties. They ſay, they are not able to pay, and the Parliament paſſes a law to compel them. It will not be enough to paſs the law, other meaſures muſt be adopted; and probably the right honourable Gentleman's friend near him (Mr. Windham) would give him a neceſſary hint upon the ſubject: unleſs there was alſo a body of armed tax-gatherers. Theſe conſiderations impreſſed his mind with the deepeſt anxiety; but he ſhould trouble them now no further. He would not attend the Committee or the third reading; but he ſhould again be found in his ſeat; if not, he truſted the honourable Gentleman (Mr. Wilberforce) would treat him with more

candour

candour than he had done the other ſeceders. The other evening, when they were preſent, he ſaid nothing; but when not there, he attacked them with cowardly virulence.

Mr. *Wilberforce* explained.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* ſaid, he hoped the Houſe would not go into the details before they were in the Committee, for he could hardly ſuppoſe that Gentlemen were ſerious in oppoſing the Committee. If, however, they were, he truſted to the indolence of the Houſe for a few words. He wiſhed firſt to ſpeak to one or two objections which had been made by Gentlemen on the other ſide; it had been ſaid that an honourable Gentleman had been trepanned to an approbation of the Committee, under the idea that the retroſpective clauſe was to be abandoned. The honourable Gentleman had acted with the fair duty of a member of Parliament; if he objected to the clauſe, the Committee was the proper ſtage for moving its repeal. He was glad that the honourable Gentlemen ſeemed apprehenſive of the popularity of the modifications. Though at the ſame time he diſclaimed all deſign of courting popularity, but if it came in the execution of his duty, it was not ungratifying. But he begged here to be moſt diſtinctly underſtood, that no motive under Heaven ſhould ever induce him to abandon the meaſure, but the production of ſome better meaſure to ſave the country from impending danger. If they would relinquiſh their defence it ſhould nevertheleſs be never abandoned by him but by the ſtrong controul of an act of Parliament; and he now made a moſt ſolemn pledge, that no inducement, no dread of unpopularity, ſhould ever make him abandon the principle of raiſing within the year, a large proportion of the ſupplies for the year. The Honourable Gentleman alſo objected, becauſe, conſiſtent with the original principle, he had transferred part of the burthen from thoſe who were leaſt able to bear it to thoſe who were more able; "but," ſaid the honourable Gentleman, "I act upon expanded principles—I ſquare by great political rules, and the little conſiderations of humanity are below my attention. If the honourable Gentleman went on with this principle, he hardly would increaſe his own popularity. The original principle of oppoſition being removed, another is now brought forward. The diſtreſs of the ſhopkeepers was the firſt; now a remedy is propoſed for that; it is again urged, what does that ſignify, you deſtroy their cuſtomers? But if we were not conducted with vigour and energy not only trade, but our laws,

our liberties, our happineſs, and property, were all in jeopardy; it would not only deſtroy their cuſtomers, but even tradeſmen themſelves. Was any one prepared to tell him that they could have the terms of peace within their reach, unleſs they had the command of adequate ſupplies? The threatened invaſion was chimerical, if we acted with ſpirit; but if we talked and acted ſo daſtardly, it would more effectually animate our enemies, and in its event deſtroy more Gentlemen, aye, and ſhopkeepers too, than could poſſibly be done by much heavier impoſitions. If we yielded, we ſhould be obliged to pay in contributions what we refuſed to our country, and the weight would fall with tenfold preſſure upon all claſſes, without any exception. The queſtion therefore reſolves itſelf into the ſimple one, of what was the beſt mode of raiſing the neceſſary ſupply? Would any one tell him that it was preferable to purſue the old ſyſtem of funding? Notwithſtanding all the fluctuations ariſing from our wealth, notwithſtanding all the expences of the war, which were, he admitted, ſeverely felt, yet at no period of our hiſtory were we ſo rich and flouriſhing. In ſuch circumſtances if a given number of millions were wanted, were we Engliſhmen, or could we boaſt the ſpirit of our anceſtors if we deſponded or ſhrunk from exertion? Could it be ſuppoſed that a levy of ſeven millions would ſo unhinge and derange the œconomy of the nation, that the retail trader would loſe his cuſtom? How did we ſtand? What proportion did the ſeven millions bear to the property of the kingdom, landed, funded, and commercial? Would it not be repaid in part, and great part, by the expences at home? Would it not return into circulation? Even if it did not, the evil bore no proportion with the other alternative of ſubmitting. Would it remain locked up in the Exchequer, or be whelmed in the ſea, or ſpent abroad? Would it not be ſpent among tradeſmen at home, in arming, feeding, and clothing our troops? This, therefore, was the idleſt, vaineſt, and falſeſt of all ſpeculations! Thus, therefore, ſtood that part of the argument. He did not admit the modifications from any apprehenſion of deſtroying the middle ranks. This brought him to conſider the different and contradictory grounds of oppoſition. The noble Lord oppoſed it, on the ground that he would never grant any ſupplies to his Majeſty's miniſters. This he did not think to do till they came to the ways and means: his honourable Friend oppoſed the ſupply, the noble Lord was abſent. The honourable Gentleman would not

oppoſe

oppoſe the ways and means, but then the noble Lord came forth with oppoſition. The honourable Gentleman had great objection to the retroſpective clauſe; but in the argument upon this point there had been much miſapprehenſion and much miſ-ſtatement; it was not a tax upon retroſpective enjoyment; it was merely a criterion of capability to pay a certain tax; it was taking the conduct of a perſon when he acted upon the ſuppoſition of his fortune, and not when he acted in contemplation of evading a tax. Another ground of oppoſition was, that it led to a diſcloſure of circumſtances, and impoſed oaths where none were before required. He knew very well, that in a commercial country all enquiry into property was regarded with a degree of jealouſy But how ſtood the queſtion here? No perſon was called upon to produce the amount of his property, no enquiry was made whatever, and it was in the option of a perſon applying for redreſs. Nor even in this caſe was the oath adminiſtered until the declaration was deemed unſatisfactory; and then, to whom would theſe points apply? To thoſe perſons in general where there could be little objection; for by the other propoſed modifications, the trading part would moſt likely be exempt: and he truſted, that in the ſcale of income, and the conſequent modifications which he ſhould propoſe, the neceſſity for oaths would be very much diminiſhed. With regard to objections, that had been thrown out in the way of doubts, and aſking whether a better mode for raiſing the ſupply could not be diſcovered? To all ſuch he would ſay, if they reduced to practical uſe ſuch a meaſure, they would render eſſential ſervice to their country. Whether ſuch a thing could be done without more powers than the preſent bill, ſubject to leſs modification, and altogether of a leſs plaſtic principle, was what he would not now ſtop to enquire but ſhould be very glad to examine if preſented, and adopt it eligible. If it was not done, it behoved us to accept the beſt we could find, and notwithſtanding all the clamours of the partial evil which muſt reſult in every caſe, he muſt perſiſt to recommend vigour, and not by a ſelfiſh policy or torpid apathy, lay by until it was too late to repel the ſtorm, which we might have encountered with ſafety by more prompt deciſion and earlier reſolution.

He truſted it would not be ſo with us, but that by an energetic zeal, we ſhould diffuſe the burthens equitably, alleviate the weak from the weight, but above all, hold our duty paramount to every other conſideration, even to the

wiſhes of the people, and remember that we had a greater duty to perform than that of gratifying their inclinations, namely, to protect them, to defend their Rights and Liberties, and tranſmit them undiminiſhed to their poſterity.

Mr. *Nicholls*, Mr. *Tierney*, and Mr. *Nicholls*, ſeverally explained.

Mr. *Huſſey* ſaid, he totally differed from the right honourable the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who had ſtated, that if the preſent meaſure was not aſſented to, we ſhould become a Province of France. He was even ſure that the right honourable Gentleman himſelf did not think ſo, becauſe he had expreſſed his determination of propoſing modifications in a Committee. The only proper mode by which he thought the ſupply could be raiſed, was by a Land Tax; and in this opinion he had the ſanction of the authority of Mr. Adam Smith; and he felt himſelf happy that he had propoſed the only mode by which he thought it could be effectually raiſed.

Mr. Alderman *Luſhington* was glad that the Bill was to undergo modification in the Committee, and he believed that many of the objections to which it was now liable would be removed. He could venture to ſay that the majority of his conſtituents and of the country were willing to make great exertions. The principle he conceived to be eſſential to the ſafety of the country, and however the proviſions as they firſt ſtood might have exited alarm, this principle was recogniſed.

Mr. *Wigley* oppoſed the motion.

Mr. *Dent* ſupported the principle of the tax, and thought a tax upon jobbing in the Funds would be a very proper, as well as a very productive meaſure.

Mr. *Muinwaring* ſaid, that almoſt all the pariſhes in the Metropolis had come to reſolutions expreſsly hoſtile to the principle of the bill, and he wondered where the worthy Alderman had diſcovered that his conſtituents were favourable to the principle.

Mr. Alderman *Luſhington* explained.

Mr. *Byng* ſaid, that the meetings in the county of Middleſex were decidedly againſt the principle of the bill.

Mr. *Burton* ſaid, he approved of the bill with certain modifications; and in this opinion he was joined by his conſtituents, the inhabitants of the city of Oxford. They had ſeen this meaſure in a very different view from thoſe bodies of men whoſe declrations had been ſo much relied upon; and the reaſon he aſſigned for it was, that they were ſo remote from thoſe ſources of poiſon which infected the Metropolis.

Mr. *Peters*, Member for Oxford, ſaid, that he had received

Reſolutions

Reſolutions paſſed in Oxford, from which he inferred, that they were not hoſtile to the principle of the bill, but only deſired that ſome modifications ſhould take place, two of which they had inſtructed him to move in the Committee.

Mr. *Douglas* ſaid, that many of the pariſhes in the Metropolis oppoſed ſome of the regulations of this meaſure, but ſtill were by no means adverſe to its principle. He inſtanced the reſolutions of the pariſh of St. Andrew, Holborn, and St. George the Martyr.

Mr. *Huſſey*, Mr. *Mainwaring*, and Mr. *Douglas* explained.

Mr. *Byng* oppoſed the motion.

Sir *John Sinclair* ſaid a few words againſt the motion.

And Mr. *Pitt* explained—After which the Houſe divided.

Ayes (For the Speaker leaving Chair)	——	174
Noes —— ——		19
Majority	——	155

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* then ſtated, that he ſhould propoſe the Amendments which he meant to propoſe to the firſt two or three clauſes of the Bill, and which he thought would be productive of great advantages. It would be impoſſible to go much at length into the diſcuſſion upon this occaſion, but he would ſtate, as ſhortly as poſſible, the modifications he intended to propoſe.

The Committee would recollect, that at preſent the Tax was divided into thoſe who paid the Houſe and Window Duty, and thoſe who paid the other Aſſeſſed Taxes. The firſt alteration he had to propoſe was, that there ſhould be one Rate for the former, and another for the latter; that is to ſay, that thoſe who paid the Houſe and Window Duty ſhould pay according to one ſcale; and thoſe who paid the other Duties, ſuch as thoſe for Horſes, Carriages, &c. according to another. With reſpect to thoſe who paid the Duties upon Clocks, Watches, and Dogs, he meant that they ſhould be claſſed with thoſe paying the Houſe and Window Duty. As to Horſes not kept merely for the purpoſes of pleaſure, he did not mean then to make any diſtinct propoſition, becauſe he thought it would form a proper ſubject of future diſcuſſion. The modifications he had to propoſe were ſhortly theſe;

Firſt, he ſhould propoſe a conſiderable exemption in favour of the Retail Shopkeepers, and thoſe who let lodgings.

In the ſecond place, he ſhould propoſe a total exemption from all Duties of perſons paying at preſent leſs than 1l. and after that he ſhould propoſe the gradation to be very ſmall indeed. Thoſe who paid from 1l. to 2l. to pay one-fourth of the

thr rate—from 2l. to 3l. one half—from 3l. to 5l. three fourths—from 5l. to 7l. 10s. one rate—from 7l. 10s. to 10l. one rate and a half—from 10l. to 12l. 10s. two rates—from 12l. 10s. to 15l. two and a half—from 15l. to 20l. three rates—from 20l. to 30l. three and a half—from 30l. to 40l. four rates—from 40l. to 50l. four and a half—and from 50l. upwards five rates. From this ſtatement it would appear, that the duty was conſiderably greater upon the higher claſſes of ſociety than he had at firſt propoſed.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* continued to point out to the attention of the Committee, the very conſiderable diminution in the preſent propoſitions, compared with thoſe originally propoſed, and the ſlow but regular gradations with which the calculations were made. Theſe might in one point of view be conſidered as too light; however, this inconvenience he truſted, would be compenſated by the manner of charging the duties on thoſe objects of taxation which he propoſed ſhould be proportionally increaſed, as horſes, carriages &c. He was of opinion, that the ſcale propoſed, offered the faireſt criterion for the true principle of taxation, and that under all the circumſtance, it could not fairly be alledged againſt it, that they were too heavy or too light.

One material conſideration in favour of the new arrangement was, that it bore ſo lightly on the lower orders, as to do away the neceſſity of appealing upon oath. The ſcale was in that claſs reduced ſo low as entirely to obviate, or at leaſt greatly to narrow the neceſſity for that proceeding. The whole was calculated according to the loweſt rate of income any houſeholder may be ſuppoſed to have: he entered into a ſhort comparative view of the ſcale of taxation ſuggeſted by the original propoſitions, and thoſe modifications which he now ſubmitted to the Committee, manifeſting the great reduction effected by the preſent plan: in ſhort, he deemed it ſuch as tended entirely to do away the neceſſity of any individual appealing. There were four other mitigations of the original plan, which he had to ſubmit to the conſideration of the Committee; namely, thoſe applying to two diviſions of houſes occupied by perſons who, after ſubtracting the moſt opulent individuals, form a great majority of the whole perſons ſubject to the taxes, and thoſe were thoſe houſes occupied by ſhopkeepers, and by perſons who principally ſubſiſted by letting lodgings: he thought theſe were peculiarly objects of relief. There were no points more generally acknowledged than that perſons of the above deſcriptions held, or inhabited,

habited, houſes in ſituations the moſt expenſive, and their premiſes were of the moſt extenſive kind. Theſe were not the only diſtinctions in favour of theſe perſons: their property bore a leſs proportion to their incomes, and both were more precarious. Other reaſons for bearing comparatively light on this deſcription of perſons might be cited. With reſpect to the ſhopkeepers, by the beſt information he could collect, there exiſted one particular circumſtance from which in a great degree, a criterion might be adduced for laying on an impoſt with a tolerable degree of fairneſs. It occurred frequently in trade, that when a ſhop was held by perſons in partnerſhip, and one of theſe only inhabited the houſe, the reſident partner was charged with one third, on account of occupying the houſe. The circumſtance helped to form a criterion: where this obtains, it follows, that the rent paid by the actual occupier, is only one third of the *nominal* amount of the rent; this would form a ground for comparing theſe tenements with the reſidences of other perſons. By this rule the additional aſſeſſments on ſhops ſhould be proportionally lighter than other houſes---for example, where the aſſeſſed taxes on ſuch were three pound to conſider it only as one pound, and in ſome poſſible caſes ſtill leſs. With reſpect to the lodging houſes, though he had not ſuch certain grounds to go upon, ſomething like the ſame rule ſhould be obſerved, and on that ſcale he ſhould in the firſt inſtance offer ſome propoſitions to the Committee. The ſcale on which he would propoſe to aſſeſs houſes in which there are ſhops, and which, at the ſame time, uſually lett lodgings, would be as follows:

Thoſe whoſe preſent aſſeſſed taxes were under three pound to be wholly exempt from the additional.

From 3l. to 5l.—1-20th, of from 6s. to 10s. of the preſent taxes additional.

From 5l. to 7l. 10s.—1-5th, or from 1l. to 1l. 10s.

From 7l. 10s. to 10l.—1 4th, or from 1l. 17s. 6d. to 2l. 10s.

From 10l. to 12l. 10s.—1 half, or from 5l. to 6l. 5s.

From 12l. 10s. to 15l.—3-fourths, or from 9l. 7s. 6d. to 11l. 5s.

From 15l. to 20l.—1 rate additional, or from 15l. to 20l.

From 20l. to 25l.—1¼, or from 25l to 31l. 5s.

From 25l. to 30l.—1½, or from 37l. 10s. to 45l.

From 30l. to 35l. and upwards---a double rate, or from 60l. to 70l.

By a review of this ſcale, Gentlemen would obſerve the very great reduction that had taken place on this deſcription of perſons, and for whom he imagined the greateſt apprehenſions were entertained.

Theſe, however, were not the only perſons to whom the abatements were intended to apply, ſeveral others were alſo

in

in his contemplation; but reſpecting which he would now offer no propoſitions, but ſhould take an opportunity in future progreſs of the bill. And here he obſerved, that one of the peculiar merits of the principle of this bill was, the ample room it regularly and progreſſively afforded for modification. It was not to be ſuppoſed that Gentlemen would indiſcriminately liſten to all application for exemption; they would ſeriouſly conſider all objections, and relax only where the caſe really merited relief. This ſhould not be done with too great facility, but ſhould be the reſult of an impartial review of all the effects which might ariſe from public proceedings. There were various particular claſſes, in whoſe favour modifications would be introduced. It was impoſſible to ſatisfy all, but, wherever the claim was fair, he ſhould be extremely ready to give relief: among theſe claſſes would be publicans whoſe ſituation made it neceſſary to keep a number of ſervants, carriages, &c. Stable-keepers, and a variety of others would likewiſe have relief. Coach-makers and cabinet-makers would be conſidered as retail traders. Boarding-houſes likewiſe would be entitled to abatement, and thoſe who let out lodgings furniſhed on ſpeculation, as at Bath, the watering places, &c. Notwithſtanding all theſe abatements and modifications, he hoped that the defalcation would be compenſated by a conſiderable riſe in the higher claſſes in the enlarged ſcale of expence to which the additions would apply.

With reſpect to the conſideration of enforcing the tax as much as poſſible, and guarding againſt evaſion, the aſſeſſment of the April quarter, 1797, was to be taken as a general rule; and the Committee might ſuggeſt ſome meaſures with reſpect to perſons varying or diminiſhing their objects of taxation in the interval ſince the preſent increaſe was in agitation.

He then proceeded to his laſt and higheſt table of taxation, namely, that on horſes and carriages, in which he intended there ſhould be no abatement; but, on the contrary, in ſome caſes increaſed rates. In fixing the criterion for this tax, he ſaid he would take up the Houſe aſſeſſments juſt at that ſtage of the above ſcale where three rates and a half additional take place, viz. where from 20l. to 30l. aſſeſſed taxes are now paid, and then it would ſtand thus:

Perſons keeping any male ſervants, horſe, or carriage, to pay in all caſes a ſum equal to three times their preſent payment on thoſe articles.

If they pay from	25l.	to	30l.	three and a half.
	30l.	to	40l.	four times.
	40l.	to	50l.	four and a half.
	50l.	and upwards		five times.

By

By theſe rates it would be ſeen in what a great proportion the higher orders were to be taxed; and he believed, that through the operation of ſuch impoſts, perſons of large fortunes would be rated proportionably to their incomes, and in a greater proportion than thoſe of the middle orders of ſociety; they were alſo calculated ſo as not to operate injuriouſly on perſons of property, by making certain inroads on their capitals. Various modes of taxing the rich might eventually injure the poorer orders: theſe he thought he had effectually guarded againſt.

As to the horſes of huſbandry, he ſaid, they ought to be conſidered with great attention and temperance; many of thoſe who uſed them were far from being in proportion to their ranks the leaſt opulent in the country; the taxes on horſes was almoſt the whole they paid; farm-houſes were entirely exempted from the increaſed taxes, and conſequently the new increaſe would fall lighter upon them than on any others. It would therefore be allowed that it would be very unjuſt to exempt them altogether; on that claſs, for theſe reaſons, he propoſed to *double their preſent taxes*.

Upon the whole the Committee muſt feel the propriety of reaching all branches of income above a certain amount; and this he hoped was effected through the medium of what he had ſubmitted to the Committee in as fair, lenient, and impartial a manner as, under all the circumſtances of the caſe, could be looked for. It was not his intention, from a conſideration of the lateneſs of the hour, joined to what he had before ſuggeſted, to trouble the Committee further, but he would propoſe ſuch reſolutions as would regularly enable the Committee to report progreſs, and reſume the diſcuſſion of the general ſubject on a future day.

A ſhort explanatory converſation then took place between Mr. *Pitt* and Mr. *Jolliffe*, relative to the beſt mode of proceeding with the Committee; this turned, however entirely upon points of form.

Mr. *Mainwaring* aſked the Chancellor of the Exchequer, whether it was compatible with his preſent plan to afford any relief to the poor watch and clock-makers, on whoſe behalf he had preſented a petition?

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* obſerved, that if this was to be diſcuſſed it ought to be the ſubject of a diſtinct motion. He begged to be underſtood as not giving any opinion upon the effect which this tax might have upon the trade alluded to. He was, however, inclined to think, that an exemption of the articles of clocks and watches from this new duty, would not be

in favour of the trade, becauſe thoſe who kept watches were aſſeſſed already. Even ſuppoſing that the old tax ſhould be given up, he nevertheleſs ſhould then think that this aſſeſſment ought to be made. But he by no means ſaid he was ſatisfied that the original tax ought to be given up—that was a point which ought to be conſidered before it was given up.

He then ſaid that he ſhould propoſe going into a Committee again on Wedneſday next, and proceed as far as poſſible, and to take up the Committee again, and he hoped to finiſh it on Thurſday, to print the whole, and again to take it into conſideration on Thurſday ſe'nnight.

He ſhould alſo have to propoſe what he hinted at on a former day, ſome relief in favour of perſons who have numerous families.

The Chairman reported progreſs, and obtained leave to ſit again on Wedneſday.

Adjourned till the next day at eight o'clock preciſely.

LIST OF THE MINORITY,

Barclay, Geo.	Mainwaring, W. (Middx.)
Bouverie, Hon. E. (Northampton.)	Nicholls, J.
Byng, George	Plumer W.
Coke, D. P. (Nottingham.)	Ruſſel, Lord J.
Combe, H. C.	Robſon, M. R.
Deniſon, W. J.	Sinclair, Sir J.
Folkes, Sir F. M.	Taylor J.
Kemp, T.	Thornton, H. (Southwark)
Lloyd, J. M.	Tierney, George
	Wigley, J.

TELLERS.

Ruſſel, Lord Wm. Huſſey, Wm.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

WEDNESDAY, *Dec.* 20.

In the Appeal, Lord Viſcount *Arbuthnot* againſt *Gillies*, after hearing Mr. *Grant* and Mr. *Dixon*, Counſel for the Appellant,

The *Lord Chancellor* ſaid, it was not neceſſary for the Reſpondent's Counſel to anſwer. A caſe more clearly honourable to the Defendant he never heard. In the year 1785 the Defendant had taken ſeveral farms from the late Lord Arbuthnot at greatly advanced rents, and had, by laying out much money, improved the land very greatly, which had alſo riſen in value over all that part of the kingdom in an extraordinary degree, and now the Appellant was deſirous, without even a colourable pretext, to ſet aſide theſe leaſes. Not content with

the deciſion of the Court of Seſſion, he brings it to the Houſe of Lords, and he fills hundreds of folio pages with evidence, the bare copying of which was an enormous expence, and yet in all the body there was not a ſingle fact to touch the validity of the leaſes, or the very honourable character of the Reſpondent, whoſe knowledge as a farmer, and whoſe dealings in grain were ſpoken of with the higheſt reſpect by the concurring teſtimony of all the neighbourhood. It became the duty of their Lordſhips to mark, by their deciſion in this caſe, the feeling which they had of ſuch conduct. They ought to diſcountenance this pertinacious ſpirit which purſued litigation to their Lordſhips bar, not merely without the uſual grounds of diſpute, but without a ſhadow of cauſe. The whole tranſaction on the part of Mr. Gillies was diſtinguiſhed by the faireſt and moſt open proceeding; and he was entitled to coſts. He therefore moved, affirming the judgment, that the Appellant do pay 100l. of coſts.—Ordered.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

WEDNESDAY, *Dec.* 20.

Mr. *Ryder* moved the thanks of the Houſe to the Biſhop of Lincoln for his excellent ſermon preached at the church of St. Paul before his Majeſty and the two Houſes of Parliament.—Paſſed *nem. con.*

Mr. *Burdon* ſaid, he was extremely ſorry for the cauſe of a motion which he was deſired to make to the Houſe, every Member of which knew the honourable Gentleman to which it referred. He was a Member of the Houſe, and had long been eſteemed for the independent as well as diligent diſcharge of his duty. He alluded to Mr. Brandling, whoſe health would no longer admit of his attendance in that Houſe. He therefore moved, that a new writ be iſſued for the town of Newcaſtle-upon Tyne, in the room of Charles Brandling, Eſq. who has accepted of the office of Steward of the Chiltern Hundreds.—Ordered.

Mr. *Hobart* brought up the Report of the Marine Mutiny Bill, which was agreed to, and the Bill was ordered to be ingroſſed.

Mr. *Hobart* brought up the Report of the Committee which voted certain bounties to Maſters and Surgeons of ſlave-carrying ſhips, in caſe the mortality among the Negroes does not exceed a certain rate.

The reſolution was agreed to and ordered to be ſubmitted to the Houſe, and made inſtructions to the Committee on the Bill.

Mr. *Manning* brought up the new Wet Dock Bill for the accommodation of merchants, &c. upon the river. It was read a firſt time, and ordered to be read a ſecond time. Mr. Manning ſaid, that he ſhould not move for the ſecond reading without the appointment of a day for that purpoſe.

Mr. *D. P. Coke* preſented a Petition on behalf of the Electors of Tewkeſbury, compiaining that the laſt deciſion of the Committee upon that election was erroneous, and injurious to their rights, and that it ought to be made final and concluſive, praying the Houſe to take the caſe into conſideration.—Ordered to be taken into conſideration on the 27th of February next.

ASSESSED TAXES.

Mr. *Hobart* brought up the Report of the Committee of Ways and Means, which contained the new modification of the Aſſeſſed Taxes.

The reſolutions of the whole of the laſt and higheſt claſs were read and agreed to.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* ſaid, he underſtood it was not regular to move that day that theſe reſolutions be made inſtructions to the Committee of the whole Houſe upon the Bill. That motion he ſhould therefore defer until the next day; in the mean time he ſhould propoſe to refer the Bill itſelf to a Committee of the whole Houſe that night.

The *Speaker* explained the regular courſe of proceeding, and obſerved, that it was the conſtant practice of the Houſe not to paſs reſolutions of a nature ſimilar to the preſent in one day.

The Houſe then reſolved itſelf into a Committee of the whole Houſe on the Bill, and diſcuſſed a great number of the clauſes.

The clauſe reſpecting the oath to be taken by thoſe who applied for relief was the ſubject of ſome converſation; and the deciſion of the point was poſtponed till the next day.

Some converſation took place on other points, for which proviſion was to be brought forward the next day.

The *Chairman* then reported progreſs, and leave was given to ſit again.

Mr. *Windham* brought up the Army Mutiny Bill, which was read a firſt time, and ordered to be read a ſecond time the next day.

The Exchequer Loan Bill went through a Committee of the whole Houſe, and the report was ordered for the next day.

The Committees of Ways and Means, and of Supply were deferred till Friday; after which the Houſe adjourned.

HOUSE

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

THURSDAY, *Dec.* 21.

The Marine Mutiny Bill was read a third time and paſſed.

The Report of the Committee of Ways and Means, containing the new Reſolutions which were agreed to the ſame day, was brought up and the Reſolutions read, &c.

ASSESSED TAXES.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* moved, that the Committee on the Aſſeſſed Tax Bill, be inſtructed to make proviſions in the ſaid Bill purſuant to the ſaid Reſolutions, which was agreed to.

The Houſe then reſolved itſelf into a Committee on the ſaid Bill. On the reading of that clauſe, which ſtated the duration of the bill to be two years and a quarter, namely, from the 5th of January 1798, to the 5th of April 1800.

Mr. *P. Carew* ſpoke againſt its continuing ſo long, and wiſhed that its duration might be limited to one year.

Mr. *Dundas* ſaid, that nothing would ſo effectually defeat the deſigns which the enemy had formed againſt the finances of this country, as that of raiſing the whole of the ſum intended by the preſent Bill, which would ſo materially contribute to relieve the Funds, and which could not be done if the Bill was to continue for one year only.

The *Solicitor General* maintained that the landed and funded property of every individual in the kingdom would become more valuable by the adoption of the preſent meaſure, that is to ſay, they would riſe in their price from the relief the funds muſt thereby experience. On a principle of ſelf-intereſt therefore, as he poſſeſſed ſome property of both kinds, he would ſupport the Bill, as he was ſure that the ſacrifice he would make muſt be inconſiderable, compared to the depreciation his property would ſuffer if the meaſure was not adopted to the whole extent propoſed in the Bill.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* ſupported the duration of the Bill to the period mentioned, and ſtated at ſome length the great advantages the Funds muſt derive from ſuch a meaſure; aided at the ſame time by the Sinking Fund, which was every day diminiſhing the quantity of ſtock, ſo as to hold out the moſt favourable proſpects of the internal proſperity of the country.

Lord *Carysfort* ſupported the Bills as it ſtood.

Mr. *Dickens* and Mr. *Elliſon* were for one year only.

It was finally agreed that the proviſions of the Bill ſhould remain in force for two years and a quarter.

After

After the other clauſes had been gone through,

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* ſaid, that it had been his wiſh to have gone immediately into the conſideration of the poſtponed clauſes; but, having found that, by the regular forms of the Houſe, theſe clauſes could not be conſidered before the new clauſes intended to be offered were brought up, he would now move that the Chairman do report progreſs and aſk leave to ſit again, eſpecially as the intended clauſes were not as yet ready, particularly that which regarded the ſchedule of income.

The Chairman then reported progreſs and the Bill was ordered to be taked into further conſideration the next day.

Sir *William Pulteney* ſuggeſted, that it was his intention to move a clauſe for enabling Parliament to alter and amend the Bill during the preſent Seſſion, if there ſhould appear any neceſſity for ſo doing.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* acknowledged the propriety of the clauſe.

Mr. *D. P. Coke* hinted that he would move a clauſe to prevent any of the Tellers of the Exchequer from receiving any fees proportionate to the immenſe ſum of money to be raiſed within the year. He was confident that if the noble Lords to whom he alluded could be preſent in the Houſe, they would gladly ſecond ſuch a motion: or, in their abſence, a noble relative of theirs would, with equal eagerneſs, accede to ſuch a propoſition.

[Lord *Temple* ſhook his head.]

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* obſerved, that the Tellers of the Exchequer ſhould not be more benefitted by the preſent plan, than if the Supplies of the year had been raiſed by the uſual, or any other mode.

The Houſe was then reſumed, and the Bill was ordered to be taken into further conſideration the next day. Adjourned.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

FRIDAY, *Dec.* 22.

SCOTS APPEAL.

William Douglas, eldeſt ſon of *Archibald Douglas* of Dornock, Eſq. deceaſed, *v. John Murray*, of Murraytwalte, Eſq. *Robert Henderſon* Eſq. and others.

The *Attorney General* and Mr. *Tait* were heard on the part of the appellant. The further hearing was poſtponed to Friday next.

The

The various bills before the Houſe were forwarded in their reſpective ſtages.

Mr. *Abbott* preſented a meſſage from the Houſe of Commons, which ſtated, that the Houſe of Commons had come to a reſolution reſpecting the promulgation of private ſtatutes, to which they deſired the concurrence of their Lordſhips.

After a ſhort adjournment, the Houſe was reſumed, when their Lordſhips received, by the hands of Mr. *Long* from the Houſe of Commons, the Exchequer Bills bill, which was read a firſt time.

A private bill was brought up by Mr. *Wallace*, and read a firſt time.

Adjourned till the next day.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

FRIDAY, *Dec.* 22.

The Bradford Peveral Incloſure bill was read a ſecond time.

The Stone Incloſure bill was preſented and read a firſt time.

The Exchequer Bills bill was read a third time and paſſed.

PROMULGATION OF THE STATUTES.

Mr. *Abbott* moved that ſuch of the reſolutions of the Committee for the promulgation of the ſtatutes of the realm as related to the printing and diſtribution of private acts, be read,

The clerk having read them, accordingly,

Mr. *Abbott* ſaid, that as the expence of printing ſuch a number of copies for two thouſand of theſe acts would be very conſiderable, he thought it right to ſubmit to the Houſe a motion, which had for its object the confining the operation of the reſolutions to narrower bounds. Private acts were in their nature local: and he believed every purpoſe would be anſwered if none were printed but upon an application to be made by the parties intereſted in them, for a clauſe to be introduced declaring them to be public acts. Mr. Abbott now moved to the above effect, which motion was agreed to, and a meſſage was ordered to the Lords to deſire their concurrence.

A meſſage was received from the Lords, ſtating, that their Lordſhips had agreed to the foreign Proteſtant Officers' Commiſſion

miſſion bill; to the Indemnity, Scotch Militia amended, and Scotch Diſtillery bills.

EXCHEQUER BILLS BILL.

The queſtion being put for the third reading of the bill for raiſing three millions from the Bank upon Exchequer bills,

Mr. *Tierney* ſaid, it was impoſſible for him to aſſent to that bill without ſaying a few words. It appeared to him to be a meaſure quite inconſiſtent with the profeſſions of the Chancellor of the Exchequer upon former occaſions, for which he had conſiderable credit at the time he made them, and which he would continue to have if he adhered to his profeſſions; the ſubſtance of which was, that there ſhould never be iſſued any Exchequer bills for which there was not made an adequate Parliamentary proviſion. It was neceſſary to adhere to to this principle at all times, but more particularly ſo at the preſent time, when the right honourable Gentleman was calling upon the public to contribute ſo large a ſum to defray expences, and to raiſe it within the year. The miniſter had ſtated the ſum to be provided this year to be twenty five millions; twelve millions of which he propoſed to be raiſed by a loan, of which we as yet had heard nothing but the amount; eight millions he propoſed to be raiſed by the additional aſſeſſment upon taxes; three millions and a half upon land and malt, and three millions upon Exchequer bills, the bill for raiſing which ſum was now before the Houſe. How this laſt ſum of money was to be provided for did not appear. The Miniſter had ſaid that we muſt look our difficulties in the face. He granted that we ſhould do ſo. But this did not appear to him to be the way of doing it, for by this bill, inſtead of meeting, it was poſtponing our difficulty to the amount of three millions, and that too in a way perfectly new. It was poſſible that there ſhould be now outſtanding four millions upon Exchequer bills. But how theſe millions now to be voted by this bill were to be provided for no man had heard a word. No proviſion was made for the iſſue of freſh Exchequer bills, when theſe ſhould become payable, which will be on the 4th of April next. Should the Miniſter iſſue Exchequer bills for three millions more to anſwer for theſe when they become due, there then would be ſix millions unprovided for. Conſidering the diſcount upon Exchequer bills, he would aſk, Whether the Miniſtet thought it prudent to iſſue them again, after theſe became payable, ſuppoſing the Bank to have no objection,

objection, and ſuppoſing neither to be provided for by Parliament? He was ſure that this mode of proceeding was entirely different from that for which, two years ago, the Chancellor of the Exchequer took a great deal of credit, that of providing for Exchequer bills in a manner that had not been done before. But he ſeemed now to abandon his plan, and the manner in which the Bank acquieſced in the plans of the Miniſter was, in his opinion, alarming to thoſe who wiſhed well to the credit of this country. They accommodated the Chancellor of the Exchequer in a way that was not highly creditable to either party, they ſtated their circumſtances to be flouriſhing, but that, with a view to public financial operations, they ſeemed to invite a continuance of the reſtriction upon them as to the payments of their debts in ſpecie. What would be ſaid of a private man who would thus league himſelf with the Executive Government, and for that reaſon refuſed to pay his debts, was a queſtion which, he apprehended, was not difficult to anſwer. The Bank and the Chancellor of the Exchequer agreed with one another that the reſtriction ſhould continue, as to the iſſuing of caſh by the Bank. They agree farther to advance to him three millions upon Exchequer bills, for which, at preſent, no parliamentary proviſion is made. At the end of ſix months the Chancellor of the Exchequer is called upon to make good the payment of theſe Exchequer bills. Suppoſing then, that proviſion ſhould be made for the payment of three million upon freſh Exchequer bills at three months, the queſtion then would be, Whether we are likely in the month of April next, to be in a more proſperous ſtate than we are in at preſent; and that money will be more plenty? Then there would be no objection to any thing but the expence of this meaſure. But thoſe who thought there was danger in our preſent ſituation could hardly approve of the preſent meaſure; becauſe, if the hour of difficulty ſhould ariſe, and neither the Directors of the Bank ſhould be diſpoſed to grant any further money upon Exchequer bills, nor the proprietors agree to it if they did, then, indeed, ſhall we ſee the miſchief of voting away money thus upon credit without making proviſion for the payment of it. Although he differed from the Miniſter on the ſubject of raiſing money within the year, he did not differ from him as to the neceſſity of our looking our difficulty in the face, and providing for it; but he did not think it conſiſtent with that idea to poſtpone that difficulty by a meaſure, the pretence for which was to provide for it.

He thought we ſhould be prepared for a ſtorm, but we ſhould be prepared for it like prudent and ſkilful mariners, ſo as to be ready to meet it, not to talk of a ſtorm and conduct ourſelves as if nothing was to be apprehended but a calm, and to poſtpone the preparation to the hour of tempeſt, which appeared to him to be the caſe as far as the preſent bill extended. He could enlarge upon theſe topics, but he had reaſons for forbearing.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* ſaid, he was very glad to notice that the honourable Gentleman had, on that day, more diſtinctly than he had heard him before, acknowledge that we ought to meet our difficulties in the face. He ſhould rejoice if that declaration of the honourable Gentleman was likely to be followed up by a plan that would contribute to the ſentiment which it conveyed. He ſhould be glad to hear from him reaſons why he thought that the preſent plan was not conſiſtent with that object, and if he did ſo and the reaſons appeared concluſive he ſhould be as ready to abandon it as he hoped the honourable Gentleman would be to abandon his opinions if he found them inconſiſtent with the general object, namely, that of meeting our difficulties in the face. He neither wiſhed himſelf to be miſunderſtood, nor to miſunderſtand the honourable Gentleman. The bill now before the Houſe was not inconſiſtent with the plan for the augmentation of the aſſeſſed taxes. He did not mean to raiſe the whole of the ſupplies of the preſent year. Indeed he propoſed otherwiſe when he opened the outline of the whole plan. He ſtated the meaſure now before the Houſe as part of the original propoſition. With regard to the reſtriction upon the Bank, it had been already decided by the Houſe that it was neceſſary during the continuance of the war. There was no hope that ſuch neceſſity would ceaſe but with the War. Here the Bank, without inconvenience to themſelves, or the public, but with advantage to both, can make this advance, and can prolong it: and here was a proviſion for the payment at a certain period, in order that, if neceſſary, they might open their uſual operation of payment, if it ſhould be thought wiſe to open it. While the preſent circumſtances remain the reſtriction ſhould continue. If it ſhould be neceſſary that the Bank ſhould continue its advances, they would of courſe continue, but by the very bill now before the Houſe, proviſion was made for the payment from time to time as ſuch advance ſhould be made. Their continuance or diſcontinuance of advances would depend upon their circumſtances; and

and although they are at preſent in a flouriſhing ſituation, yet they ſhould not be called upon to make advances upon Exchequer bills but to a limited amount, ſuch as was ſpecified by the preſent bill. With regard to the diſcount upon Exchequer bills he knew of none.

Mr. *Tierney* ſaid, he underſtood the diſcount upon Exchequer bills to be at preſent one and a half per cent. He had heard nothing againſt what he had ſaid already, that this was a matter of accommodation from the Bank to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and that it was likely to be miſchievous to the public. With regard to the pledge which he was ſuppoſed to have entered into, by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, he could only ſay that he ſaid nothing, except that we ought not to poſtpone our difficulties. He did not call the funding ſyſtem a poſtponing of our difficulties. It had not been ſo conſidered for the laſt century. He wiſhed to know where theſe three millions could be raiſed again if the Bank ſhould find any difficulty.

Mr. *Nicholls* did not ſee how this bill was to be provided for except in the iſſuing of Bank notes. There had formerly been a limit to the iſſue of Bank paper. Now there was none. This meaſure was calculated to make the Bank a mint for the coinage of paper money. This was worſe than the mode that was adopted in France, for there they had a limit, here we have none. Should they be unable to pay again, what was to be the remedy? This appeared to him to be the moſt dangerous meaſure that was ever tried in any country.

The bill was then read a third time and paſſed.

Sir *Edward Knatchbull* moved, that there be laid before the Houſe an account of the number of houſes, aſſeſſed as inhabited houſes, to the amount of eight pound and upwards, ſpecifying the number of houſes that are aſſeſſed from 8l. to 8l. 10s. 10l. to 10l. 10s. 15l. to 15l. 10s. 20l. to 20l. 10s. and ſo on to 200l. 220l.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* ſaid, he thought that this account was already before the Houſe, if not, he had no objection to giving that information to the honourable Baronet.

Sir *Edward Knatchbull* aſſured the Houſe there was no ſuch paper before them, and therefore the motion was put and carried.

ASSESSED TAXES.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* moved the order of the day, for the Houſe to reſolve itſelf into a Committee of the

Houſe upon the Aſſeſſed Tax Bill, the Houſe reſolved itſelf accordingly.

Sir *Charles Bunbury* propoſed that Tax Carts ſhould be exempted from the operation of the bill.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* ſuggeſted the propriety of reducing this exception to a diſtinct proviſo. He hinted upon the ſubject of Taxed Carts, there ought to be ſome diſcuſſion hereafter; as great frauds were practiſed under that article of the revenue at preſent.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer then propoſed a clauſe, to carry into effect the modification, as printed in the ſchedule, which is already publiſhed.

Mr. *Wilberforce* thought, that inſtead of perſons who could only afford to keep one horſe, being rated ſo high, the higher claſſes of the community ought to be aſſeſſed one rate more than by the preſent ſcale of aſſeſſment they are. He would not begin ſo low as the preſent, but would go higher than it on the ſcale of contribution. The honourable Member here took a paper from his pocket, and was proceeding to read in it his ſcale of aſſeſſment, when

Mr. *Addington* (the Speaker) ſaid, that no advance in charges upon the ſubject, could take place in any mode but in a Committee of Ways and Means, but a diminution might.

Mr. *Baker* thought this propoſition improper. He wiſhed the Houſe to act as the real repreſentatives of the whole people of England; for they were ſo. To agree to ſuch a meaſure as this was to act otherwiſe than ſuch Repreſentatives ought to do. It would be to attend not to the intereſt of the people, but to the clamour of ſome of them; he conſidered that to give way to the very extraordinary and heretofore unheard of Reſolutions that were paſſed in ſome very extraordinary meetings, would be to act upon caprice.

Mr. *I. H. Browne* did not wiſh the Houſe to act upon caprice, but he thought that by taking time, the people had an opportunity of examining the bill, and to judge how it would affect them, from which they might communicate to their Repreſentatives many important facts which might influence their determinations.

The clauſe was then, after ſome converſation, agreed to.

On the reading of the clauſe for laying a double tax on Horſes uſed in huſbandry,

Mr. *I. Hawkins Browne* roſe and ſaid, that he diſapproved of apportioning the tax to the different means of the farmer. He could aſſure the Houſe that many of the ſmall farmers were as poor as day-labourers, and he therefore meant to propoſe

that

that, inſtead of a double rate of aſſeſſment upon all farmers who pay more than 70l. rent, a ſingle rate only ſhould be laid.

This produced a long diſcuſſion, in which Sir Watkin William Wynne, Mr. Burdon, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Pole Carew, Lord Carysfort, Mr. Ryder, Sir Edward Knatchbull, and Mr. Dent, took a part.

Sir *Watkin Williams Wynne* was averſe to the Tax. He knew many country Gentlemen, of from 6 to 800l. a year, who kept the greater part of their eſtates in their hands, on whom the propoſed augmentation would fall very heavily. It equally menaced the repoſe of all the other claſſes engaged in agricultural purſuits, and would, he thought, be of general injury to the farming intereſt.

Mr. *Burdon* was of opinon, that ſmall farmers ought to be exemped.

Lord *Carysfort* ſpoke in general terms againſt the clauſe. He wiſhed to ſee the ſupplies raiſed on the principle of the Chancellor of the Exchequer's ſcheme, but thought it would be for the advantage of the country did the Houſe avoid any ſevere augmentation of the taxes raiſed from agriculture.

Mr. *Pitt* ſaid, that he could not be expected to coincide in opinion with every Gentleman who had ſpoken to the queſtion. He would, however, in the courſe of the evening, propoſe a clauſe, to exempt all farmers who pay under 70l. a year rent.

Lord *George Cavendiſh* objected to the clauſe, becauſe he objected to the bill *in toto*.

The *Attorney General* ſaid, this was a very improper ſentiment to be delivered, let the authority from which it came be as high as it might, and it was the more improper in the preſent caſe, when ſome extraordinary exertions were required from every claſs of people for the defence of their country, becauſe ſuch modifications were likely to be introduced as to make it as unexceptionable as any other meaſure which could poſſibly be ſuggeſted in a period of ſuch exigency.

Mr. *Elliſon* ſpoke to the ſame effect, after which the clauſe was read a ſecond time and agreed to.

Mr. *Pitt* next propoſed a clauſe to exempt ſuch perſons from any contribution to the tax as rented farms of 70l. a year, but not exceeding that ſum, and gained their livelihood ſolely thereby.

Mr. *J. H. Browne* wiſhed the exemption to extend in farms of 150l. a year.

Sir *Edward Knatchbull* ſaid, the clauſe embraced the exemption he intended to propoſe.

Sir *W. Dolben* obſerved, that there were many ſmall farms which

which had warrens; he wiſhed to know in ſuch a caſe, whether they were to be exempted?

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* replied, where a perſon followed two profeſſions, certainly not.

Sir *W. Pulteney* thought ſome preciſe ſum ſhould be fixed for ſuch contingencies, or the renter of a ſmall farm might be liable to the payment of the additional aſſeſſments, by an extra acquiſition of 5s.

A general cry of No! no! no!

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* obſerved, that it would be impoſſible to inveſtigate the amount of ſuch extra acquiſitions, and therefore he was compelled to make the clauſe general. Any trivial gain, however, like that the honourable Baronet had mentioned, or even to a larger extent, beyond the profits of a farm, would not be deſerving of notice.

Mr. *Dickens* ſaid a few words, and the clauſe was agreed to.

Mr. *Hawkins Browne* then moved an amendment of the reſolutions to the effect already ſtated, viz. That a ſingle rate only be laid upon all farmers who pay from ſeventy to one hundred and fifty pounds a year. Upon this a diviſion took place, when the amendment was rejected.

Ayes,	- -	6
Noes,	- - -	94
	Majority,	88

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* ſaid, he had a clauſe in his hand intended to alleviate the burden on a claſs of artizans who had already felt themſelves aggrieved by a former tax. He meant the clock and watch-makers. It had been ſuggeſted that this Bill would injure that trade, and therefore the clauſe he propoſed to bring up was intended to prevent any ſtagnation of the trade in thoſe articles ariſing from it, by exempting from the new tax all watches purchaſed after the 5th of January 1798.

The clauſe was brought up and read, and directed to be made a part of the Bill.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* brought up the clauſe requiring the oath, which he underſtood ſome Gentlemen intended to oppoſe. He ſubmitted it to the conſideration of thoſe Gentlemen, whether it would not be better to defer that diſcuſſion till the clauſe containing the ſchedule ſhould be brought up, when it would be ſeen more fully whether the objection to the oath was well grounded? If it ſhould be ſtill thought ſo, Gentlemen would have an opportunity of oppoſing it on the report.

The

The clauſe was then read and agreed to.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* then brought up a clauſe to provide an abatement in favour of perſons having a certain number of children in the following proportions:

To all perſons having from 4 to 8—10 per cent.
from 8 to 10—15 per cent.
above - 10—20 per cent.

Mr. *Wilberforce* was for extending the abatement to the age of 20 or 21 years inſtead of 16, becauſe the ſyſtem of education purſued from the age of 16 to 21 was far more expenſive to parents, both with regard to their ſons and daughters, than it was at any time previous to that period. Sons received at that time an education preparatory to their entering into the navy or army, and daughters required a greater number of maſters, both of which caſes expoſes parents to conſiderable expence.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* obſerved, that the age of 16 was the age generally adhered to in all former Acts where the diſtinction of age had been introduced, it was ſo even in the Pole Tax; but the object of the preſent clauſe was to extend relief, not to the opulent claſſes, to which his honourable Friend ſeemed to allude, but to the inferior claſſes of tradeſmen and manufacturers, whoſe ſons, if properly brought up, would, at the age of 16, be able to afford conſiderable aſſiſtance to their parents, inſtead of being a burthen to them.

Mr. *Bragge* thought the object of Mr. Wilberforce would be attained by making the rates a criterion. Thus, wherever any perſon did not pay more than 50l. to the new aſſeſſed taxes, they ſhould be totally exempted from paying, though their children were between 16 and 21, and the other proportions might follow in gradation. He thought the extenſion ought to continue to 21 years, becauſe at that age there was no benefit derived from their ſervice, while they become a greater burden to their parents.

Mr. *Wilberforce* ſaid, he could nominate two or three claſſes which particularly deſerved ſuch relief. Firſt, there was a number of clergymen of ſmall incomes, who, from their own univerſity attachments, wiſhed to give their ſons a college education; and next, there were many retired officers of the army and navy, who, from early habits of life, choſe to live frugally in the country, in order to give their ſons a taſte and gentility of manners ſimilar to that which they had themſelves received. Children put out to be artificers were the only perſons he believed from whom their parents could derive any benefit at ſixteen years of age; for thoſe children who were bound out appren-

apprentices had not only a long time to ſerve without any emolument, but moreover exacted from their parents the charge of clothing, &c. and an apprentice fee. As the principle of the clauſe was right he propoſed to amend it by excepting all perſons who had from four to eight children under twenty-one years of age reſpectively, who did not pay 60l. to the new aſſeſſed taxes.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* ſaid, ſince Gentlemen appeared to agree ſo much to the object in view, he certainly thought it entitled to conſideration. But he deſired to be underſtood, that when the extenſion was firſt propoſed, he conceived it had a more favourable exemption on the face of it for perſons of higher rank than he thought neceſſary. He had a ſchedule to offer for aſcertaining income, and after the peruſal of that Gentlemen would find, that among the deductions for perſons of certain income, ſuch a deduction would be made from the charge upon the rent of the houſe of the father, as was proportionate to the rent of the chambers of the ſon. That was to ſay, where any perſon had a ſon in chambers, thoſe chambers would be conſidered as a part of the fathers's houſe. For parents in the army and navy, and certain other profeſſions, he was very willing to acknowledge ſome proviſion ſhould be made.

Mr. *Dent* ſaid a few words, when the clauſe was read and agreed to; as was the next clauſe, requiring ſecurity from the collectors.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* next propoſed a clauſe to limit the rate of aſſeſſment on boarding-ſchools, and inns, or public-houſes, to the ſame rate as that charged upon lodging-houſes and ſhopkeepers, viz. one third.

Mr. *Baker* ſaid, the boarding-ſchools were able to reimburſe themſelves by an increaſed charge for the education of the children entruſted to their care, and the public-houſes by an increaſed charge upon their cuſtomers. He therefore objected to the clauſe.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* approved of the honourable Gentleman's principle of keeping his former reſolution in view, not to let any falſe eſteem for particular perſons miſlead him; but he deſired to acquaint the honourable Gentleman, that he had heard various complaints from the particular claſſes he propoſed to relieve, and he wiſhed the honourable Gentleman to recollect, that the maſter or miſtreſs of a boarding-ſchool were compelled to pay for more windows than were neceſſary to their own comfort.

A de-

A desultory conversation ensued between Mr. *Baker* and Mr. *Pitt*, during which Mr. Baker persisted in his objection, till

Mr. *Serjeant Adair* observed, that the reason assigned by the honourable Gentleman for objecting to the clause was very right in regard to the single and permanent tax, but would not apply to the triple assessment: could he suppose that any school-master would presume to encrease his charges on the sudden in proportion to the triple assessment. Surely not! for if any school-master were to do so, his pupils would be immediately taken away from him, and he would be completely ruined. Besides the honourable Gentleman's argument applied only to a few cases, for he had not allowed the least exception for that class of school-masters, which was very numerous, who resided at a distance in the country, and took children to board and educate at so low a rate as twenty pound or twenty five pounds a year.

Mr. *Burdon* remarked, that as masters of chartered schools occupied houses like other individuals, and did not incur the same expences, they ought not to be exempted.

Mr. *Wilberforce* recommended an amendment to the clause, by adding the sentence, that all who took persons to board and lodge in their respective dwelling houses, not less than six or ten in number should be exempted.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* moved an amendment to that effect, extending the exemption to all who had not less than ten, which was agreed to, and incorporated in the clause. He then proposed a clause of mitigation for waiters in public houses, for horses and carriages let out by inn keepers or other persons to hire, and for carriages kept by coachmakers for the same use.

Mr. *Burdon* observed, that mourning coaches were not specified, and they were let out by persons who were not publicans.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* explained that they were included under the denomination of carriages let out to hire. He then proceeded to state, that he had nothing else to offer to the consideration of the Committee but the schedule of which he had before spoken. The object of this was, among some others, to provide an exemption for those persons who let out lodging houses and did not reside in them themselves. He intended to bring up this clause on the report, observing that the clause would specify all the rules of exemption. This clause he meant to have printed for the greater convenience of gentlemen in the interval, in order

to afford them a better opportunity of deciding upon it on the conſideration of the report.

Mr. *Sargent* propoſed a clauſe to exempt medical Gentlemen in the cities and liberties of London and Weſtminſter from the triple aſſeſſment on carriages, provided only one was kept; but where there were two carriages, he deſired to have no exception whatever.

Mr. *Thornton* objected to this clauſe, upon the principle that phyſicians who kept carriages were ſufficiently able to pay the aſſeſſment.

Sir *Edward Knatchbull* moved to amend this clauſe by extending its proviſions to phyſicians practiſing in the country, who ſtood more in need of the uſe of horſes and of a carriage.

It was obſerved that the medical Gentlemen who reſided in the country and kept carriages, were better able to afford the tax.

Sir *E. Knatchbull* denied this aſſertion, and contended that the practitioners in London were the moſt able to afford it.

An amendment was offered to except the country practitioners from the triple aſſeſſment upon horſes, provided they kept no more than one.

Mr. *Wilberforce* obſerved, that country practitioners ſeldom kept carriages, but rode either on horeback or in hired carriages. He doubted whether the amendment therefore extended far enough, as moſt of them kept two or three horſes.

Mr. *Dudly Ryder* ſaid, the faculty were a formidable ſet of people, whom he could wiſh to conciliate; but really, in his opinion, the clauſe propoſed was puſhing the exceptions to the extreme.

Mr. *Dickens* thought the relief of medical Gentlemen ought to be extended to ſervants, as they were obliged to keep ſervants more by cuſtom than a conſideration of their own convenience.

Mr. *Dent* feared theſe numerous exceptions would afford a great opportunity for evaſion; however, he wiſhed the exception of the tax on carriages kept by phyſicians to take place, as he thought it would be better for the community at large.

Mr. *Bragge* wiſhed the exception to extend to two pair of horſes for the carriages of practitioners in town, and to four ſingle horſes for practitioners in the country.

The *Attorney General* declared, that in his opinion the exception for carriages belonging to medical gentlemen ought not,

not, on any fair principle, to be allowed in town without allowing it in the country alſo. A carriage was commonly kept by a phyſician in town as a canditate for buſineſs; but in the country few medical men kept carriages, becauſe they could not afford it, till they were in that ſtate of health, or arrived at that time of life, when ſuch a mode of conveyance became neceſſary for them to attend thoſe families who had long conſulted their ſcience, and without whoſe buſineſs they would not be able to maintain their uſual rank and credit. In London the carriage of a phyſician was the ſource of comfort and convenience; but in the country it was an article of neceſſity. And as ſo few carriages were employed in the country in this way as to render the reduction very inconſiderable, he ſhould adviſe the extenſion.

Mr. *Burdon* ſaid country practitioners were always paid in proportion to the diſtance they had come, while in town a carriage was ſo eſſential for every phyſician, that many beginning to practice were obliged to ſet up this ſort of equipage though very unable to afford it, or they would find it difficult to riſe to that eminence they wiſhed.

Mr. *Charles Yorke* thought the exception ought to be general, but ſubmitted to the Committee whether inſtead of a total exemption it would not be better to ſubject them only to a lower rate.

Lord *Caryfort* hoped there would be a modification.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* thought phyſicians entitled to conſiderable abatement, but thought it reaſonable alſo that that abatement ſhould not go lower than a ſingle rate. He did not wiſh however, to extend this abatement to practitioners who kept carriages in the country, becauſe a carriage in the country with ſuch people, ſo far as he had ever an opportunity of obſerving, was a proof of opulence, while in London it was none. He ſhould be ſatisfied therefore in limiting the exception for country practitioners to an exemption of the duty for two horſes.

Mr. *Charles Dundas* ſaid, if exceptions were made at this rate for gentlemen in the medical profeſſion, who ſeldom came to London till they had acquired a ſufficient degree of wealth in the country to enable them to ſet up a carriage, he did not ſee why the exception might not extend to Lawyers, and every other profeſſion.

Mr. *Pitt* replied, that he had heard it was neceſſary for a Phyſician to keep a carriage in order to obtain practice, but he never before heard that it was neceſſary for a lawyer to keep a

carriage in order to obtain a brief. Did the honourable Gentleman actually believe that a client cared whether his attorney or his advocate rode down to Weſtminſter-hall in his own carriage, or whether he rode down with a blue bag in a hackney coach?

Mr. *C. Dundas*, in explanation, ſaid he did not think phyſicians ſhould be excepted for keeping carriages, to ſupport which they were ſo well paid, when other gentlemen, from the amazing increaſe of the public burthens, were obliged to give them up.

Sir *W. Dolben* wiſhed the exception to extend to the country, becauſe the carriages of the phyſicians there were ſo old and broken that they were not worth paying for—*(A laugh.)*

Upon the motion for the ſecond reading of the clauſe, with Mr. Pitt's Amendment,

Sir *E. Knatchbull* divided the Houſe upon an Amendment for extending the exception to the country.

Ayes	——	42
Noes	——	59
	Majority	17

And, on the motion that the Clauſe ſo amended by Mr. Pitt, do make part of the Bill, the Committee again divided

Ayes	——	59
Noes	——	39
	Majority	20

Strangers were excluded for a conſiderable time.

Mr. *D. P. Coke* had riſen to make his promiſed motion for limitting the fees of the Tellers of the Exchequer during the preſent diſtreſſed and calamitous ſituation of the country. He aſſured the Committee, that in making the preſent motion, he was prompted by no perſonal hoſtility, either againſt the two noble Lords (the Marquis of Buckingham and Earl Camden) who held this office, or againſt any of his Majeſty's preſent Miniſters; on the contrary, he wiſhed them to retain their places, becauſe he felt extremely adverſe to the doctrine held by the Gentlemen who were likely to ſucceed them, eſpecially to the doctrine of Parliamentary Reform, which, if attempted and effected, muſt, in his opinion, be productive of much miſchief, and muſt neceſſarily end in a Revolution. But he could not at the ſame time forbear obſerving, that the country muſt feel ſurpriſed, nay indignant if the Houſe were to oppoſe bringing up of a clauſe tending to limit the enormous fees which the meaſure now under diſcuſſion would throw into the hands

hands of the noble Lords who held this and other lucrative offices, and that at a moment when the people at large were groaning under an unſupportable weight of taxes, and when they were going to be ſtill further loaded with a burthen which he was convinced it was utterly impoſſible they could bear, for ſhould the meaſure now under diſcuſſion be unfortunately paſſed into a law, he was ſure it would be altogether impracticable to raiſe the ſum of money it called for.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* ſaid, he had no reaſon to ſuppoſe that the motion of the honourable and learned Gentleman aroſe from any perſonal hoſtility to the Lords in queſtion, becauſe he was ſure the learned Gentleman had not received from them any provocation that could juſtify ſuch hoſtility—but though the motion might be free from a ſpirit of hoſtility, it was far from being free from very great injuſtice, for it went to deprive the noble Lords of what they poſſeſſed as the juſt rewards of the great public ſervices which their fathers had rendered to the country, and which they held as a freehold tenure, confirmed to them by an Act of Parliament; nor was there any thing in the preſent Act to warrant their being thus deprived of two-thirds of their income, as it would not make the addition of one ſhilling to the fees of the Tellers of the Exchequer. Beſides, there was a clauſe for permitting Gentlemen to contribute towards the preſent exigencies of the ſtate, as far as their inclination and circumſtances would allow them. Was it fair or agreeable that theſe noble perſons ſhould be ſingled out and called on for a compulſory contribution, while it was left optional to every other Gentleman? Was it not, moreover, glaringly unjuſt that they ſhould be aſſeſſed two-thirds of their income, while the reſt of the country were at moſt only required to pay one-tenth of theirs?

Sir *W. Pulteney* agreed, that the property in queſtion was of the nature ſtated by the Chancellor of the Exchequer; but the Houſe ſhould conſider whether it ought not to be excepted out of freeholds in general. He did not think that ſuch an extraordinary contribution as was to be raiſed by the Bill ought to be burthened with additional fees. He thought the preſent clauſe had a cloſe connection with the Bill, and ſaid he was ſurprized that Gentlemen were not aſhamed at putting ſuch enormous fees in their pockets, when the country laboured under ſuch general diſtreſs.

Mr. *Pitt* contended, that the Tellers of the Exchequer were to receive no greater addition to their fees by the raiſing of ſeven millions within the year, than if the money to be raiſed for the ſervice of the year had been procured by any other mode.

The

The *Solicitor General* maintained, that the honourable Gentleman's propoſition had nothing to do with the preſent bill, and,

Mr. *Secretary Dundas* ſaid, he could not ſit ſilent and hear the honourable and learned Gentleman inſinuate that the people would be indignant if the preſent meaſure paſſed into a law. The language, he ſaid, was highly unparliamentary, and he wiſhed the honourable Gentleman and the country to know, that no degree of unpopularity that could poſſibly attach to any man ſhould prevent him or the Houſe from uſing their own judgment and underſtanding in the opinion they ſhould deliver, or in the vote they ſhould give upon this or any other queſtion.

Sir *William Pulteney* wiſhed to know why the money might not be paid into the Bank, or any where elſe, beſides the Exchequer.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* ſaid, that great public inconveniencies would ariſe from ſuch a ſtep, by which the conſtant and regular practice of the country would be departed from.

The *Solicitor General* adviſed his learned Friend to withdraw his clauſe.

Mr. *J. H. Addington* obſerved, that it was rather ſingular that when the honourable Gentleman had declared that the bill could never be carried into effect, he ſhould at the ſame time propoſe to take money out of the pockets of Gentlemen, which he was ſure they would never receive.

Mr. *D. P. Coke* was determined to perſevere in his motion, but he would have the Committee to underſtand, that in what he advanced he never meant to throw out any unparliamentary or factious idea; in the part of the country where he acted as a Magiſtrate, it was well known that he always ſtrictly enforced obedience to every Act of Parliament, whether in his own private opinion he approved of it or not. He would now again repeat it, that the country was decidedly againſt the preſent meaſure; its execution was utterly impracticable; and ſhould the right honourable Gentleman perſiſt in it, it could not fail to work his downfall. The right honourable Gentleman had ſaid, that if a leſs objectionable and equally effectual mode of raiſing the ſupplies was ſuggeſted, he would not heſitate to adopt it. He had a plan to propoſe which would fully anſwer the end in view, and that was to lay a ſhilling in the pound on all tranſfer of ſtock.

After

After a few words from the *Chancellor of the Exchequer* and Mr. *Ryder*, the Houſe divided on the motion of Mr. *Coke*.

Ayes,	- -	6
Noes,	- -	75
	Majority,	69

Mr. *Huſſey* wiſhed to know how long the Bill was to continue.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* ſaid, he would find an anſwer to his queſtion by looking at the laſt clauſe of the bill.

The bill being then read through,

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* ſaid, he would propoſe that the report be received the next day *pro forma*, that an order might be made for having it printed; and that Gentlemen might have ſufficient time to examine it, he would move that it be taken into further conſideration on Thurſday next.

The Houſe being reſumed, the other orders of the day were poſtponed.—Adjourned at twelve o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

SATURDAY, *Dec.* 23.

Heard Counſel on a Scotch Appeal. After paſſing ſeveral bills through their reſpective ſtages, the Exchequer Bills bill was read a third time and paſſed. The Houſe then adjourned until Thurſday next.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

SATURDAY, *Dec.* 23.

Immediately after the Speaker took the Chair,

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* moved, That the Houſe do, at its riſing, adjourn to Thurſday next.—Ordered.

Mr. *Tierney* ſaid, if this was meant as a further accommodation to Members, and to afford them a further opportunity of receiving inſtructions from their conſtituents, it was very well; but what he roſe for was, chiefly, to aſk of the Chancellor of the Exchequer when he propoſed to move the third reading of the Aſſeſſed Taxes Bill?

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* ſaid, that the details upon the report would, moſt probably, occupy the whole of Thurſday and Friday next. It was not convenient to urge the third reading on the Saturday, and therefore he ſhould not preſs the third reading until the following Tueſday.

Mr. *Tierney* then ſaid, he wiſhed to be informed of another thing, which was, whether the Chancellor of the Exchequer's modi-

modification of this bill would tend to increaſe or decreaſe the amount at which he eſtimated the impoſt?

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* ſaid, certainly the modification would cauſe a very conſiderable decreaſe in the produce.

Mr. *Smith* brought up the Report of the Committee on the Aſſeſſed Taxes Bill, which was read and agreed to.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* moved, That the Report be taken into further conſideration on Thurſday next. Ordered.

That the bill with the amendments be printed. Ordered.

Adjourned to Thurſday.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

THURSDAY, *Dec.* 28.

The Exchequer Bills Bill and the Marine Mutiny Bill were read a third time and paſſed.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

THURSDAY, *Dec.* 28.

A writ was ordered to be iſſued for a new Member for Durham, in the room of Mr. Lambton deceaſed.

The Slave Carrying Bill was read a firſt time, and ordered to be read a ſecond time the next day.

CLOCK AND WATCH TRADE.

Alderman *Luſhington* brought up a petition from 476 watch and clock-makers, ſtating the inconveniences ariſing from the duty laid upon clocks and watches by an Act of laſt ſeſſions, and praying that the ſame might be repealed.—The petition was ordered to lie on the table.

Alderman Luſhington then expreſſed a wiſh to know, whether, if the aſſeſſed bill paſſed, it would prevent the repeal of the act complained of in the above petition?

The *Speaker* obſerved, that there was nothing in the bill that could prevent the repeal of that act.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* ſaid, that it was certainly open to the worthy Alderman to object to any part of the preſent bill that could be ſuppoſed to interfere with any motion he might have in view; but he conceived that there was nothing in it that could at all affect the watch and clock-makers, as there was a clauſe in it to exempt from the new tax all watches, &c. hereafter to be purchaſed.

ASSESSED TAXES.

On a motion of the *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, the order of the day for taking into conſideration the Report of the Bill for granting additional duties on Aſſeſſed Taxes, was now read.

Sir

Sir *Alan Gardener* ſaid, he had a few obſervations to make upon the bill, which he would take this opportunity to offer. He was happy to find that it had already undergone full diſcuſſion, and that the objections made by thoſe who would have been too heavily affected by its proviſions, had been completely removed. He ſaid that the enemy muſt be reſiſted, and the country defended, and without ſupplies neither fleet nor army could be ſupported, in which caſe we could neither reſiſt the enemy nor procure a ſafe and honourable peace. Allowing this, and it could not be denied, the ſafety of the country depended on the conduct that would take place that night. Therefore, notwithſtanding certain reſolutions of diſapprobation had appeared in the public prints, which he had read with great regret, he felt himſelf obliged in conſcience and in duty to the public, to give his ſupport to the meaſure, and thereby to provide for the ſafety, honour, and independence of the country. Under the circumſtances of the country he thought that it was impoſſible to withhold the ſupplies.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* obſerved, that the Houſe muſt not raſhly give way to modifications which would diminiſh the efficacy of the meaſure. The perſons to whom the honourable gentleman referred were thoſe who were peculiarly intereſted in the event of the preſent criſis; they were ſuch who were called upon, as much from a principle of prudence as of zeal, to look to the means of their preſervation, collectively and individually.

Mr. *Pollen* ſaid, he wiſhed, on behalf of thoſe who paid to the amount he had ſtated, a mitigation in the proportion of aſſeſſment to the houſe and window duty; otherwiſe he was afraid that the calamities which ſuch individuals would ſuſtain, would cauſe an aggregate of evils which would not admit of a remedy.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* replied, that by looking into the ſcale the honourable Gentleman would find the houſe tax lowered ſo as was calculated to eaſe thoſe who paid to this tax more in proportion than thoſe who were charged with the horſe aſſeſſed duty.

Sir *William Milner* ſaid, that he would not oppoſe any particular clauſe of the bill, becauſe he meant to oppoſe the whole bill and its principle.

On reading the clauſe which was amended in the Committee upon the bill, and by which amendment an alleviation was agreed to be given to thoſe who occupy houſes to which there are ſhops or warehouſes,

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* propoſed to negative the amend-

amendment of the Committee, ſo as to take warehouſes out of the exemption, and to confine the alleviation merely to ſhops.

Mr. *Wilberforce* wiſhed an alleviation in favour of thoſe perſons who had warehouſes as part of their houſes, for the ſake of ſhowing goods.

Mr. *Ryder* thought this would open a door for evaſion, by a perſon's appropriating a room in his houſe for putting away goods in order to evade the tax.

Sir *W. Pulteney* remarked, that as this bill would operate according to the preſent aſſeſſed taxes, there would be no room for evaſion in thoſe who would henceforward appropriate a room in their houſe with ſuch a view.

Mr. *Wilberforce* declined moving any amendment.

Mr. *Bragge* called the attention of the Houſe to the claſs of coach-makers: their ſhops or warehouſes were not ſimilar to thoſe of others; they might be conſidered as places of exhibition, where goods which had been ſold were ſhewn to advantage; he thought, therefore, that they ought not to be included in the proviſions of this bill, more eſpecially as coach-makers were entitled to every indulgence from the manner in which this bill would preſs upon them.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* apprehended that coach-makers were included in the exemptions introduced in favour of ſhops. Warehouſes are therefore not now exempted.

On reading the clauſe which impoſes a double aſſeſſment for horſes kept for agriculture,

Mr. *Pole Carew* wiſhed a clauſe introduced to protect perſons in huſbandry from the operation of this tax who had not actually uſed all their horſes. For this purpoſe he moved a clauſe, ſpecifying, that the tax ſhould only attach "on all horſes which ſhall have been kept and uſed for the purpoſes of huſbandry within the preceding year."

Mr. *Ryder*, the *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, and the *Solicitor General*, objected, on the ground that ſuch a clauſe would open a conſiderable door for fraud, and introduce much confuſion. The clauſe was rejected.

Mr. *J. H. Browne* propoſed a proviſion that thoſe who kept farms under the yearly rent of 150l ſhould be charged only with a ſingle additional duty.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* ſaid, that queſtion had been already fully argued in the Committee, and he had heard no good reaſon to alter his opinion, or conſent to diminiſh the amount of the tax. In no caſe were farmers to be charged with more than a double rate; and at preſent they were favour-

ed

ed with an exemption from the houſe duty. The farmers had as much at ſtake, and it was as much their intereſt to contribute their proportion in the preſent criſis as any others. Even with this addition it would not amount to that proportion of income according to which others were taxed; and the tendency of this motion would occaſion a very conſiderable defalcation of the revenue.

Mr. *Pollen* wiſhed a line to be drawn in proportion to the quality and number of acres which a farmer might rent.

Meſſrs. *Bulkley*, *Pole Carew*, *Baker*, Lord *Carysfort*, Sir *W. Pulteney*, &c. delivered their ſentiments; after which

Sir *W. Geary* ſuggeſted a modification; the ſubſtance of which was, that no farmer who rents a farm under 150l. a year, and who has no other means of livelihood, ſhall be charged by this duty for more than five horſes for agriculture.

To this the *Chancellor of the Exchequer* aſſented, and the Houſe agreed.

Mr. *I. H. Browne's* clauſe was negatived.

Upon the clauſe reſpecting the oath to be taken in caſes of appeal, a ſhort converſation took place between Mr. *Wilberforce*, Mr. Serjeant *Adair*, Mr. *Wigley*, Mr. *I. Hawkins Browne*, and Mr. *Douglas*, after which the clauſe was agreed to; and Mr. *Wilberforce* gave notice that upon receiving the report of the Committee he ſhould propoſe an amendment relative to annexing the penalties of perjury to the violation of the oath required by this act.

In clauſe (P) which enacts, "that if any perſon or perſons ſhall be prevented by abſence, ſickneſs, or any other unavoidable accident, or by any other ſufficient cauſe, they ſhall be allowed to make this appeal in the manner before mentioned."

Mr. *Wilberforce* moved to leave out the words "by any other ſufficient." After a ſhort converſation the Houſe divided upon this amendment,

Ayes	——	5
Noes	——	94
	Majority	89

The clauſe was then agreed to.

Clauſes Q. R. S. were agreed to with amendments.

In clauſe T. which grants an abatement to perſons having more than five children,

Mr. *Bragg* moved to amend the clauſe for allowing certain abatements to perſons having a certain number of children, by leaving out the word five, and inſerting in its ſtead the word four.

This amendment was agreed to.

Mr. *Serjeant Adair* was of opinion, that this clauſe was too confined by the limitation of the words "children born in lawful wedlock;" for ſeveral inſtances might occur where the wife or the huſband might have children by former marriages, the number of whoſe children added together would place them within this clauſe of the bill, but if the children were taken ſeperately, then ſuch perſons muſt be deprived of the benefit of the clauſe. It undoubtedly could not be the intention of the Houſe to refuſe the propoſed abatement to a family compoſed of the united children of the maſter and the miſtreſs, and whoſe expence were defrayed out of the funds of both. With a view to remove every doubt and obſcurity on this ſubject, he would move to amend the clauſe, by introducing, after the word "children," and before the words "born in lawful wedlock," theſe words; "of him or her, or of his or her wife or huſband, or of both of them."

Mr. *Ryder*, the *Solicitor General*, and the *Maſter of the Rolls* objected to this amendment, on the ground that ſuch children had generally ſeparate proviſions made for them.

The motion for the amendment was then put and agreed to.

Sir *W. Pulteney* here obſerved, that in his opinion it was improper to proceed further on a buſineſs of ſuch ſerious importance at ſo late an hour (paſt eleven) when the Houſe muſt be naturally very much fatigued.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* ſaid, that his wiſh was that the few remaining clauſes might be gone through, and that the moſt important part, the conſideration of the Schedule might then be deferred till the next day.

On the motion for agreeing to the clauſe which makes the pariſhes liable for the punctual payment of the tax.

Mr. *Baker* ſaid, that it would be very hard on the pariſhes to be thus made liable to the payment of the taxes when they had no ſhare in appointing the perſons who were to collect them.

Mr. *Plumer* urged the ſame objection, and ſaid that the county, and not the pariſhes, ſhould be made liable.

Mr. *Roſe* ſaid, that the pariſhes named the perſons out of whom the Commiſſioners were choſen, who had the power of appointing the collectors. There was, therefore, no hardſhip in making the pariſhes liable for the payment.

Sir *W. Pulteney* ſaid, it was a ſubject that required mature conſideration, though he did not mean to preſs it that night, whether ſome more proviſions ought not to be made reſpecting the collecting theſe taxes. The collectors would, in conſequence

quence of this bill, have to receive very large ſums indeed, and care ought to be taken to ſecure the payment of them.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* ſaid, this clauſe was the ſame as that always inſerted in the Land Tax Bill; but if the Houſe thought any farther caution neceſſary, he ſhould certainly not object to any proviſion to that effect.

The original clauſe was then put and agreed too.

On the motion for agreeing to clauſe (X).

Mr. *Burdon* moved to leave out the word, *ſchoolmaſter*,[93] and to leave ſimply the words, "perſon keeping any academy, or ſeminary of education, &c.

Mr. *H. Addington* ſaid, that there was another deſcription of perſons not exactly to be claſſed under the denomination of School-maſter or School-miſtreſs, to whom, he thought, the ſame exemptions ſhould be extended. Theſe were perſons who receive into their houſes grown up young ladies, in order to give a certain degree of inſtruction, by way of finiſhing their education—*(a laugh)*

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* obſerved, that if the honourable Gentleman took the word *inſtruction* in its *ordinary* ſenſe, then undoubtedly the perſons he alluded to would come under the deſcription of School-miſtreſſes.

Mr. *Burdon* moved, that undertakers for funerals, or all perſons letting out horſes and carriages for ſuch purpoſes, be entitled to the ſame exemptions as coachmakers. Agreed to.

Mr. *Plumer* objected to the clauſe which granted certain abatements to Gentlemen exerciſing any branch of the medical profeſſion, as inaccurately worded.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* thought the objection well founded, and did not wiſh to extend the abatements to perſons not regularly bred to the medical profeſſion. He then moved, that inſtead of the words, "any perſon," &c. the words, "Phyſician, Surgeon, Apothecary, and Midwife," be inſerted, and that the abatement granted to ſuch perſons ſhould extend only to ſuch as keep but one carriage and two horſes, either for riding or drawing, or for both purpoſes. The clauſe ſo amended was agreed to.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* ſaid, that the clauſes for allowing perſons to make voluntary contributions beyond the amount of the Aſſeſſed Taxes, required ſome important alterations. He would therefore bring them in at ſome future ſtage of the bill.

Mr. *Baker* gave notice, that he would move a clauſe for granting certaining exemptions to Clegymen whoſe income did not exceed 150l. per annum.

Mr.

Mr. *Dundas* hoped that the benefit of ſuch a clauſe might be extended to the clergy of Scotland.

Mr. *Baker* ſaid that ſuch was his intention.

The reſt of the clauſes being gone through, the Schedule, containing the mode of appreciating income, was poſtponed till the next day.

Mr. *Tyrwhyt* aſked, when it was the intention of the right hon. Gentleman that the bill ſhould be read a third time?

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* ſaid, that it was his intention that the Report be taken into further conſideration the next day, that the bill, with the new amendments, be reprinted, and that it be read a third time on Tueſday next.

Sir *W. Pulteney* ſuggeſted the propriety of giving relief in the caſe of new built houſes.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* ſaid, he had a clauſe to propoſe to that effect.

Adjourned at half paſt twelve.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

SATURDAY, *Dec.* 30.

The Royal Aſſent was given by Commiſſion to ſeveral public and private bills—among the former were the Marine Mutiny, Exchequer Bills, and Scotch Diſtillery Explanatory Bills. A Meſſage was alſo ſent to the Commons, announcing that their Lordſhips had agreed to the Meſſage from that Houſe, relative to the promulgation of the Statutes. Their Lordſhips then adjourned till Wedneſday.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

SATURDAY, *Dec.* 30.

A Meſſage from the Lords informed the Houſe that their Lordſhips concurred in the Reſolutions communicated to them relative to the promulgation of the Statutes.

SUPPLEMENTARY MILITIA.

Mr. *Secretary Dundas* ſaid, the Houſe muſt recollect an Act of laſt Seſſion of Parliament, commonly called the "Supplemental Militia Act." That meaſure had been carried into execution, a great number of men had been raiſed under it, and had been employed for the public ſervice. It was a very large and able body of men, and might be extremely uſeful in a caſe of the laſt neceſſity; but in conſequence of ſo large a body of men being thus ſituated, a great number of men were prevented from giving aid to his Majeſty's arms for the general defence of his cauſe, in any part of the world; they were thus prevented,

prevented, becauſe there was no regular power to enlift them into his Majeſty's regular ſervice, from which great inconvenience had ariſen, and if not remedied, greater muſt hereafter ariſe. He had no complaint to make againſt the different Officers who had been called upon to act under the provisions of the Militia Bill, undoubtedly they had done their duty. Thus it happened that many of the men compoſing this Militia, having enliſted into his Majeſty's regular ſervice, were reclaimed as Militia men, and were obliged to be reſtored; for ſo the law ſtood at preſent; ſo that if any man, belonging to the Militia, ſhould, from his ardour for more active ſervice, or any other motive, enliſt into the regular ſervice, ſuch man may, at any time, be reclaimed as a Militia man, and if ſo claimed, muſt be reſtored; to the manifeſt prejudice of his Majeſty's ſervice. The object of the bill which he intended to move for, was to remedy that defect, by enabling any man, if deſirous of enliſting, ſo to do, and if he does, he ſhall not afterwards be reclaimed as a Militia man; nor ſhould the periſh be bound to replace him. This plan would add to the general and regular force of his Majeſty's arms, without any additional expence to the public.

The Houſe, he was ſure, would feel the importance of this ſubject, and would be ready to give it their moſt ſerious attention. It would appear to be neceſſary in another point of view. There are at preſent a number of regiments, thirteen or fourteen of them, in ſome of whom there are hardly any but officers; ſo that however meritorious and uſeful their ſervices have been, and how much, and how juſtly ſoever his Majeſty might be diſpoſed to confide in them, their ſervices could not be had, unleſs their regiments were ſupplied with men. There were of the Militia from fifty to ſixty thouſand; now, if in conſequence of the meaſure he propoſed, theſe regiments could be filled up, the country would be no longer deprived of the ſervices of theſe officers, who, of all men, were the moſt deſirable to be employed in the public ſervice at a time like the preſent, and he truſted, that within a ſhort period, a body of no leſs than fifty thouſand men might thus be brought into active ſervice for our general defence, to act as occaſion might require, either offenſively or defenſively, either within, or out of this country. He did not mean by this deſcription of the propoſed ſervice to ſay, that this force would be called upon to ſerve out of his Majeſty's European dominions; for he meant only home ſervice, extending to Jerſey and Guernſey, and the North Seas.

He certainly ſhould not now enlarge upon this ſubject in the

the detail, nor need he say any thing on the probable conſequence of ſuch a meaſure. He would leave it to every man's feelings. Let every man aſk himſelf, whether, for the purpoſes of our general defence, or for annoying the enemy, where that may be adviſeable, can any meaſure be more likely to be effectual than that which will raiſe a body of men immediately, probably twenty thouſand, every one accuſtomed to the uſe of arms? He would leave it with the Houſe to conſider, and he deſired them to look at the hiſtory of this country at the proudeſt periods of its military glory; for inſtance, at that at the time of Queen Elizabeth, and the time of the deſtruction of the Spaniſh Armada, when we were menaced, as we are now, with invaſion. This country had no greater reaſon to be proud of its power then, than it has now; but it ſhould alſo have the ſame vigour and the ſame precaution.

He then moved, "That leave be given to bring in a Bill for allowing certain proportions of men raiſed in purſuance of two Acts of Parliament of the laſt Seſſion, to enliſt into his Majeſty's other ſervices for a time to be limitted."

An idea had been ſtated, he ſaid, and the experiment might very ſafely be tried, in order to ſee how far it is poſſible to recruit the ſervice, by enliſting ſoldiers for a ſhorter period than for life. In the Bill he propoſed, he intended to introduce a limitation of the time of ſervice of thoſe who ſhould enliſt in conſequence of any recruiting under the power of the Bill.

Sir *W. Pulteney* ſaid, he did not oppoſe this meaſure, on the contrary, he approved of it as far as it went, but he thought that ſome meaſure of a more extenſive nature ought to be deviſed and brought forward to prepare us againſt invaſion. The right honourable Gentleman who moved this, had ſaid that fifty thouſand men might be raiſed in this manner, and that twenty thouſand might be raiſed immediately. This was not a time to truſt to fifty thouſand men. The people of this country ſhould be called upon to arm in a much larger force. Let them ſtand forward and take ſuch vigorous meaſures as are ſuitable to the preſent criſis. There was not one in that Houſe, nor any intelligent perſon in this country, who did not know that much more force than was propoſed to be made effective by the preſent bill, would be neceſſary for our preſent ſituation.

Mr. *Secretary Dundas* ſaid, that if the preſent meaſure ſhould prove inadequate, it would become executive government to attend to meaſures for ſupplying the deficiency, at the ſame time he would not have the honourable Baronet ſuppoſe that we were to be defended from invaſion only by

twenty

twenty thouſand men. So far was that from being the caſe that there never was a period when the internal ſtrength of this country againſt invaſion was ſo complete as at the preſent moment. All the menaces that were made againſt this country were ſuch as he for one would neither totally deſpiſe nor apprehend with any timidity. There had been many attempts induſtriouſly made to diſcredit all the menaces that had been thrown out, but that he thought very improper, becauſe they were intended to have an effect on the general character of the people of this country. Theſe menaces, if the people were diſpoſed to meet them properly, he ſhould be prepared to treat as an idle feeble vapour, and regard with as much contempt as any man in this country. On the other hand we were to take care that we ſhould not be attacked while ſleeping in our beds under a miſplaced ſecurity. He did not mean to diſpirit the people of this country nor to delude them by falſe hopes. It was only by being on the one hand not too confident, nor on the other unworthily intimidated, that their intereſts could be ſecured. According to the ſentiments of the honourable Baronet, the energy of the people would not be ſufficiently called forth. He ſhould always be happy to hear any other plan propoſed that could call that energy into action. But then the executive government could not be juſtified in aſſenting to any meaſure, without a due conſideration of all circumſtances; becauſe the trade, commerce, agriculture, and wealth of the country muſt not be wholly employed in military operations, ſince that would ſoon deſtroy our real reſources. It became the executive government to conſider the general population of the country, and to take care alſo to keep the expence of their operations within due bounds. If all the zeal and the energy of the people was properly called forth, always regarding the objects which he had juſt hinted at, there would be nothing to fear. Indeed we were partly ſecure already. But any other meaſures for theſe purpoſes he ſhould be glad to liſten to, if they came either from the honourable Baronet or any other perſon in that Houſe or out of it. The force now propoſed was intended for immediate defenſive offenſive operations, if he might be allowed the uſe of ſuch an expreſſion. It certainly tended to add to the ſtrength of the Britiſh empire. If we neglected the opportunity of availing ourſelves of it, we ſhould have to reflect that we encouraged the enemy to attack us, more than by any meaſure which we might afterwards have it in our power to adopt to repel them.

Sir *William Pulteney* explained. He ſaid that as to twenty thouſand men to be raiſed immediately by this meaſure, he knew they were not ſufficient; a great deal more muſt be raiſed. As to the expence of it, he did not mean to increaſe the expence. He thought highly of the ſpirit of the people of this country; but they muſt be prepared to do a great deal without expence.

Mr. *Burdon* ſaid he did not riſe to oppoſe this meaſure; what was ſaid upon the ſubject by the right honourable Gentleman, coincided with his opinion and his feelings. He hoped that Government would conſider the expediency of changing the proviſional cavalry into a regular force. They were at preſent ineffective, but they might be made very uſeful. From what he had obſerved and had been informed, he had no reaſon to doubt the country would be ready to adopt the meaſure which he now ſuggeſted.

Mr. *Baker* ſaid a few words.

The queſtion was then put; leave was given to bring in the bill, and Mr. Secretary Dundas, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Mr. Hutchkiſſon, were ordered to prepare and bring it in.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* moved, that the Houſe do go into a Committee of Supply, and of Ways and Means, on Wedneſday next.—Ordered.

MILITARY AUGMENTATION BILL.

Mr. Secretary *Dundas* brought up the bill which he had juſt had leave to bring in.

It was read a firſt time, and ordered to be read a ſecond time on Tueſday next, and to be printed, on the motions of Mr. Secretary Dundas.

Mr. *Wilberforce* gave notice, that early after the receſs he ſhould move for leave to bring in a bill to allow coſts in caſes of miſdemeanour tried at the quarter ſeſſions, and for other purpoſes.

Mr. *Tierney* ſaid, he roſe to give a conditional notice. He hoped the Chancellor of the Exchequer would bring a communication to the Houſe, ſtating that the Royal Family are deſirous to bear part of the burthens of the preſent aſſeſſments; if not, he ſhould certainly move, that all the laws which exempt them from bearing any ſuch burthens, ſhould be repealed.

ASSESSED TAXES BILL.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* moved the Order of the Day on the Aſſeſſed Taxes Bill.

The

The Houſe went through the ſchedule, and then proceeded to receive clauſes, and to add them to the bill, of which there was a prodigious number, and the following is the ſubſtance:

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* brought up a clauſe to allow houſes kept for the reception of lunatics the ſame modification of aſſeſſment as houſes for letting lodgings.—Agreed to.

The *Maſter of the Rolls* brought up a clauſe to put thoſe who keep rooms for public entertainment on the ſame footing as inn-keepers. He was deſired to do this by a perſon who kept public rooms at Bath, for which he paid a rent of 1000 guineas a year. He was willing to pay his ſhare, but the aſſeſſment on him would not be according to his ability. He now paid 81 guineas to the aſſeſſed taxes.—Clauſe agreed to.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* then proceeded to propoſe his numerous clauſes, which were all agreed to.

To charge the royal academicians and aſſociates only one addition to their preſent duties.

To exempt the horſes of volunteer corps.

To exempt the keepers of ſtage coaches.

To exempt thoſe who have kept a carriage and laid it down, and never uſed it ſince the 5th of April laſt, to the day of making the appeal; the proof to lay on the party charged.

To exempt perſons who have ſerved or may ſerve offices in great corporations, ſuch as the Lord Mayor of London, and other offices of corporate bodies and Sheriffs of Counties, from any more than the proportion of aſſeſſment to which they would have been liable, independent of the equipage incident to their office.

To charge thoſe who pay for dogs by a compoſition, ſuch as thoſe who keep kennels of hounds &c. not for each individual dog, but a ratable proportion according to the preſent compoſition.

To put thoſe who keep houſes at bathing places, &c. upon the ſame footing as thoſe who keep houſes for lodgings.

To charge thoſe who enter houſes that have never before been inhabited only the duty that would attach upon them, had they ſtaid in the houſes they ſhall quit, this exemption to continue during the continuance of the act.

Providing that thoſe who remove in a given time, ſhall not be charged for the houſes they have quitted.

Providing how affidavits ſhall be made of abſence or illneſs, if the duty be not paid in due time.

Allowing agents and guardians to make declarations for infants in cases of appeal.

Giving ten days time to appeal after notice of assessment, ten days more for hearing appeals, and ten days further for payment after the determination of appeals.

Regulating the mode of appointing collectors within the bills of mortality.

Directing that collectors shall give security to the amount of the first instalment which are to be six in the year.

Providing that the securities of the collectors, as well as receipts for the payment of the new assessed taxes, shall be on unstamped paper. Upon this Mr. Ryder wished the receipts to be stamped.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* opposed it.

Ayes (For unstamped paper on the receipts)	—	34
Noes	—	14
Majority	—	20.

Obliging the collectors to pay the money they receive within seven days after it comes into their hands.

Giving the commissioners discretionary power of paying collectors for their trouble, but not to exceed threepence in the pound; and to the commissioners clerks three half-pence in the pound.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* proposed a clause to oblige the collectors of the taxes to pay their receipts within a limited time to the Receiver General: this was fixed at seven days after a stated period; and the collectors were authorised to detain three-pence per pound sterling, as allowances, &c.

This provision was agreed to by the House.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* presented a clause authorising the payment of 1½d per pound, as an allowance to the clerks of the commissioners for executing the act.—Agreed to.

A clause to the following effect was then proposed by the *Chancellor of the Exchequer*—a provision, that the Receivers General be allowed no poundage on the collection; but that the Lords of the Treasury be authorised to order them a reimbursement for any reasonable charges, &c.

Mr. Wilberforce took occasion to observe, that the situation of the officers in question was very lucrative; in proportion as the public burthens augmented, their emoluments increased. He did not, therefore, entertain the idea of the least additional allowance to these persons. A similar augmentation of emolument took place in certain departments of the Stamp-Office; so much so, that a certain distributor in the country, finding

finding the amount of his poundage increaſe far above the ſum which he conceived the Legiſlature intended it ſhould arrive at, actually repreſented the circumſtance himſelf, and requeſted that ſteps might be taken to reduce the rates. This was certainly a very laudable inſtance of perſonal diſintereſtedneſs; but it tended to ſhew the enormous profits accruing in ſome of the revenue departments: he had no objection to the propoſed clauſe; but wiſhed that it might not be conſidered as the ſanction of the Houſe to theſe very conſiderable emoluments which the Receivers-general enjoy.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* obſerved that if his honourable friend had conſidered the tendency of the clauſe, he would ſee that it went rather to deduct from the emoluments of thoſe perſons, inaſmuch as it took away the allowance of poundage. It had been inſinuated that the office of Receiver-general was a ſpecies of ſinecure; that he could not admit: beſides, the circumſtance of their reſponſibility, and the ſecurities given by them ſhould be conſidered. In conſequence of the preſent act, they would have to officiate ſix times in the courſe of the year; and the remuneration referred to in the clauſe was only in the conſideration of their extra trouble. With reſpect to what his honourable friend related of the communication of the Stamp-office, he obſerved, that Government were appriſed long ſince of it, and had taken the neceſſary ſtep in conſequence; the proceedings of the various departments alluded to were cloſely inveſtigated by the Commiſſioners of the Tax-office, under the orders of the Board of Treaſury: he was fully aware that the ſuggeſtions of his honourable friend aroſe from the pureſt motives, and ſuch as were highly creditable to him.

Mr. *Wilberforce*, in explanation, acknowledged that the communication had been made to him a long time ſince, and he was happy to hear that Government was determined to rectify thoſe abuſes.

Sir *Martin Folkes* obſerved, that the office of Receiver-general was by no means ſo deſirable as ſome gentlemen imagined; they were in a variety of inſtances at heavy expences, ran great riſks with reſpect to the money, and endured much perſonal inconvenience in the execution of their duty.

The *Soliciter General* expreſſed ſimilar ſentiments; there were many of the Receivers-general who performed the duty perſonally; they alſo were at great pecuniary hazard. He knew an inſtance where one of them was near loſing the ſum of 36,000l. on account of the probable inſolvency of the

perſon

perſon in whoſe hands the money was lodged. Their extenſive reſponſibility, and their hazards ſhould be conſidered; their additional trouble, and the expences to be incurred by the arrangements of the preſent bill ſhould be taken into the account.

Mr. *Baker* ſaid a few words nearly to the ſame effect, when the queſtion was put, and the clauſe was acceded to by the Houſe.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* informed the Houſe that he was about to propoſe ſome clauſes to its conſideration, relative to the affording the means of prompt payment under any of the proviſions of the bill, through the medium of the Bank, to afford a channel for the payment of voluntary aſſeſſments, and to provide for the allowance of a diſcount in certain caſes.

He then preſented the firſt of theſe clauſes, which went to authoriſe the Bank to open an account with the Treaſury in their books, on account of the ſupplies of the year 1798, and to place to the credit ſide thereof all monies received by it in conſequence of this act; they were authorized to give receipts and duplicates thereof to the payers of ſuch monies, which duplicates ſhould be received by the collectors of the taxes as caſh, &c.

Providing a mode for opening an account with the Bank, and the Commiſſioners of the Treaſury. Allowing thoſe who chuſe to pay a certain number of inſtalments, diſcount at four per cent, &c. for prompt payment, &c. &c.

Sir *W. Pulteney* aſked the Chancellor of the Exchequer how he intended to go on with the bill?

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* ſaid he ſhould propoſe that all the clauſes which any other perſon had to offer ſhould be diſcuſſed that night, as well as amendments to the body of the bill; that then an order ſhould be made for its engroſſment, and the third reading ſhould ſtand for Wedneſday.

Sir *W. Pulteney* ſaid he wiſhed the Bill might be rendered as free from defects as the nature of the thing would allow, and therefore he thought that another day ſhould be taken for the diſcuſſion of clauſes or amendments in the body of the bill.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* ſaid, that it was only from the accident of there not being a Houſe the preceding day, that the third reading was not to come on on Tueſday next. He allowed that the bill was ſuch as required great diſcuſſion. But he maintained that there never was a bill which had gone through

through ſo many ſtages as this had, nor one that was ſo deliberately conſidered. It had been committed twice, and twice printed; he propoſed printing it a third time, a thing quite unuſual; for until lately it had not been uſual to print a revenue bill even once. Under theſe impreſſions he would not conſent to any further delay in the meaſure.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* propoſed a clauſe for regulating the receipts, &c. on voluntary contributions, which, after a few words from Mr. *Hawkins Browne*, was agreed to.

Three clauſes followed, regulating the mode of receiving and iſſuing the receipts, duplicates, &c. for the payment of aſſeſſments and voluntary contributions at the Bank.—Theſe were acceded to without obſervation by the Houſe.

A clauſe was then propoſed regulating the rates of diſcount, and allowances to be made for preſent payment, voluntary contributions, &c. which was agreed to.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* finally propoſed a clauſe to make thoſe who ſhould be guilty of forging certificates of the Bank, to be uſed for the purpoſes of the bill, guilty of felony, and that they ſhould ſuffer death as felons, without benefit of clergy.

The *Speaker* obſerved, that by a ſtanding order of the Houſe, it was determined that no proviſion for the puniſhment of death ſhould be introduced into a bill, unleſs previouſly approved of by a Committee of the whole Houſe.

This proceeding being moved for, the Houſe reſolved itſelf into a Committee, Mr. *Steele* in the chair.

The Committee paſſed a reſolution for introducing a proviſion for the puniſhment of death into the bill; after which the Houſe reſumed, and agreed to the report of the Committee.

The clauſe, as above ſtated, was then ordered to ſtand part of the bill.

Mr. *Burton* brought up a clauſe to empower certain perſons who had contributed by rates levied upon them for the purpoſe of erecting gaols, churches, and workhouſes, and other public buildings to withhold any further contributions for that purpoſe for ſeven years, the better to enable them to pay the preſent aſſeſſment.

The *Solicitor General* expreſſed himſelf ſhortly to the ſame effect.

Mr. *Hawkins Browne* argued in favour of the propoſitions; it would help to carry the principle of the bill into effect, which

which was to raiſe within the year a part of the ſupplies, which the ſupport of a juſt and neceſſary war rendered indiſpenſible.

Mr. *Baker* ſaid a few words.

The *Maſter of the Rolls*, on a review of the caſe, was of opinion, that the perſons who were liable to the rates in queſtion, were, on account of the freſh burthens to be impoſed, deſerving of ſome conſideration.

Mr. Pole Carew alluded to the proviſions of the ſchedule in favour of ſuch perſons as were moſt likely to be affected by the rates in queſtion.

Mr. Burton explained, that his principle object was, by eaſing theſe perſons with reſpect to the rates, to enable them to pay a larger proportion of their aſſeſſments under the preſent bill. It was in effect, ſhifting the burthen in ſome degree to poſterity. This could not fairly be complained of, as jails, and ſimilar erections were ſuch as the heirs and ſucceſſors of ſuch perſons muſt obviouſly *enjoy* the benefit of—*(a loud and general laugh)*. Certainly, added Mr. Burton, as they related to the protection of property. However, if the two learned Gentlemen thought the interval of ſeven years too great, he had no objection to reduce it to five.

The *Solicitor General*, in his view of the operation of ſuch a clauſe, imagined that three years was the greateſt extenſion that ought to be admitted.

Mr. *Hawkins Browne* enforced his former obſervations in ſupport of the extenſion to ſeven years. The operation of the clauſe would be coincident with the principle of the bill, as through it a greater quantum of the ſupply would eventually be raiſed within the year.

Sir *Wm. Geary* was decidedly of the ſame opinion.

Mr. *Bragge* was hoſtile to ſo long an interval as ſeven years. He thought the propoſed extenſion ſhould not exceed the duration of the preſent bill: as this could not be preciſely aſcertained, he was of opinion, that three years was the utmoſt limit that ſhould be allowed.

It was propoſed that this ſhould continue only for three years, and afterwards for five years.

The firſt diviſion was,

For ſeven years,	6
Againſt it,	40
For ſive years,	7
For three years,	38

Mr. *Wilberforce* propoſed three clauſes, but the Houſe refuſed leave to bring up either.

The

The first was, to exempt Justices of Peace in the county, or to make them an abatement from this duty, if their incomes were under 2000l. a year.

The other in favour of those who keep but one horse, and keep no servant.

The third was in favour of a religious sect of people called Moravians.

Mr. *Burton* proposed a clause to enable landlords and tenants to lend money to each other, that the one to take the same remedy to recover it as he has for the recovery of his rent, the other to deduct out of the rent, for their mutual accommodation, the sums to enable each of them to pay the duty demanded called upon.

Ayes (for the clause)	——	26
Noes	——	32
	Majority	6

The House then went through all the Amendments in the body of the Bill, which are numerous.

After which the Bill was ordered to be engrossed, to be printed with the Amendments, and to be read a third time on Wednesday next.

Adjourned at twenty-five minutes after twelve to Tuesday next.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

TUESDAY, *Jan.* 2.

Mr. Secretary *Dundas* said, he had a petition from the Clock and Watch-makers of Edinburgh, against that part of the Assessed Taxes bill as affects the duty upon clocks and watches, but he must apply to the Chair to know whether he could present it.

The *Speaker* said, that no petition could regularly be received if it prayed any thing against the supply of the year. But it was competent to the petitioners to prefer another petion for the repeal of the existing duty upon clocks and watches.

SUPPLEMENTARY MILITIA.

Mr. Secretary *Dundas* then moved the order of the day for the bill to enable persons in the Supplementary Militia to enlist in his Majesty's other services, &c.

Mr. *Hobhouse* said, he should be very ready to concur in any plan that had for its object the combating our foe with effect; but he feared that this bill would not be effectual for

that purpoſe. Few, he feared, would be ready to enter into the ſervice, as might be expected by the framers of the bill. Perhaps ſome might be willing to go to Guernſey or Jerſey, but as to any readineſs to go to other ſettlements, he muſt be a ſanguine man indeed who expected many to have ſuch an inclination. He apprehended that as a meaſure to increaſe our force, this bill would turn out very defective. He ſhould however, be very happy to find himſelf miſtaken.

Mr. Secretary *Dundas* ſaid, that the honourable Gentleman had no reaſon to oppoſe this meaſure, for upon his own idea of the bill, it could at the worſt do no harm; ſince if none would enliſt under it, it muſt be harmleſs at leaſt. However, with reſpect to the efficacy of the meaſure, he owned he was more ſanguine in his expectations than the honourable Gentleman had expreſſed himſelf to be; and his reaſon for being ſo was, that in the preſent ſituation of things, many had expreſſed a wiſh to enter, ſome had even attempted it, and many more declared they would have enliſted long ago if they had not been prevented from ſo doing. It was upon that idea that this bill was framed.

The bill was then read a ſecond time, and ordered to be committed to a Committee of the whole Houſe the next day.

Adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

WEDNESDAY, *Jan* 3.

CHANGE OF SUPPLEMENTARY MILITIA.

Mr. Secretary *Dundas* moved that the order of the day for the Houſe to reſolve itſelf into a Committee on the Bill for allowing a certain proportion of the Supplementary Militia to enliſt in the regular troops be read; which being done, and a motion being made by Mr. Dundas, that the Speaker do leave the chair,

General *Fitzpatrick* roſe and ſaid, that it was not his intention to oppoſe the Speaker's leaving the chair, nor to object to the bill, of the principle of which he highly approved. His object in riſing was to ſtate to the Houſe, that he wiſhed to ſee the bill extended, if it were poſſible, to the whole military. By the proviſions which were to receive the ſanction of the Committee, a limited time was fixed for the engagement of the militia ſoldier who ſhould enliſt in the regulars, while in all the regular troops the engagement of the ſoldier ended only with life. He reminded the Houſe of the ſug-

geſtion

geſtion he had offered on the night of the Secretary at War's bringing forward the army eſtimates: it was a general one, and went to the whole body of his Majeſty's land forces. He wiſhed that he could now propoſe to have that ſuggeſtion acceded to and incorporated with this bill, but apprehended that a Committee was not a proper ſtage for that purpoſe: he however intreated the right honourable Gentleman to conſider the diſagreeable effects which might be produced by the adoption of this Bill without adopting his ſuggeſtion alſo. Perhaps the right honourable Gentleman had conſidered that ſubject ſince the time on which it had been ſtarted, and meant this Bill as a kind of experiment. If ſo, he was moſt egregiouſly miſtaken in the mode of proceeding, as the preſent meaſure, by comprehending ſome and not extending to all in the ſame ſervice, would only create jealouſies to the injury of the ſervice. He ſaid it appeared to him that at the time he made that ſuggeſtion, it was not perfectly palatable to Gentlemen on the other ſide, though they gave no preciſe opinion upon the ſubject; and he wiſhed to know from the right honourable Gentleman in expreſs terms, whether miniſters had revolved the matter in their minds, and if ſo, whether they agreed with him upon it? For his own part he had, ſince that time, had much converſation with military men, in order to get at their ſentiments; and he found their opinions uniformly to coincide with his own, that enliſting men for a limited term only would be of great uſe to the ſervice. If it were uſeful before, it would certainly be rendered abſolutely neceſſary by the preſent meaſure, which would have a tendency to create confuſion, and excite diſcontents. He thought one of his Majeſty's miniſters would be much better qualified than he was to bring forward the meaſure to which he had alluded, with all its details—But if they ſhould think proper to decline it, he gave notice to the Houſe that he would himſelf bring it forward after the holidays.

Mr. *Dundas* ſaid, that whatever opinion he might now entertain, or ſhould hereafter form, reſpecting the ſuggeſtion ſtarted by the honourable General on a former night, there was nothing in it that could poſſibly lie as an objection to the preſent bill, which only enabled men in the ſupplementary militia corps voluntarily to extend the limits of their ſervice, without extending its duration—that is to ſay, to enlarge the ſcene of their action, but not the period of their ſervice—not to interfere at all with their preſent engagements. If indeed the bill went ſo far as to extend to both, and mix them together, the obſervations of the honourable General might be ſuppoſed to

apply, but in point of fact it had no such tendency. He said, it would be an unpardonable want of candour in him to deny that the suggestion thrown out by the honourable General had undergone some consideration, but it was not a question of so important or early a nature as would allow them to form an opinion upon it at once. He said it was still under consideration, but at the same time it was perfectly competent to the honourable General to bring forward the proposition in his own way; and he would not presume to offer any thing to prevent or dissuade him from it, but would only say, generally, that at present he had not made up his mind, or formed any precise opinion on the subject.

Mr. *Hobhouse* asked whether if this measure passed it would not either defeat the purposes of raising the supplementary militia, or else shew there was no occasion for raising them. The supplementary militia, he said, was raised for internal defence; if they were originally wanted, they were still wanted; nay, were they not wanted now more than ever, on account of the menaces of the enemy? If an invasion should take place, would not substitutes for them be wanting?

Mr. *Dundas* said, the House would see how improper it would be for him to enter into a detail of the particular service in which those men might on occasion be engaged, or of the particular application of them. But ten thousand men were not employed less in defence of their country, when put under the command of officers belonging to the regular troops, than if retained in militia corps, and confined to one particular spot.

Mr. *Hobhouse* said, that if a part of the supplementary militia were sent out of the kingdom, and their places were not supplied, it was evident that, *pro tanto*, the supplementary militia was not necessary.

Mr. *Dundas* said, that, after deducting the ten thousand in question out of the 60,000 enlisted for the supplementary militia, 50,000 men would remain according to the terms of the original act. Of this application of those men the executive government had the best right and best means to judge.

General *Tarleton* said, that there was no way whatsoever in which we could apply our troops to offensive operations:—the measure was therefore unnecessary.

The clauses were then read one by one, and agreed to. By those the duration of the bill is limited to six months after the conclusion of a general peace; and the number of men to pass over from the supplementary militia to the regulars confined to 10,000, or at the utmost to one-fifth of the number of that body.

The

The Chairman reported the reſolutions; the report was brought up and read, and the bill ordered to be engroſſed and read a third time the next day.

Mr. *Bragge* brought up a petition from 160 clock and watch makers of the city of Briſtol, complaining of the miſchief ſuſtained by them in conſequence of the tax on thoſe articles, predicting the entire annihilation of that branch of manufacture, and praying conſideration, &c.

Petitions were brought up from ſeveral debtors confined in different gaols, praying for an act of inſolvency.

ASSESSED TAXES.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* moved the order of the day, for the third reading of the Bill for raiſing a ſum by an increaſe aſſeſſed taxes.

Mr. *Tierney* roſe, and complained of the haſty and indirect manner in which the Chancellor of the Exchequer attempted to bring on that buſineſs, with a view, as it ſhould ſeem, to preclude him from an opportunity of making the motion of which he had given notice, and which ought to be entertained prior to the preſent Bill paſſing into a law. He requeſted that he might be permitted to make his motion; and he aſſured the right honourable Gentleman that he did not mean to ſay one word more than merely to propoſe a clauſe, which, if not thought right, might be rejected. All he deſired was to have the ſenſe of the Houſe upon it, as a plain ſimple point, of which every one was competent to judge. If he ſhould not be allowed this that day, he would move for a committee of ways and means on Friday next.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* ſaid, that he had as little underſtood what particular day the honourable Gentleman had propoſed to himſelf to bring on his motion, as he did the particular matter he had in view to move. The honourable Gentleman had ſaid in general terms, that ſome time before the holidays he would make a motion touching a particular ſource of finance, but had neither particularized the day, nor ſpecified the terms of his intended propoſition. The honourable Gentleman muſt unqueſtionably have a ſtrong confidence in the propriety of his motion, when he thought it ſo little doubtful, and ſo very unequivocal that it would require no aid from his eloquence. He fancied, however, the honourable Gentleman had not altogether a right to preſume, that every one in that Houſe would ſee it ſo plainly in one extreme or other, as to determine all at once on one reading for or againſt it. At all events it was worth the honourable Gentleman's while to recollect

from property, the other partly from property and partly from ſkill and induſtry.

The next objection which had been taken was, that by compelling the higher orders of the middle claſs to œconomize, it would deſtroy the employment of the artiſans, and diminiſh the revenue, by rendering the taxes on conſumption leſs productive. To this ſome anſwer had been attempted; the Chancellor of the Exchequer ſaid, he had relieved the lower orders by diſmiſſing the tax on them. As far as the relief granted to the lower orders would occaſion leſs money to be raiſed, he acknowledged the modification to be beneficial; it was *pro tanto* an abandonment of the bill. But as far as an additional burthen was laid on the higher orders of the middle claſs, he thought the modification was not beneficial. For the miſchief was, that the direct preſſure on the higher orders of the middle claſs would occaſion an indirect preſſure on the lower orders, viz; that it would deſtroy their employment. He denied that the Chancellor of the Exchequer ſpared the lower orders. He deſtroyed the life of the poor man, if he took away the employment by which he lived. But the Chancellor of the Exchequer had ſaid, that the money would not be hoarded in the Exchequer, that it would be expended, and afford employment. It was true, it would be expended and afford employment; but to whom? To ſoldiers and ſailors? Was there no inhumanity in ſaying to the artiſan, "you have hitherto been entitled, from the uſages and cuſtoms of ſociety, to expect employment, but you cannot now have it; the money which uſed to feed you muſt feed others; you muſt ſeek other employments, and emigrate, or go to the pariſh." What not this language ſomewhat inhuman? But the revenue would not ſuffer; yes, it would ſuffer; the ſame money ſpent by ſoldiers and ſailors would not yield the ſame revenue from the conſumption of taxable commodities by ſoldiers and ſailors, as it would if ſpent by artiſans. The next objection which had been taken was, that if income was to be made the ſtandard of taxation, you muſt conſent to the means neceſſary for inveſtigating income. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had reſorted to the aſſeſſed taxes as the criterion of incomes, but he had acknowledged that this was an incorrect criterion by the declaration of the party on oath, where the amount of his aſſeſſed taxes exceeded one tenth of his income. The firſt objection to this was, that though it might relieve the man of the middle claſs, if aſſeſſed beyond one tenth, yet it would

would not compel the great land proprietor, if taxed less than one tenth to pay more. But if this declaration on oath was to be resorted to, mark the consequences: if a man swore falsely, was he punishable or not punishable? Take it either way he was punishable, but punishment must be preceded by conviction; conviction by trial; trial must involve enquiry and investigation. Were they prepared to subject every man to such an investigation into his most secret concerns, which must be the case if he was indicted for having given a false account of his property? He thought it not consistent either with the principles of a commercial nation, or with those of civil liberty, or even with domestic happiness. By whom might the prosecution be preferred? by any man, or only by the attorney general? If any man might institute the prosecution, every man who ventured to take this oath was at the mercy of his enemy; for if indicted for perjury though acquitted, his character would be stained. Was the attorney-general alone to prosecute? Whom would he find to hold the office of attorney-general? If they held that the man who swore falsely was not punishable, to what a situation was the country reduced, when they acknowledged that the only means by which the revenue of the country could be collected, was the oath of the party; but that if he swore falsely he could not be punished! But it had been said this measure would intimidate our enemies: what was there in this measure which could intimidate our enemies? The Chancellor of the Exchequer stated, that the funding system had been carried to its utmost extent; that taxes on consumption or property were no longer expedient; that recourse must be had to a new mode of taxation, viz. by making income the standard of taxation. That it was true he had not yet discovered any correct criterion for investigating income; that he admitted that the criterion proposed, viz. the assessed taxes, was in many cases unequal, and therefore unjust; that it would destroy the employment of the artisans; that it would diminish the present revenue arising from taxes on consumption, and must be assisted by the establishment of an inquisitorial tribunal, inconsistent with civil liberty and private happiness. Was this the picture that would terrify our enemies? But supply was necessary: be it so, but not by these means. But was the supply necessary? He had doubts on that question. Was the continuance of the war necessary? He doubted it. He could not say the continuance of the war was necessary, except he could see that sincere endeavours had

been employed in vain employed to obtain peace. He did not think that ſincere endeavours had been employed by his Majeſty's Miniſters to obtain peace. He remarked on the circumſtance in the papers laid on the table, viz. That after the French Directory had intimated that the choice of Lord Malmeſbury was not acceptable to them, yet our miniſters had perſevered in that choice. He was aſſured by thoſe who were converſant in diplomatic ſubjects, that this was a conduct unexampled in diplomatic hiſtory. But other circumſtances led him to doubt the ſincerity of his Majeſty's Miniſters in the late negociation: ſome of them never could have been ſincere except they have abandoned thoſe principles which firſt induced them to involve us in the preſent war. He did not believe they had abandoned thoſe principles. He recollected the language of the Secretary at war on a former night, viz. "That if peace brought reform, that reform he ſhould conſider as revolution." As a loyal ſubject, he could not wiſh a revolution; and if he thought reform ſynonimous with revolution, he could not wiſh for that peace which he and all men ſaw would neceſſarily produce reform. Some of thoſe who are now in his Majeſty's cabinet had involved this country in war, not from a dread of the power of France, but from a dread of the Commons of England. They feared that the Commons of England might be influenced by the example of France to claim their rights, viz. that every man in that Houſe ſhould ſit by the election of the body of the commonalty; that no peer ſhould interfere in the election of a member of that Houſe; and that that Houſe ſhould become what the law had directed it to be, viz. the virtual repreſentation of all the Commons of England. This the peers, proprietors of boroughs dreaded; and there were ſome among his Majeſty's Miniſters who were influenced by this fear.—[*Mr. Nicholls was called to order by the Speaker.*] When he roſe again, he ſaid he bowed with deference to that high authority and would relinquiſh that line of argument which he had been endeavouring to follow; but he requeſted permiſſion to obſerve, that in conſidering a tax-bill it had been uſual to allow great latitude of diſcuſſion. Their conſtituents could not themſelves apply directly by petition to the Houſe. Their intereſt could only be protected by the exertions of their repreſentatives. He ſubmitted to the authority of the Speaker, requeſting at the ſame time to ſtate the line of argument he had endeavoured to purſue: he oppoſed the tax becauſe not neceſſary; he thought the tax not neceſſary, becauſe he thought the continuance of the war not neceſſary; he thought the continuance of the war not neceſſary, becauſe ſincere endeavours had never yet been in vain employed to obtain peace. "Why do I ſay that

ſincere endeavours have never yet been in vain employed to obtain peace? Becauſe ſome among his Majeſty's Miniſters never can have employed ſincere endeavours to obtain peace, except they have relinquiſhed thoſe principles on which they involved us in the war; and, if we might argue from the language of the Secretary at War on a former night, when this bill was under conſideration, they have not abandoned theſe principles. But, in ſubmiſſion to the authority of the Speaker, he ſaid, he would deſiſt from that line of argument. There was another ground on which, as a member of that Houſe, he thought it his duty to heſitate before he aſſented to the propoſed tax; viz. a doubt, whether, even ſuppoſing the continuance of the war was neceſſary, and that we now muſt contend *pro aris et focis*, whether even in this caſe, it was expedient to truſt the money in the hands of the preſent miniſters, and whether it was not our duty to ſuſpend the vote of the tax, and to vote an addreſs to his Majeſty to remove his Miniſters. He ſaid, every event of the preſent war had convinced him, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer was a man of no talents. Mr. Nicholls ſaid, he would explain what he meant; he had no wiſh to do injuſtice to the reputation of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. He acknowledged his talents as a debater in that Houſe, that he poſſeſſed ſarcaſm, ſneer, irony, wit, above all, he poſſeſſed the happy talent of multiplying and ſtringing his words in ſuch a manner, that it was hardly poſſible to affix a preciſe meaning to his language; that to this he joined the moſt ſucceſsful knack of miſrepreſenting the arguments of his adverſaries; in one word, he acknowledged that he was *maximus* as a political gladiator in that *arena*, while he was *minimus* as a ſtateſman. That if all which was required from a Miniſter, was the faculty of amuſing that Houſe by his ſpeeches, he acknowledged his talents; but he recollected the expreſſion of a great Athenian ſtateſman, Themiſtocles; he ſaid, "he could not play on a fiddle, but he could make a little city a great ſtate." The language of the Chancellor of the Exchequer muſt be the reverſe of this, he could play on the fiddle and amuſe this Houſe, but he had reduced a great empire to be a little ſtate. You judge of a painter, of a ſtatuary, of an architect, by their works. He had read of an architect who had been buried in a church, which he had himſelf erected, with this epitaph: *Si quæris monumentum circumſpice.*

Would the Chancellor of the Exchequer with his character as a ſtateſman be decided by this teſt?

It had been ſaid by an honourable Alderman on a former night, that though the bill was odious, yet thoſe he converſed with feared nothing ſo much as the removal of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. It was very poſſible that this was true; thoſe who profited by the waſteful expenditure of the public treaſure could never find a miniſter more ſuited to their wiſhes. But could any man ſay that he confided in the Chancellor of the Exchequer, from a review of his conduct? Was he a war-miniſter? Was he a ſkilful finance miniſter? Was he an able Negociator? His friends acknowledged that he was no great war-miniſter; and how could they avoid making this acknowledgment? Beginning the war with all the powers of Europe on his ſide, he had ſo conducted it that every ally had either abandoned him, or been ſubdued, while France had been exalted to a power almoſt beyond the dreams of ambition. View him as a finance-miniſter:—The funded ſyſtem exhauſted; a paper currency introduced; taxes on conſumption no longer practicable; while recourſe is had to a requiſition on income. What is he as a negociator? He tells you himſelf that he has three times attempted to make peace, always ſincerely, but always unſucceſsfully. View him as a ſtateſman in the late negociation, I mean at its cloſe after his paltry intrigue to overturn the French government had failed. He knew that Auſtria would make a ſeparate peace; he knew that in conſequence of that peace France would eſtabliſh her aſcendant in Italy, in the Mediterranean ſea, in Spain, in Portugal, in Holland, and in Germany. He knew that he had exhauſted the funding ſyſtem; that he could no longer lay his taxes on conſumption; that he muſt have recourſe to this new mode of a requiſition on income; yet, knowing all this, the great ſtateſman thought it adviſeable to continue the war for thoſe paltry objects, Trinidad, the Cape of Good Hope, and Trincomale.

Mr. *Dickinſon*, junior, ſupported the bill; and ſaid, that he had in his mind many arguments againſt the Gentleman who ſpoke againſt it, but doubted whether his delivery would bear him out—he did not however preſume to hope that any thing he was capable to offer, would convert the ſentiments of thoſe gentlemen, if any, who had made up their minds upon the buſineſs. He confeſſed, that at firſt he diſliked the meaſure, but upon inveſtigating, and maturely conſidering the ſubject, he thought it was the only meaſure that could maintain the dignity, or enſure the ſafety and ſecurity of the realm. It had been called unjuſt and unprecedented. If indeed it were unjuſt, no precedent could ſanction it; but until it was proved to be unjuſt, (and he believed that would be difficult) he muſt in conformity

to

to his duty ſupport it, not only on principle but on precedent. He was aware that it might ſeem preſumptuous in him to inſtruct one ſo learned and ſo ingenious as the honourable Gentleman who had juſt ſat down. In hiſtory, he would nevertheleſs remind him that immediately previous and ſubſequent to the revolution, up to the eſtabliſhment of the ſinking fund, large ſums were raiſed preciſely on this principle; and the honourable Gentleman would recollect that when the ſpirit of the revolution was moſt ardent in the minds of the people, the land tax taking five per cent. was paſſed, and commiſſioners were actually appointed to receive ſtatements upon oath of the property of the ſubject. At preſent the queſtion was, whether the Houſe would agree to accept any peace France choſe to dictate. He was ſurpriſed the honourable Gentleman (Mr. Nicholls) had omitted to make ſome remark upon what had been ſaid a few nights before by an honourable member, (Mr. D. P. Coke,) viz. that "fundamental and radical reform meant nothing more than fundamental and radical ruin." As to a new land tax, propoſed by the honourable Gentleman, he conceived it would be a moſt unjuſt and ungenerous ſyſtem of taxation in a country like this, where ſo large a proportion of the property and means of the people was commercial. It was the faſhion for Gentlemen in that houſe to renounce all attachment to, or influence by party, as if it were criminal. If it were criminal he acknowledged he muſt ſubmit to the ſtigma; he had his party affections, but in a caſe of ſuch importance and magnitude to all parties as the preſent, he ſhould deteſt himſelf if he was influenced by any thing but ſterling principle and truth.

Mr. *Simeon* declared that he was averſe as any man could be to oppoſe a meaſure that ſeemed to involve the ſafety of the country; but having fairly compared the poſſible benefits with the probable evils, he had come to a determination in his mind againſt it. He thought the war was juſt and neceſſary, and that every thing we held dear was at ſtake, but that could not induce him to vote for a tax which would be, he was perſuaded, at once oppreſſive and ineffective. He was aware of the cenſure and contempt that attached to any man, not being a miniſter, propoſing any ſpecies of taxation; but that ſhould not deter him from doing his duty, and offering to the country a plan which he had for ſome time had in contemplation.

He then proceeded to ſtate the ſubſtance of his plan, which was to the following effect:

To charge a duty of five per cent. upon all deviſeable property above a certain amount.

To

To charge a duty on all retail tradesmen, and dealers; and to make the rent of the house the criterion of property or income, and not to take away above one fifteenth of the income, after deducting the charges of trade.

To charge the transfer of stock with a duty of half a crown in the pound.

Having expatiated on each of these points for some time. He observed, that the produce of it would be nearly double that which would be raised by the present measure. He did not think it would fall short of eight millions and an half, perhaps it might produce ten millions. It would produce not half the oppression of the plan now before the House. He approved of the idea of our raising a large sum of money within the year, but he objected to the mode now before the House. Indeed it was essential to our existence as a nation. For, our enemy having manifested a hatred to our Constitution, it must be defended by extraordinary exertion, otherwise we should become a province to France. We had waded before now through much blood and treasure; for what? For the establishment of a Republic, of which however we soon became tired, and hailed the return of Monarchy with joy. That Republic died a natural death. We afterwards, however, sent for a Foreigner, and made him our monarch. We had now a monarchy and a monarch that we revered, and he did not believe there was any honest or unprejudiced man in this country who would hesitate to deliver up, if necessary, his last shilling for the defence of our present establishment.

As to the sincerity of our present Ministers in their negociation for Peace, he owned it excited his wonder that any body should doubt it. He did not think that the hon. Gentleman who had charged them so much with insincerity, in his heart believed the truth of the charge. The truth of the matter was, that Ministers could not help the rupture of the Negociation. The French called for a *Carte Blanche* from us, and would state no terms of their own. Their aim was at the destruction of the Constitution of this country, and it must be our business to counteract their efforts. However, he thought the measure before the House was not calculated for that purpose; it rather tended to encourage than deter the enemy, and therefore he thought it his duty to oppose it.

Mr. *M. P. Andrews* said, though I am not accustomed to deliver my sentiments in Parliament, yet, in a matter of such importance to the peace and happiness of the country I cannot content myself with giving a silent vote.

Notwithstanding I approve of the principle of this Bill from the

the beginning, as thinking it a wife and ſalutary meaſure, to endeavour to raiſe part of the neceſſary ſupplies within the year; and likewiſe for another cauſe by which I think the revenue will be conſiderably benefited, namely, that the operations of this bill may lead to the diſcovery of a great number of fraudalent evaſions, which from ſtatements already printed, we clearly perceive muſt have been practiſed by many perſons, in not duly entering the horſes, carriages, and ſervants which they actually kept; yet, Sir, I determined never to give my aſſent for this bill to be paſſed into a law, unleſs it ſhould receive ſuch modifications and improvements in the committee, as would entitle it to my decided approbation.

Sir, I have peruſed the bill in its preſent form with great attention, and ſeeing how lightly it will preſs upon the poorer orders of the community, and the gradual progreſſive ſcale which it adopts to meet the circumſtances of the affluent; I think upon the whole, it is one of the beſt meaſures that could be deviſed; notwithſtanding the new propoſition which the honourable and learned Gentleman who ſpoke laſt has favoured the Houſe with, and which, with all deference to him, would in my opinion be productive of much difficulty, and ſome injuſtice; whereas this bill, Sir, while it aſſiſts the exigencies of the ſtate, tends to keep up the price of the funds, and ſupport our national credit; and Gentlemen will obſerve, that the depreciation of property on one hand, might equal the encreaſe of expenditure on the other.

Sir, the meaſure is undoubtedly a ſtrong one, and the burthens it impoſes upon the public muſt be ſeverely felt by us all ſo long as they continue; but at a criſis like the preſent ſtrong meaſures are neceſſary for the preſervation of the country. When I look at the ſituation of public affairs, the inveterate diſpoſition of our enemies, the baſe calumnious miſrepreſentation of our principles and conduct, and their avowed hoſtile intentions towards us, publiſhed by them to all Europe, I own I ſee little or no alternative; we muſt either manfully exert, or diſgracefully proſtrate ourſelves. The road of war is unfortunately now the only path that is left to us to purſue. Every overture for peace has already been made by this country, conſiſtent, I won't ſay with its dignity, but its prudence. Have we not twice ſent negociators to France in one year? Have they not twice in one year been turned ſcornfully back? Should we again offer mean conceſſions, and further abject ſubmiſſions. What would be become of our native ſpirit, our national valour, our commendable pride of heart?

Sir, we are engaged in a conteſt, with a reſentful and implacable

placable enemy; who, not contented with the uſual motives for carrying on a war, ſuch as weakening our force, deſtroying our commerce, or taking from us our poſſeſſions, is determined to attack the very vitals of our conſtitution; to invade our freedom under the pretence of giving us liberty; to overthrow every ſocial and domeſtic tie, and to deprive us at once of all the comforts life affords. Surely then, there can be no heſitation to our uniting in every poſſible means of reſiſtance and defence; not only reſigning the trappings of livery, but waving alſo habitual convenience, in order to convince the world what Engliſhmen can do, as men, who are determined reſolutely at all hazards to defend, protect, and maintain all that is dear to man's exiſtence.

Surely, the vain threats, and empty bravadoes of our enemies cannot appal us! They may offer to raiſe a *Loan of England*, as they term it, to be paid from the ſpoils of this country. Sir, I believe thoſe who advance the principal, will find it a difficult matter to receive the intereſt. They may talk too of aſſembling an *Army of England*, as it is called, on the coaſt of France; but will they be able to aſſemble an army of France on the coaſt of England? Sir, I truſt not, for we remain maſters of the ſea, we doubtleſs ſhall be able to protect our ſhores; and however party motives may diſunite, and political differences lead to controverſy, I do moſt conſcientiouſly believe there is ſcarce a man in this country could be found, able to wield a ſword, who would not chearfully and eagerly graſp it, in order to chaſtiſe a raſh and an invading foe.

Sir, I am in no habits of intimacy with Miniſters, I know nothing of the ſecret ſprings of government, but without ſulſome adulation, which I would ſcorn to offer, and which I make no doubt would be unwelcomely received; this bill proves to a demonſtration, the greatneſs, the firmneſs, the integrity of the Miniſter's mind; for, anxious to do his country laſting and beneficial ſervice, he braves all preſent diſcomfiture, all perſonal inconvenience, nay, riſks his very exiſtence as a Miniſter, ſince this bill will gain him no immediate friends, will afford him no patronage, will procure him no ſupport from gentlemen wiſhing to contract for loans, on the contrary it will give his enemies an opportunity and a plauſible one too, of exerting every device, and practiſing every effort, to poiſon the public mind againſt him, and deſtroy his popularity; yet, Sir, I think the ſyſtem is a good one; it would have been well for this country, had it been adopted years ago; it would have ſaved the effuſion of much blood and treaſure; it would have kept us out of many diſaſtrous wars, and would have ſhortened

all

all thoſe that we have entered into; for I do confidently think, that the facility with which former Miniſters were enabled to raiſe the ſupplies, on the old funding plan, often encouraged them to engage in, and induced them to carry on many calamitous conqueſts.

Upon the whole, I think, regard for ourſelves, our families, our country, and poſterity, ſhould induce us all chearfully and readily to accede to the meaſures propoſed by adminiſtration, as the moſt likely to extricate us from our preſent difficulties, and to ſecure our future happineſs, and proſperity. For theſe reaſons, I ſhall give my vote for the bill to be read a third time.

Mr. *Martin* ſaid, that had there been no other plan offered for raiſing a large ſum of money within the year, he ſhould have thought it his duty to vote for the preſent bill, becauſe a very large ſum of money muſt be raiſed for the public ſervice; but as he thought the bill liable to much objection, and as another plan, and perhaps a better, had been propoſed by an honourable and well-meaning Gentleman, he thought himſelf entitled to ſay he ſhould oppoſe the preſent bill, for the purpoſe of introducing another.

Mr. *Addington* ſaid, it was not his intention to enter into a conteſt with an honourable Gentleman oppoſite to him as to the miniſter's character either as a ſtateſman or a gladiator: he ſhould only take the liberty of making a few obſervations upon the preſent bill. The neceſſities of the country had rendered a frequent application to the funding ſyſtem neceſſary; the meaſure now propoſed would have the effect of giving it a breathing time, and relieving the country from permanent taxes, which muſt bear heavy upon the lower orders of ſociety. The Chancellor of the Exchequer himſelf had not ſaid, even in its preſent ſtate, that the bill was wholly unobjectionable, even after all the modifications that had been made.—It was impoſſible that ſo large a ſum of money could be raiſed without its being felt as an inconvenience. Feeling the importance of this meaſure, and not having heard any plan ſuggeſted more likely to prove efficacious, he thought it his duty to give his ſupport to the preſent meaſure. It was not his intention to enter into all the arguments that had been adduced againſt the preſent bill; ſome Gentlemen complained that it did not go far enough, others objected to it becauſe it was novel in its principle; but the latter appeared to him to be a peculiarly bad argument, becauſe when we had to contend with an enemy, who heſitated at no means that were likely to injure us, we were bound in our own defence, to have recourſe to mea-

ſures as novel and as vigorous as theirs. Some Gentlemen had ſaid it muſt be unjuſt, becauſe it muſt be retroſpective; but if it had not a retroſpective effect, it would be totally unproductive. But he had leaſt expected that a right honourable Gentleman, who had always called the national debt of England the beſt ally of France, would oppoſe a meaſure which would tend to prevent the augmentation of that debt. Before Gentlemen came to a final deciſion upon that queſtion, he truſted they would conſider the objects which France had uniformly profeſſed, and the language ſhe had conſtantly uſed.

He begged that Gentlemen would recollect the declarations which had come from the enemy, and they would perceive that a general love of plunder was their ruling object. If this meaſure preſſed hardly upon ſome people (and no man could lament it more than he did), he ſhould adviſe thoſe who conceived themſelves in any degree injured by this meaſure, to look at the declarations and manifeſtoes of the enemy, which he was ſure would excite the indignation and abhorrence of every Engliſhman. Having urged theſe points with very great ability, he concluded with ſaying, that in this arduous juncture, he placed the firmeſt reliance upon the ſpirit and reſolution of the country, upon the promiſe which his Majeſty had been graciouſly pleaſed to make, that the greateſt economy ſhould be uſed in the diſpoſition of the public money, and, finally, upon the protection of divine Providence.

Mr. *Roſe*, junior, expreſſed his full and entire conviction of the neceſſity of the preſent meaſure, and therefore it ſhould have his ſupport. He felt great pain at the idea that he ſhould diſpleaſe any part of his conſtituents by his conduct, but he hoped that although they might have diſapproved of the bill originally, the ſubſequent modifications would meet their wiſhes. He felt himſelf, not as the repreſentative of a particular body of men, but as one of the guardians of the intereſts of the country in which he lived, called upon to vote for the preſent meaſure; and he could not help expreſſing a hope that when the inhabitants of this iſland at large came to be well acquainted with this meaſure, they would approve of it highly. He thought that without ſtrong meaſures, like the preſent, we ſhould not be able in a proper manner to reſiſt the enemy.

Sir *Francis Burdet* ſaid, Mr. Speaker, it is not from any vain idea that any thing I can urge ſhould have weight with this Houſe, that I am now induced to addreſs you. I have too frequently and too recently witneſſed the little effect that can be produced by the utmoſt exertions of argument and knowledge; it is, Sir, in order to ſpeak my ſentiments to my countrymen,

countrymen, from the only place in which it is any longer permitted to ſpeak them; and no time appeared to me ſo proper for that purpoſe as the preſent, when we are called upon for ſuch extraordinary ſupplies. Sir, I ſhall not enter into the detail of the bill before the Houſe, as its unjuſt and tyrannical principle renders every modification of it of little importance.

But, Sir, every thing that can be ſaid concerning the nature of this bill has been ſo ably ſtated by right honourable Gentlemen below me upon a former occaſion, that I ſhall not preſume to add any thing further upon that ſubject. Sir, the honourable Member who ſpoke laſt ſays, that by the preſent mode of raiſing the ſupplies, the people will be relieved. Sir, I ſhall endeavour to ſhew the fallacy of that idea, and to prove that every part of the expenditure of Government muſt in the end fall upon the ſhoulders of the people. Direct taxes, which frequently raiſe ſo much clamour, do not however injure the people. Let me be underſtood, I mean by their direct operation, becauſe the wages of labour being regulated by the demand for labour, any direct tax upon the labourer, ſuppoſing the demand to continue the ſame, although it may be paid out of the hand of the labourer, muſt, however come out of the pocket of his employer. But, Sir, the way in which theſe taxes and all other taxes do, and every part of the expenditure of Government does injure the people, is, by their indirect tendency to decreaſe the demand for labour, by diſſipating thoſe funds which pay the wages of induſtry.

Now Sir, to illuſtrate what I am ſaying, by the bill before you, inaſmuch as it falls upon country gentlemen, they can leſs afford to pay and maintain their ſervants; inaſmuch as it falls upon manufacturers, they can leſs afford to maintain and employ their workmen; inaſmuch as it falls upon farmers, they can leſs afford to maintain and employ their labourers. The preſent Miniſter has already made away with above two hundred millions of that ſacred wages fund, and now a ſcheme is brought forward to enable him to deſtroy a ſtill greater portion of the capital of the country, which we are told is not to be felt by the people. Sir, I ſhould as ſoon put faith in an architect who talked of laying an immenſe weight on the head of a column without increaſing the preſſure at the baſe, as in a financier or political œconomiſt, who talks of depriving the rich of their wealth without injury to the poor. But, Sir, having ſhewn the fallacy of this mode of reaſoning, I ſhall proceed to treat the preſent queſtion not merely as a queſtion of finance; objects of

finance, important no doubt in themſelves, are however become of ſmall import in the actual ſituation of our affairs. Sir, although I perfectly agree with thoſe who think the mode of raiſing the ſupplies highly objectionable, yet were it altogether unobjectionable in itſelf, I would oppoſe the granting ſupplies, becauſe I deteſt the purpoſes they are intended to promote, the proſecution of this diſgraceful war, and the ſupport of an infamous ſyſtem of corruption; theſe are the accurſed ends for which the people of this country are to groan beneath a load of increaſed taxes. Sir, the honourable Gentleman who ſpoke laſt, ſays, he ſhall not now ſpeak of the juſtice and neceſſity of the origin of the war, nor of the propriety of continuing it, but reſerve himſelf for a proper opportunity; but, Sir, what opportunity can be ſo proper as that in which we are called upon for freſh taxes in order to continue it. Sir, I am not ſorry, at this late period, when the clouds of prejudice are in ſome meaſure overblown, and when men, from diſtreſs being brought home to their own door, are inclined to think and to reflect upon the paſt, to have an opportunity of ſaying a few words upon that head. Sir, the partakers of the preſent ſyſtem of abuſes were aware that the eſtabliſhment of a wiſe and frugal government in France might poſſibly infect the people of this country with a deſire of ſeeing their own affairs adminiſtered in a like wiſe and frugal manner. This I ſincerely believe to have been the true grounds of that alarm at French principles ſo induſtriouſly propagated by all the connections of Government, who feed upon corruption, and fatten upon the ſpoils of the people. It was in this point of view, Sir, French liberty was ſo hateful to thoſe whoſe beſt patrimonies aroſe out of the corruptions; for this has the Miniſter been exalted to his preſent Jacobin eminence; for this has he paſſed decrees that would not have diſgraced the moſt tyrannic code, deſtructive of that freedom of opinion, once the pride and ſecurity of Britons; for this have thoſe laws, ſo highly prized by our anceſtors, been by him ſuſpended or repealed. Sir, he has placed terror in the throne of reaſon, and under pretence of maintaining the conſtitution, he has ſquandered the wealth, he has ſhed the blood, and he has annihilated the liberties of the people of England. Theſe are the atchievements of the right honourable Gentleman, and this is the Miniſter, and this is the ſyſtem we are now called upon to drain the very heart's blood of the country in order to ſupport. Sir, I will call upon thoſe country gentlemen

men who have been frightened into a ſupport of this ſyſtem, to ſtand forward at length in ſupport of their country. Would they render their properties ſecure, let them ſhew by their conduct that they really have a feeling for the intereſts of the people, and not always exhibit themſelves in the odious point of view, of a ſet of men ever ready to combine againſt their liberties; let them exert the high privilege to which they were born, and not baſely become the tools and minions of that government it is their province to controul. And now, Sir, that ſupplies are demanded, let them, in the wiſe ſpirit of their anceſtors, demand in their turn that grievances be redreſſed, and by bringing down vengeance on the head of the Miniſter who has brought all this ruin upon us, prove to the people of England, that their conſtitution is not a dead letter, but that there is a point beyond which the moſt profligate Miniſter cannot with ſafety advance.

But, Sir, were every feeling which the ſacred love of country ſhould inſpire altogether extinct within our boſoms, one would think by this time at leaſt fatal experience muſt have taught us the abſurdity of entruſting the remaining property of the country to the ſame hand that has already made away with ſo large a part of it in the moſt unjuſtifiable and ill-conducted projects, that we might by this time at leaſt begin to perceive the error of that modern political maxim, (the ſource, I believe, of our preſent misfortunes) that money is the ſinew of war. Sir, we ſeem to imagine we have only to aſſemble within theſe walls to deviſe ways and means for extracting large ſums of money from the country: then we are told we are to be relieved from all our embarraſſments, and our enemies to be ſtruck with horror and diſmay. But, Sir, we muſt firſt cleanſe away thoſe foul corruptions which the preſent Miniſter has carried beyond any former example; which unnerves every heart and every arm, and deprives us of that vigour and that courage once characteriſtic of this now degraded country. Sir, money is not the ſinew of war. Was money ſo all-powerful as moſt perſons, in ſpite of experience, continue to believe; I ſay in ſpite of experience, for the whole tenor of hiſtory ſerves to prove the contrary, the extravagance of our own Miniſter would ſurely have entitled him to every ſort of advantage, and the people of France would long ere this have been exterminated according to the pious intentions of the undertakers of the preſent war, and would now have been held out as a dreadful example to trembling nations of the danger

danger of incurring royal vengeance, the nature of which may be learnt from the ſpecimen afforded in the infamous conduct of the coaleſced Kings towards the brave and unfortunate La Fayette. In truth, Sir, as it has been managed, our wealth has been formidable principally to ourſelves. By means of the immenſe revenue raiſed upon the people of this country, a corrupt Miniſter has debauched the very ſpirit of the nation, and prepared us to become ſlaves, and the proof of it is our want of generoſity and ſpirit in ſubmitting to become the inſtrument for enſlaving others. For let no man flatter himſelf that he is not implicated in the guilt of that horrible conduct which the Miniſter has adopted with regard to Ireland, (unleſs he has done all in his power to prevent it.) Sir, as the right honourable Gentleman did not upon a former occaſion ſet up the diſingenuous plea of the independency of the Iriſh government, I ſhall conſider the meaſures purſued in Ireland as the meaſures of the Miniſter; and here, Sir, his conduct ſtands unrivalled in the annals of human atrocity, exceeding in cruelty even that of the modern monſter Roberſpierre, inaſmuch as the cruelty of inflicting upon men excruciating torture exceeds the cruelty of inflicting upon them immediate death. A noble perſonage on his return from Ireland made the public acquainted with many inſtances of ſavage barbarity; but, Sir, individual inſtances of barbarity are ſcarcely worth the noticing in this ſtupendous ſyſtem of cruelty and oppreſſion. Sir, I have received information from that country, ſtating that in the county of Armagh alone above four thouſand families have been barbarouſly driven from their homes, that is, have been robbed of their houſes and their gardens, under pain of being put to death if they remained. The right honourable Gentleman did, I remember, expreſs his regret at having been obliged, as he ſaid, to adopt the meaſures he has adopted in Ireland. I do believe the right honourable Gentleman was ſincere in that expreſſion of his regret, not from any ſympathy with the unhappy ſufferers, not from any 'compunctuous viſitings of nature,' but becauſe he finds thoſe meaſures are productive of effects very different from what he had expected. He finds that the people of Ireland are not to be butchered out of a firm determination to emancipate their enſlaved country. Let it not be thought, Sir, that what I am now ſtating is irrelative to the ſubject before you, it is one feature of that political monſter engendered from the corruption of the Britiſh conſtitution; nor are the people of England uninte-

unintereſted, or ought they to behold with ſelfiſh indifference the unheard of ſufferings of the Iriſh people. Sir, it is the nature of deſpotiſm to take its root in the extremes, and gradually to ſpread inwards. This Iriſh ſyſtem has already paſſed over into Scotland. The ſame ſpirit alſo diſcovers itſelf in the Government at home: the ſame principle, though not to the ſame extent, is acted upon in this country; we have many victims of oppreſſion rotting within the walls of our priſons. Sir, not to intrude too long upon your time, I will content myſelf with ſtating one caſe, not becauſe it is the hardeſt that can be picked out, (I believe the caſe of that wretched, forlorn, friendleſs man, Kid Wake, is much harder); but becauſe I happen to be particularly acquainted with the circumſtances of the one I am about to mention: a printer, of Newark, whoſe name is Holt, has ſuffered a three years impriſonment, with a heavy fine, to be paid before he can obtain his liberty: a fine, let me obſerve by the way, it was utterly impoſſible a man like him, who earned his daily bread by his daily labour, ſhould of himſelf ever be able to pay, eſpecially after a three years impriſonment, and this I take to be highly unconſtitutional, as well as the ſending him to a priſon a hundred miles diſtant from that of the county where he was tried, which I take alſo to be a groſs violation of the law of the land. I know, Sir, there will never be wanting lawyers to ſay that all the priſons are the King's, and that he may ſend men wherever he pleaſes; but, Sir, I do not believe this to be caſe; not that I pretend to any deep knowledge of the laws of this country, but it is impoſſible that in any country where the conſtitution is ſuppoſed to ſecure any degree of liberty, that ſuch a power ſhould be truſted in the hands of the executive magiſtrate; for every one muſt immediately ſee to what dreadful purpoſes the abuſe of ſuch a power might be perverted, and in the preſent inſtance has been perverted, as it has put the perſon in queſtion to an additional expence of four or five hundred pounds, beſides depriving him of the conſolation to be derived from his wife, his children, and his friends And, Sir, what is the crime that has thus drawn upon him all the vengeance of Government—for vengeance it muſt be called, it can never be regarded as equitable puniſhment, even ſuppoſing there had been ſome degree of criminality in the act which he had committed? But what was the act? For reprinting reſolutions ſuppoſed to be drawn up by that right honourable Gentleman himſelf; but whether

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drawn up by him or not, certainly having publicly received his ſanction and his approbation. I allude to the famous reſolutions known by the name of the Thatched Houſe reſolutions; thus being, as every thing in a corrupt ſyſtem is, tainted, the very laws themſelves, by the partial execution of them, are forged into inſtruments of tyranny. Now, Sir, is this juſtice? Can liberty exiſt in a country where ſuch practices prevail?

Notwithſtanding the right honourable Gentleman will with a power of face I own I always behold with additional admiration, get up in this Houſe and talk to us gravely of our liberties, and of the bleſſings we enjoy under our moſt excellent Conſtitution, and would fain perſuade us that there are no difficulties we ought not to ſubmit to, no dangers we ought not to encounter, no extremities, we ought not to endure, in order to maintain it. *Speciosa verbis, re inania aut fubdola, quaeque majore libertatis imagine tegebantur, tanto eruptura ad infenſiores ſervitium.* But I do hope the ſpirit of my countrymen, humble as it is, will at length be rouſed to a redreſs of the wrongs they have received. That they will ſhake off the torpid effects of that ſleepy drench of corruption, which ſeems to have benumbed their ſenſes. That they will make one effort at leaſt to wrench their bleeding country from the graſp of theſe domeſtic ſpoilers. The Miniſter has made many bold and wicked ſtrokes to deſtroy us, let us make one bold and honeſt ſtroke to deſtroy him. Should he, after ſuch repeated treaſons —for his whole conduct for theſe laſt four years has been one continued tiſſue of treaſons to the people; ſhould he, after all, eſcape with impunity and remain ſecure in office, then indeed the grand object of this liberticide war will have been completely attained, and government will regard itſelf as amply recompenſed for defeat and diſgrace abroad, by ſhameful triumph over the liberties of Engliſhmen at home! Sir, whatever may be the final event of the wicked ſyſtem purſued by the Miniſter, whether we are tamely and meanly to ſink beneath the degrading yoke of military deſpotiſm, or to be toſſed on the ſtorm of Revolution, I ſhall at leaſt have the ſatisfaction to think, that I have exerted every little effort in my power in defence of the liberties of the people. Sir, it is not, therefore, on account of the heavy preſſure which this mode of raiſing the ſupplies muſt occaſion; it is not on account of the unjuſt and tyrannical principle of the bill now before you; it is not on account of the waſte and extravagance of the Government, enormous as it is, that I now raiſe my voice againſt the granting the ſupplies demanded by the Miniſter; it is becauſe I never will at

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any time, or under any circumſtances, become an accomplice in the guilt of ſupporting a ſyſtem, which, if it can be ſupported, and is to be perſiſted in (and if it can it will) muſt eventually deſtroy the freedom of my country."

Mr. Alderman *Luſhington* explained what he had ſaid upon a former occaſion relative to this meaſure. He then obſerved that this country was involved in conſiderable difficulty and ſome danger, but it was the duty of every man in that Houſe and out of it not only to examine the difficulty with care, but alſo to face the danger with fortitude and perſeverance, and further to examine well into the circumſtances which have conſtituted our preſent criſis [*a great cry of hear! hear!* He repeated the expreſſion, ſaying, "It becomes us in point of prudence to examine well into the circumſtances which conſtitute the criſis of the preſent moment, in order to aſcertain its real character, and form our opinion of its probable extent and duration." This was not the criſis of a ſingle day, or year, nor was it likely to be terminated when the preſent war ſhall be concluded. It was brought on by that awful event, the French Revolution. An event that was more formidable in its nature than any thing we had ever read of in hiſtory. It became ſo from the ſituation of the people by whom it was accompliſhed, as well as by their numbers and diſpoſition. He had always conſidered this not only as an event that would affect us merely, but alſo would extend to future generations; and therefore we ſhould not only look to our own intereſt, but take care of thoſe of our poſterity in the proviſions we were to make. It was upon this enlarged ground that he had viewed the ſubject, and had all along been friendly to the principle of the preſent bill. All his apprehenſions were, that it might preſs upon the lower orders of the people: but he hoped that all apprehenſions of that nature were done away with others, as they were with him, by the modification that had been introduced. It had been ſaid, that the expenditure of each individual would be diminiſhed by it, and that, therefore, it would tend to diminiſh the revenue. That appeared to him to be a very inconcluſive argument, for it might be ſaid of every tax, whether it was to raiſe the ſum of one million or five millions. The queſtion was entirely on the general policy of the meaſure.

He was as ſincere an advocate for peace, and as pure in his wiſhes for it, as any man in this country; but he could not conſent to any peace that would be a diſgrace to us, and he believed we could not obtain any other, but by vigour and exertion. There was indeed one expedient for peace, for which he hoped there was no advocate in that Houſe, nor any that was conſiderable out of it, that was, a peace to be obtained by

ſubmiſſion to an exulting foe. That foe had exulted over its opponents in many inſtances, but he had pride in obſerving, it was not an exultation applicable to us; for wherever the Britiſh force had been brought into action, the character of the country had been kept up in a manner that maintained its honour.

Something had been ſaid that night upon the ſubject of Parliamentary Reform. That was a ſubject to which he was as much attached and was as fair a friend to as ever he had been, and he ſhould be glad to ſee it diſcuſſed whenever the time ſhall come that may be fit for the diſcuſſion of ſo very great, nice, and complicated a ſubject; but at the preſent moment he thought that diſcuſſion would conduce to anarchy and confuſion.

But it had been ſaid, that if the executive power of this country were placed in other hands, or given to another deſcription of perſons, we might obtain peace. He queſtioned that: for he doubted whether there were in this country any deſcription of men who, by their addreſs, or by any other talents, could convert ſo vindictive a foe as that which we have now to contend with, into any thing like an opponent ready to treat with us upon honourable terms. He would go farther, and ſay, it was contrary to the principles of our enemies, and contrary even to the character of the human mind, that men who have acquired ſo great and ſo new a power as our enemies lately had; contrary to the ſpirit of a great military republic, or rather a military democracy, to act upon juſt and equitable terms towards its opponents. We had found this verified by the conduct of the French; they had acted with cruelty, not only to their foes, but alſo to their friends. To ſuppoſe that Great Britain, which has ſo long been their rival, would be better treated by them than they have treated others, would be inſanity. We muſt, therefore, continue the conteſt, notwithſtanding it had been declared by ſome that ſuch conteſt muſt be ſucceeded by our ruin. We muſt continue the conteſt, and follow the ſyſtem of the preſent bill; although our comforts might not only be diminiſhed, but be, in ſome degree, unhinged by it. We were like a party who had a ſuit depending in chancery, who muſt keep it to proſecute his honour; however fruitleſs it might be to him, or however tedious and expenſive in other reſpects.

He then expatiated upon the horrors of the French revolution, and the miſchievous tendency of French principles, as well as upon the advantages of our conſtitution.

He had heard, he ſaid, of the danger of the invaſion of this country. He was no military man, but he thought there was

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no neceſſity for military knowledge, in order to ſhew the difficulty of ſuch an enterpriſe, and he thought it was not ſpeaking extravagantly, when he ſaid, that it was not above 100,000 men againſt the ſucceſs of ſuch an enterpriſe. What if the enemy ſhould land 40 or 50 thouſand men, he thought the country in wealth and ſpirit, eſpecially in naval force, equal to the deſtruction of ſuch a force. The Alderman concluded with ſaying, that he did not believe there was a man, even on the oppoſition ſide of the Houſe, or any where in this country, who, if we were invaded, would not ſay he was ready to die for the ſervice of his country.

Lord *Stanley* diſapproved of the principle of the bill.

Mr. *Elliſon* roſe to ſupport the bill, as he had done in the ſeveral ſtages through which it had hitherto paſſed. He began by alluding to the expreſſions of applauſe which an honourable Baronet (Sir Francis Burdett) had uſed when he ſpoke of the French government as being wiſe, prudent, and economical; and then defending himſelf againſt the charge of his being an egotiſt, of being one of the pretorian band, and a minion to the miniſter. He obſerved alſo, that opinions, ſuch as thoſe delivered by the honourable Baronet, when he ſaid the French were the friends of freedom and of human nature, ought not to go abroad out of that houſe. Some other Gentlemen on the oppoſite ſide of the Houſe had ſtated their determination not to have any thing to do in the adminiſtration of public affairs without what they called a radical reform! He would upon that obſerve, that it would be ſingular in any Gentlemen whom his ſovereign ſhould call upon to be his miniſter, to reply, that he would not undertake the office except on ſuch a condition. He ſaw that ſuch an event as thoſe Gentlemen called for, would be ruinous to the country; in which every man at preſent was progreſſively riſing and increaſing his property. But was this the condition of the induſtrious people of France? Certainly their King was annihilated, and the rich people of the country were overthrown: but were the poor a bit the better for that? Certainly not. The preſent war he would ſupport, although he did not pretend to enquire how it began. He ſaid, he had doubted, whether he was in a Britiſh Senate, when he had heard Gentlemen declare, that they were not the repreſentatives of the people of England, but *retained men*. For his own part, he thought that he ſhould deſert the duty he owed to his country, if he did not ſanction any meaſure that went to ſupport a war which had been forced upon us.

Mr. *Jekyll* ſaid, the honourable Gentleman who had juſt ſat down had taken the moſt extraordinary mode he had ever

witneſſed of defeating an imputation of egotiſm; for in the courſe of a ſpeech, which laſted half an hour, he had condeſcended to talk of little elſe but himſelf. It was ſaid, there were four or five topics on which a man might deſcant in public, tho' diſbelieved by all who heard him, without incurring the ſtigma uſually attached in ſociety on a want of veracity—a man might talk of his proweſs with the ladies, his triumphs in drinking, his feats in hunting; or declare he was an independent member of parliament. The honourable Gentleman had made a boaſt of humility, and in the loudeſt tones aſſerted and evinced his claims to that intereſting characteriſtic.

The honourable Gentleman's correctneſs in ſtatement, was another quality for which he deſerved credit. He had twiſted and perverted the meaning of an honourable Baronet entirely, whoſe expreſſions were ſtrictly theſe, that "the miniſters of "the country, being afraid there might be eſtabliſhed in France "a frugal, prudent, and wiſe government, they could not bear "the contraſt, and therefore they entered into the preſent "war." This the honourable Gentleman changed into a panegyric upon the preſent government of France; with which the declaration of his honourable friend had nothing to do.—Thus the accuracy of the honourable Gentleman was much upon a level with his humility.

With reſpect to the preſent meaſure, it appeared to him to be ſimilar to others of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, whoſe pertinacity deſpiſed the opinions of thoſe whom that Houſe called its conſtituents, and reminded him of the conduct of the miniſter when he dragged through the dirt that execrable majority which ſupported his moſt infamous meaſures upon the Ruſſian armament. He made them vote with him, although he was determined to abandon the meaſure in obedience to the public voice. It might have been expected that he would have done ſo in this, and that he would have bowed to the ſame unanimous cenſure. In the maſs of his other inabilities and incapacities, was to be included his utter ignorance of the condition of the different claſſes of which the community was compoſed, eſpecially, that of the middling men. Whether it was to be aſcribed to his own ſudden riſe, or to ſome other cauſe, he knew not, but certain it was the miniſter was very ignorant of the condition of the middling rank of ſociety. He had manifeſted that ignorance in many of his plans. This bill was a proof of it. By this bill, the gentleman of four, five, or ſix hundred a year, would not only be driven to an abatement of ſuperfluities or luxuries, but even of all his comforts. He would be expoſed to the contempt of all who knew him by this ſud-

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den diminution of his income; this would produce the same sort of emigration as was occasioned in France by the first adoption of violent measures there, upon the effects of which it was unnecessary to dwell. Thus stood the case upon the minister's knowledge of the middle class of society. Of the lower class, he was, if possible, still more ignorant; all the House remembered his speech upon that subject, when he snatched out of the hands of an intelligent, and honourable member (Mr. Whitbread) a measure that was calculated for the relief of the labouring poor of this country. The speech of the minister upon that subject contained four or five ideas which he borrowed from all quarters, and was as celebrated for its eloquence as it was remarkable for its inanity. He was afraid his honourable friend should have reaped the credit of his labours, so snatched the subject out of his hands, and promised to do something wonderful upon it himself. This arrogance was followed up by such a bath, such a farago of nonsense and absurdity, that when it was reduced into the form of a bill, every lawyer, every magistrate, every overseer of the poor, and every man in the kingdom, from the highest to the lowest, who had any knowledge upon the subject, scouted the measure; and the consequence was that this celebrated plan sneaked out of the House in as shabby a manner as it had been originally snatched out of the hands of its able, honourable, and intelligent author, who would have inevitably afforded relief to the poor by his attempt.

With regard to the present measure, he would call on those members who were more than ordinarily solicitous to preserve the morals of the people of this country. He would ask those who affected a more than ordinary degree of piety, what they thought of this bill in respect of the oaths it provided for? He would ask them whether they did not think it was in inducement to perjury in many cases; and whether it did not tend to cut up morality by the roots?

It had been considered by most men that a legislative enaction should not go to the suppression of the lesser virtues among which economy was certainly to be ranked; but this bill prohibited and annihilated the exercise of that virtue by its retrospective operation; and cut off from every man the means of such necessary retrenchment as might square his income to his expenditure.

With respect to the produce of this bill, he was confident that, if the collectors of the duties were to be examined at the bar of the House, as they had been out of it, they would prove that the tax could not be collected. They would tell the House, what they had already told the public, what he knew they had told

told the Minister, that the collection would be impossible. They had said that at this moment they could not collect the taxes already imposed, by which, of course, there must be a deficiency. What was the remedy here proposed, if the people could not pay their present assessment? Why, that they were to be called upon for double, triple, and four times its amount! But the people were to be distrained upon if they could not pay.—Where were the warehouses to contain the distrained goods? Who was to buy them? What would they produce, if sold? London would present a scene like Paris upon the confiscation of the goods of the Noblesse. If this bill was persisted in, would it not be said, throughout the empire, that the House of Commons had no sympathy whatever with its constituents; and it would be a curious thing to see a bill pass by a large majority of the House of Commons when the people were unanimous against it. It would shew incontestibly there was no sympathy in feeling or interests between the people of England and those who are termed their representatives.

This was a measure too intended by the Ministers to shew to the enemy the energy and extent of our resources. He well remembered the speech from the Chancellor of the Exchequer upon the subject of finance, in Dec. 1795, he remembered well too that of the right honourable Secretary at War, the latter of whom wisely and warmly said that the French were bleeding, but that our wounds were but skin deep; and the Chancellor of the Exchequer exclaimed, "That the French could only support their present system by a wrest of property and a requisition of men; a system that could only originate in despotism and be supported by terror." A requisition of men was not indeed the object of the present bill, but we had had bills enough for that purpose. But a confiscation of property on the assessation of the falsest criterion imaginable, was his avowed and determinate object. Take the right honourable Gentleman's own description of that sort of system which could only originate in despotism and be supported by terror,

It was said that men might borrow to pay this duty; what, when the funds give six per cent? Others said most curiously there is a benefit from the depreciated state of the public credit of the stocks, because men may more easily borrow on personal security; a notable benefit! ruin the country and you will borrow as easily as formerly. It was something like what they said to the ballast heavers, when the convicts were first employed on the Thames. They complained they were thrown out of employment and bread; they were told by a quaint man they had nothing to do but to commit felony and the

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law would reinſtate them in their former capacity.

There was another point in which he viewed this ſubject, and that was the degree of affection which the people of this country would retain for the excellent conſtitution of their country, if this bill paſſed. He trembled when he attempted to ſtate that point. Should this meaſure, as in his conſcience he believed it would, alienate the affections of the people from the conſtitution of this country, it would be more alarming than all the threats of invaſion we have ever yet been menaced with.

All the miſchief, the incalculable miſchief of the preſent dreadful hour, aroſe from the conduct and continuance of thoſe weak and incapable Miniſters. We had been deluded into this accurſed war by deceits and alarms, and duped to ſupport it by empty ſounds, and declamatory jargon. This reminded him of thoſe memorable words of the right honourable Gentleman's illuſtrious father, at a period too when our national burthen had not reached near a fourth of its preſent magnitude.

The words had made on him an impreſſion he could not eaſily forget, although it was long ſince he had read them. With them he ſhould conclude his ſpeech—

"We have ſuffered ourſelves (ſaid that great man) to be deceived by names and ſounds: the balance of power, the liberty of Europe, a common cauſe, and many more ſuch expreſſions, without any other meaning than to exhauſt our wealth, conſume the profits of our trade, and load our poſterity with intolerable burthens.

"None but a nation that had loſt all ſigns of virility would ſuffer itſelf to be ſo treated."

Dr. *Laurence* ſaid, that after the two learned Chancellors of the Exchequer whom the Houſe had heard that night; one (Mr. Simeon) in a ſpeech that nicely balanced between both ſides of the queſtion, propoſing a new plan, which was liable to every objection urged againſt the preſent bill, and many more; the other (Mr. Jekyll) undertaking to ſhew the total ignorance of the preſent Chancellor of the Exchequer in every branch of political œconomy, by a declamation going back to the ſpeeches of his father, and mingled up with every thing but an examination of the bill itſelf; he feared that a profeſſional man, little qualified as he muſt always be to ſpeak on a ſubject of finance, could not expect a very favourable audience. If therefore he had riſen, it was merely from a ſenſe of duty at this awful juncture of our fortune

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for glory or for ſhame, for ſafety or for ruin; a juncture which in his mind ſuperſeded every perſonal conſideration.

The bill, in the preamble of it, profeſſed to be founded on the extraordinary criſis of the country, which required extraordinary efforts. But how had it been conſtantly argued on the other ſide? As if we were in the ordinary ſituation of a common war, as if this was an ordinary meaſure of revenue: and this he thought a fallacy which had run through every thing ſaid in oppoſition to it. The exigency of the time had been neither admitted nor denied, but was wholly kept out of ſight. He thought, on the contrary, that throughout their deliberations and diſcuſſions, they ſhould for ever keep before their eyes the circumſtances of the moment to which the meaſure was intended to apply.

What then was the political neceſſity? For that naturally came firſt under conſideration. He ſhould be as willing as any man to go at any length upon an enquiry into the original juſtice of the war. But ſuch an enquiry was neither regular nor poſſible on that day. He ſhould therefore limit himſelf to what had paſſed, to ſhew the real character of the war, ſince the commencement of the preſent ſeſſion. Without examining the whole train of the late negociation, thus much was clear, that it was broken off by the French with a demand, that we ſhould as a preliminary ſubſcribe to their laws and their treaties. And what ſort of treaties? Full of ſecret articles which they had never communicated to us.—Was there any man in this country who had ever ventured to ſtate ſuch a demand as admiſſible? Would it not be a direct ſurrender of our independence? What then followed this inſolent demand? A proclamation, in which the Directory promiſes that the Great Nation, as they now commonly ſtyle France, will avenge the univerſe by a deſcent upon this iſland. Their Army of England is to dictate terms of peace in London! Here, wherever this pleaſant intelligence was obtained, they are to find as auxiliaries the whole Iriſh nation; here they are to find thoſe thouſands of generous men who have ſtruggled ſo long for (what he never would call, though others might) a parliamentary reform; and here alſo they are to find thoſe innumerable mechanics whom the continuance of the war reduces to miſery. He had ſeen, in a ſubſequent paper, a ſaving clauſe of indemnity for the glorious Oppoſition, who had ſo long ſpoken and voted for peace. He mentioned this for the ſake of declaring his conſcientious perſuaſion that it was a groſs calumny and

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libel on the characters of those gentlemen; as he trusted also that the enemy would meet with comparatively few indeed of those auxiliaries, upon whom they reckoned in their denunciations of vengeance against this island.

When that proclamation was issued, it was the stale device of the Directory, by an affected pity for the supposed distresses of our mechanics, to divide the trading interest from the government of the country. Observe, however, what has lately taken place at Paris. A deputation from the Commune, a Jacobin magistracy appointed under the influence of the Directory, was brought forward to demand the opening of a loan, which should be secured on the conquest of England; and in this step they *believed* themselves to be the organ of the merchants of Paris. How far they were likely to be so acknowledged, or the loan to be filled, he should not trouble himself to conjecture. Our business was with the sentiments which they then declared. And what was one of the crimes imputed to England, by the Director Barras? Why truly, that through her insinuations, France had been accused of not sustaining this war for the object of extending and preserving commerce. Will then an honourable Baronet (Sir F. Burdett) contradict the Citizen President, by persisting to denominate this a liberticide war, a war to prevent the establishment of a wise and frugal government in France? It was admitted on that occasion by our enemies, that they do not believe us to seek their destruction, but they loudly proclaimed that they will not suffer us to exercise what they describe as the tyranny of the seas; the ocean (they tell us) ought to carry their glory, their arts, and industry to all parts of the world, and would groan to be subjected to a few proud islanders; all the merchants of France have long and cruel injuries to revenge, and will burn to say "we have also given our blow." This pretended tyranny of England over the seas is now the burden of their song, to lull Europe, while they are aiming a death-blow at our naval power; and in a paper published under the patronage of the Directory, (he had it, he believed, in his pocket, but would not trouble the House with reading it,) he had seen the same deadly hatred expressed in still more furious and unmanaged terms. Ten ages of barbarity and treasons, it was said, against thirty nations oppressed and scourged by the audacity of a single people, (how the ages or the nations were reckoned he still not know,) were to be now visited on our devoted heads. He had necessarily, in the course of his pro-

ſeſſion, read much upon the ſubject, and if the honourable Baronet or any other perſon of his ſentiments, that dared to call himſelf an Engliſhman, would maintain this alſo, as many of them do maintain the other injurious aſperſions perpetually thrown out from the ſame quarter againſt their country: Dr. Laurence ſaid, he would undertake to ſhew, that never did any nation, poſſeſſing maritime power, exerciſe it with ſo much ſyſtematic lenity as England at all times had done.

But the ambition of our enemies has now thrown off all diſguiſe. They have declared againſt the naval power, the conſtitution, and the people of England, an *internecine war*, which no man in this country ever declared againſt France; though ſome men early thought that the principles of their revolution would infallibly make it that war which they have now avowed it to be. Their view from the beginning was to break in pieces the ſyſtem of Europe, which has ever been principally preſerved by the German empire and Great Britain. They feared at firſt to provoke a conteſt with both; they wiſhed to begin with that which was the weaker, and at their own door. They tried every art to prevent the King of Pruſſia from joining the Emperor, and afterwards to detach him from that alliance. On his retreat, growing bold with ſucceſs, they ventured upon hoſtilities with this country, and they now hope that they have an opportunity of cruſhing us for ever, ſo as to prevent us from appearing again at the head of any confederacy for vindicating the liberties of Europe. They would ſtrike at our empire through our commerce, knowing them mutually to ſupport each other, and they would annihilate our conſtitution as the foundation of both.

Such was in his judgment the political neceſſity for proſecuting the war with vigour. It was next to be conſidered, what is the pecuniary neceſſity for adopting this new mode of raiſing the ſupplies, if not within the year, yet in as ſhort a time as poſſible, without funding any conſiderable part, ſo as to become an additional burden to the common ſtock-market. On this branch of the queſtion, we ſhould never forget what had been the reſources of the French Republic for carrying on her projects of ambition; reſources incalculable before the experiment, becauſe they were ſuch as never were, and never can be, poſſeſſed by any regular government. They made by their conſtitution every citizen a ſoldier, and by ſubſequent laws ſubjected all, from the age of eighteen to five

five and thirty, who upon public requiſition did not actually join the army, to be capitally puniſhed as deſerters. To drive forward this vaſt machine, they poſſeſſed themſelves of all the property of the kingdom; they ſeized on ninety-nine parts in a hundred of all the landed eſtates; they had all the domains of the Crown; they had nearly all the property of every kind belonging to the nobility and gentry, whom they proſcribed, maſſacred, or forced into exile; they had all the glebe of the church, and even the lands ſettled for the maintenance of hoſpitals, and other charitable inſtitutions. When this great maſs began to fail, they ſeized at pleaſure on the produce of the farmers to ſupply their armies; they laid their hands on the goods of the manufacturers and merchants, paying for them at an arbitrary valuation, by a depreciated paper currency, and carried on the trade of the country for the profit of the ſtate; a fact that appeared on the documents of ſhips which had been taken. At the ſame time they arreſted all the principal bankers, compelled them to produce their books, and give bills of exchange for every ſhilling due to them from their foreign correſpondents. He knew a family which without being at any time ſuſpected, ſo as even to be impriſoned, out of ſeveral hundred thouſand pounds, retained only twenty thouſand, which precious relick was ſecured to them in this country by the fortunate operation of the Traiterous Correſpondence bill. Yet notwithſtanding theſe heaps, accumulated by every ſort of rapine and injuſtice, they had a taxation the moſt grinding and oppreſſive that ever was invented. Landed proprietors paid one-ſixth of their net income, with twenty-five per cent. upon that, beſides taxes upon their houſes, horſes, carriages, and ſervants. He ſhould afterwards have occaſion to ſtate the burthens which the wiſe and frugal government of the honourable Baronet had laid, moſt analagous to thoſe of the preſent bill.

When we had to meet ſo formidable a ſtrength of every kind, not to mention the enhanced price of every article, it could not be a matter of ſurpriſe, if our expenditure had been ſwelled beyond the amount of any former war; and without meaning to give any opinion on the details, whether in them there had been profuſion or œconomy, he thought that the circumſtances of the conteſt itſelf, would ſufficiently account in general for the rapid accumulation of our public debt. Happily the war found us with as unexampled an accumulation of floating capital: and from that ſtock,

and from the annual increaſe upon it, while many millions had been expended in improving the ſoil, and facilitating the inland navigation, far beyond what had been done in any former period of equal duration; while, equally beyond all precedent, the value of our exports had riſen no leſs than ſix millions; we had funded in four years, up to the end of 1796, about one-third more than in five years of the American war. What then was the natural reſult of theſe new and mighty, but indiſpenſable efforts? The price of our funds had ſubſided a little below the mark to which they had formerly ſunk in the cloſe of the year 1781; below that point which was the higheſt level of the general money market, when the public ſecurities afford an intereſt juſt equal to that above which the laws of the country do not allow private perſons to advance. In this ſtate of things another heavy loan was found inevitable, and in conſequence of this additional preſſure, joined to the political events of the continent, the funds had been lowered to a price which had now begun actually to eſtabliſh that monopoly of borrowing by Government, which an honourable and learned Gentleman,* on a former night, had incorrectly ſtated to have exiſted for two years paſt. The effect was now ſenſibly felt throughout the landed, the commercial, and the manufacturing intereſts of the country. If the diſadvantage ſhould continue under which every individual who wanted to borrow money at preſent laboured, ſtill more if it ſhould be augmented by a new loan being brought in the uſual way into the market, mortgages, bonds, private ſecurities of every kind would be called in; the diſpoſition of monied capital would be every where unſettled; the whole floating wealth of the nation would be poured through one channel into the vaſt reſervoir of the public debt. And this evil would be more quickly perceived now than it would have been at any former period, from the increaſed faith of the people in government ſecurities, ſince the funds had ſtood ſo many ſhocks which had been predicted to be fatal to them; and from the greater extent of our banking ſyſtem and paper credit, by which the ſavings of avarice are brought into circulation and activity, but which in conſequence of that very extent, if they are eſſentially affected in any one part, are more eaſily deranged in all, becauſe there do not remain behind the ſame private hoards which may be

* We believe, Mr. Nicholl.—EDITOR.

dragged

dragged forward to ſupply any unexpected emergency. It was this which ſtruck his mind much more forcibly than any loſs to the ſtate from borrowing on uſurious terms, or the injury which the preſent ſtock-holders would ſuffer from the deterioration of their property; this, in his opinion, if we perſevered in the old mode of funding, would bring much more ſerious inconvenience and confuſion to the affairs of all claſſes, than any ſuppoſed hardſhip of the preſent bill; and he truſted that he ſhould have with him on this occaſion, all thoſe who laſt year thought the public debt to be the beſt and moſt formidable ally of the French republic. He did not like abſtract propoſitions in politics; he neither approved nor condemned the funding ſyſtem univerſally. He conſidered it wiſe to avail ourſelves of it while we fairly might; he ſhould conſider it equally wiſe to have recourſe to it again, when from a temporary ceſſation, and the effect of the ſinking fund, it had recovered the true level.

In what manner then, were the immediate exigencies of the ſtate to be met by an adequate proviſion? As the ſupplies were to be raiſed, in point of principle, within the year, or in fact, within as ſhort a time beyond the year as was poſſible, conſiſtently with the reaſonable eaſe of the ſubject, he conceived that they ſhould be drawn not from property, but from income. Now what were the different kinds of income? That which ariſes from landed eſtates,—from money veſted in public or private ſecurities—from money employed in trade and commerce —or from induſtry and ſkill, whether employed in occupations that principally exerciſe the body, the hand, or the mind; though an honourable and learned Gentleman to whom he had before alluded, in ſpeaking on this ſubject the other night, rather unkindly forgot the profeſſion which he had relinquiſhed.

There could be no doubt that in raiſing a contribution upon income, which was the true nature of the preſent meaſure, the preſſure of the burthen ſhould be diffuſed as equally over all, as a regard to the general welfare of the community would permit. But here occurred the great, and in his mind, the inſuperable difficulty. Without recurring to France, the hiſtory of our own country furniſhed ſufficient materials to guide our judgment. In the long Parliament, thoſe men, whoſe early conduct certainly deſerved approbation, however he might deteſt the lengths to which they were afterwards carried, had recourſe to a voluntary, which they ſoon converted into a forced, contribution, of no leſs than one fifth of every man's income throughout the realm, for the ſupport of their unjuſt war againſt the King; then came a demand of a twentieth

tieth; then came the amount of one day's meal in a week; then came various other vexations, till the whole ended in the moſt corrupt and rapacious tyranny, under which this country ever groaned. On the other hand, under William the Third, when a general contribution was attempted, by the meaſure in which originated the preſent Land-tax Bill, what was the conſequence? Perſonal property, as well as real, was ſubjected to it, but could never be levied on the former, though the Commons of that day, who are uſually thought to have been neither deficient in a knowledge or a love of true liberty, did not conſider the principle as arbitrary and unconſtitutional; for then, as one of them obſerved on occaſion of ſome warm debates, "they differed as to their ways, but all agreed in keeping out the French." In truth, it was impracticable to find any rule of abſolute equality between different claſſes, and different individuals of the ſame claſs, without compelling a direct diſcloſure in the firſt inſtance, which was in itſelf an act of a very harſh nature, and ſcarcely to be warranted by any imaginable extremity in a commercial country. There was no other expedient, where a great contribution was requiſite, than to apportion it by ſome viſible and voluntary ſtandard (or rather many concurring ſtandards) of income, and to give ſubſequent relief, where that ſtandard ſhould be ſhown to be incorrect: and that, as he viewed it, was the true deſcription of the preſent bill.

Of what nature was the oppoſition to this bill? What were the exceptions taken againſt it? One ſaid it was a contribution on property; another that it was a tax upon income; a third declared againſt it as a tax upon induſtry, and a fourth called it downright confiſcation. At one time it was objected, that it would lean too much on the lower orders of ſociety; then, on looking at the exemptions and abatements, it was found that the middling ranks would be moſt aggrieved; and now ſince the new modifications, that the rich would too much ſuffer. He had ſeen it argued in popular writings, that the poor would pay nothing, and the rich too little, and yet both the rich and the poor would be ruined; that non-conſumption agreements ſhould be recommended, that non-conſumption agreements were to be feared, and that non-conſumption agreements were impracticable. The opponents of the meaſure ſeemed to be throwing forth arguments of every ſort to ſuit different taſtes, in hopes that ſome might ſucceed, though many more might fail: they were firing random ſhot; it was ſufficient if one hit a weak place, though hundreds might traverſe each other in every direction and fall on every ſide of the mark. One honourable gentleman who, he believed, was bred to the law, and profeſſed

profeſſed to have a general retainer, ſeemed to him to have very much weakened the authority of his clients. He had originally deſcribed them as poor retail-traders, unable to bear the additional load of this contribution; but no ſooner had the modifications been intimated, than he changed his tone, and ſaid, that though his conſtituents might not directly ſuffer, all their cuſtomers of an higher order would be ruined; at the ſame time, not pretending any authority from thoſe cuſtomers who muſt live amongſt his clients, to make any ſuch repreſentation of their apprehenſions. For his own part, Dr. Laurence ſaid, he reſpected every claſs of the people alike, according to their ſeveral means of information, but he looked to each with confidence only for the knowledge of their own particular grievances; he ſhould always hear with very diminiſhed ſatisfaction, thoſe, whoever they might be, who took under their protection others that did not complain for themſelves; and he had obſerved with peculiar gratification, that they who were ſuppoſed more eſpecially to repreſent the higher claſſes of ſociety in that Houſe, had been leaſt adverſe to the bill. The country was by no means ſo unanimous againſt it, as had been for ever aſſumed on the other ſide, eſpecially ſince the modifications had been known; on the contrary he had received private accounts on which he could depend, that whole neighbourhoods had been reconciled to it, and many more admitted in general the neceſſity of the times, and the wiſdom of meeting that neceſſity with vigorous meaſures. Another learned Gentleman who had juſt ſpoken, had called upon the religion of an honourable member, (Mr. Wilberforce) to oppoſe the oath. He congratulated his learned friend (as he could once have called him, and hoped he ſtill might) on his new piety; but he did not think it quite candid or parliamentary to make ſuch applications to the private opinions of any individual. If the learned Gentleman had done his duty in attending the committee, he would have heard the arguments which had been urged on that head by the honourable member to whom he alluded, as well as the anſwers which induced him, if not to retract, at leaſt to deſiſt from preſſing his ſcruples againſt the ſenſe of the majority. At any rate it was rather ſingular that the topic ſhould be renewed by a profeſſional man, who above all others muſt have been ſenſible in the courſe of his practice how difficult it was with all his ability in croſs-examination, to keep any ſufficient check upon fraud, and who might therefore have been expected to be the laſt man that would propoſe the removal of the principal barrier which the wiſdom of the

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law had been able to diſcover, and which was perpetually applied in tranſactions of far inferior moment.

The other learned Chancellor of the Exchequer who had ſpoken that night, had alone acted fairly in offering his own plan to the Houſe. Without examining whether his mode of aſſeſſing tradeſmen by the houſe-rent did not exactly fall under the original objections to the bill itſelf, it muſt be remarked, that one great branch of his ſcheme was to lay a ſtamp-duty, which he did not think contrary to public faith, on every tranſfer of ſtock. Now the transferable quality of that kind of government-ſecurity was one chief inducement to the purchaſer, and was always underſtood by every ſubſcriber to a loan; whatever therefore leſſened it in any degree, was in ſo much a departure from the implied engagement of the bargain. But all ſides of the Houſe agreed that the national faith ought to be rigidly kept in regard to the ſtockholder. Indeed a right honourable Gentleman had actually objected to the preſent meaſure, as indirectly injurious to that faith. This ſeemed, however, to be a little too nice. The bill did not enter into the details of any man's income, but took his viſible expences about his own perſon and houſehold, as a preſumption which he had himſelf afforded of his having ſome income or other of a certain magnitude; nor if he appealed for relief, on a ſtatement of his income, was he at all compelled to diſcloſe from whence the different parts of that income accrued.

When ſuch had been the leading objections, and ſuch the only other plan which had been propoſed, Dr. Laurence ſaid, he ſhould not enter into a minute examination of the bill itſelf. Its principle had ſcarcely been touched on the other ſide: moſt of the objections not already noticed by him, had in fact conſiſted of particular caſes, which were repreſented as ſo many hardſhips under the details of the bill, and which therefore ſhould rather have been brought forward in the Committee, though unfortunately few of the objectors had attended there, to benefit the Houſe by their information. Many modifications, notwithſtanding, had been introduced, which ſome might perhaps be inclined to regard as deviations from the original principle; but which he conſidered only as better means of carrying that principle more fully and accurately into effect. Wherever it had appeared that the ſtandard generally taken did not apply to any certain claſs of individuals, ſo as to afford a probable meaſure of their income, exemptions or abatements had been allowed; and eſpecially the rate of aſſeſſment on two large claſſes

claſſes in cities and great towns, had been very conſiderably moderated. He was not ſure that a more preciſe rule, in ſome ſubordinate parts, might not have been drawn, but he was ſatisfied that the bill as it now ſtood, would, upon the whole, be more favourable to one of thoſe large claſſes engaged in trade. Much of the burden had been ſhifted from them to perſons of higher condition, and wiſely too, in his opinion. They who poſſeſſed only what civil ſociety had taught us to reckon among neceſſaries, could leſs bear to loſe any certain proportion, than ſuch as could command the conveniences of life; they who had nothing beyond thoſe conveniences could leſs ſubmit to any diminution, than ſuch as enjoyed the elegancies of life alſo: and it was a much leſs hardſhip to paſs from an eſtabliſhment of luxury to an eſtabliſhment of elegance, than to be reduced from what is elegant to what is merely convenient. There was beſides another maxim, of which a ſtateſman ſhould never loſe ſight: it is of the higheſt expedience for the general good of the community, to take every method of encouraging habits of induſtry, and to protect them in the firſt ſteps of acquiſition; for whatever is left in ſuch hands, is the ſpring of ſo much more productive wealth to the nation. He ſhould therefore be better pleaſed if the effect of the alterations ſhould be found to be, as he believed it would, that very many of that deſcription would now eſcape lightly, who were able to have borne a greater proportion of the weight, than if under the original ſcheme, as many had been obliged to ſtruggle with too heavy a load. Did he then think the ſtandard, as it now had been adjuſted, to be abſolutely perfect? Certainly not. But ſmall objections to a great meaſure, in a caſe of great neceſſity, ought not to prevail; and if, conſidered all together, it was good, if it was even better than any thing propoſed to be ſubſtituted, he was bound to give it his ſupport. We muſt ſo take the character of every thing in life, from the general reſult of the whole, not from partial exceptions: and it was the obſervation of an illuſtrious ſtateſman, now no more, whoſe wiſdom on earth moſt nearly approached (if any thing mortal could be ſaid at all to approach) that ſupreme wiſdom which it is now his eternal happineſs to contemplate, that an ingenious mind, letting the imagination looſe, might find it not difficult to criticiſe the creation itſelf. There was, however, one clauſe inſerted by the Committee, which he could not but look upon as an exceſ-

cence foreign to the body, and injurious to its health: he alluded to the clauſe which authoriſed a voluntary contribution. He thought this was a little at variance with the principle of the meaſure, ſince it ſeemed to imply an admiſſion that the public wiſdom of the ſtate was after all unable to find a ſufficient ſtandard, and was therefore forced to leave it to the private diſcretion of individuals. He feared too that it might give ſcope to ſome of the worſt paſſions, and teach men to put their hands in the pockets of their neighbours inſtead of their own, by judging for others what they ought to contribute; a diſpoſition which he had reaſon, from his correſpondence, to think was already beginning to manifeſt itſelf in the country.

They who differed from him in their ſentiments of the bill would, he truſted, fairly face the exigence of the times, and the queſtion of that day. In his opinion the queſtion had never been fairly put. We ſhould not enquire whether the reaſon of the legiſlature, or the nature of the only criterion which could be found, has favoured any of our fellow ſubjects more than ourſelves; each man ſhould conſult his own duty, and ſeriouſly aſk himſelf, whether more is demanded of him than his ſtake in the honour and independence of his country is worth? That, he contended, was the fair mode of putting the queſtion. Let the landed proprietors reflect that they were very little able to ſeek new means of livelihood in any of the ordinary occupations, and that, if forced to fly, they do not, like the Greek philoſopher, carry every thing with them in their own perſons. Let all of the commercial intereſt remember, that the avowed aim of the enemy is to annihilate the ſource of our opulence and power in our trade. Let thoſe from whom our enemies expect a kind welcome to our coaſts, beware in time, leſt while they open their arms for the fraternal embrace, they claſp the wife of Nabis to their boſoms. Let none of us forget that the French Directory has opened a loan on the credit of their plunder in this country; that they have proclaimed their determination to exact from us the ranſom of Europe and the indemnity of the whole war: and that, to inflame the ſpirits of their ſoldiers with the expectation of pillage, they almoſt literally deſcribe our ſtreets as paved with gold. Then let any man anſwer, whether what he will have to pay under the preſent bill can be more than a feather in the ſcale weighed againſt that which would aſſuredly be extorted from him if we ſhould now be wanting to our own juſt defence. But ſuppoſe, inſtead

inſtead of this, they ſhould treat us only as their moſt favoured allies, the Dutch, whom they have taken under their protection: what has recently happened in that Republic after Batavian reſcription on reſcription? Since the glorious victory for which we lately offered up our ſolemn thanks to the Almighty diſpoſer of events, they have laid a direct tax of one eighth part on all the property of the nation. Suppoſe ſtill more, ſuppoſe there may be righteous men enough found in this kingdom to intercede for us, and pacify the reſentment of the great nation; ſuppoſe that we obtain as good terms as the people of France; let us look at that wiſe and frugal Government which the honourable Baronet ſeems to regret that we have not imitated here. He did not mean to adduce any novel oppreſſion under the preſent free Conſtitution, or any exploded inſtance from the reign of Robeſpierre; he would refer to that ſyſtem of taxation which had been preſerved by all, but which had been the favourite work of the firſt Aſſembly, who undertook to realiſe the dreams of the economiſts, and aſtoniſh the world with a faultleſs monſter of perfection. In the preſent tyrannical bill, all who are not now aſſeſſed one pound a year to the houſe and window taxes, are wholly exempted; but under the wiſe and frugal government of France there is no exemption whatever to the pooreſt. The man who pays four and nine-pence halfpenny to the Houſe Tax, and whoſe whole income they eſtimate only at eight pounds a-year, pays no leſs than ſeven and eleven-pence to a permanent contribution on perſonal property, eſtimated by the houſe rent. He who there pays four and twenty ſhillings to the houſe tax, pays two pounds to the permanent contribution, while an Engliſhman under the ſame circumſtances will pay by this bill, no more than ſix ſhillings for the ſhort period of two or three years. Thus their ſcale proceeds, the perſonal tax always bearing the proportion of five to three on a compariſon with the houſe tax, and keeping conſtantly above ours till it paſſes the mark of ten pounds for the houſe tax, when through the reſt of the gradations, their contribution on income becomes comparatively lighter on the higher orders, than ours by the ſcale impoſed in the preſent bill. If we recur to income, the reſult was nearly the ſame. Ours throughout is to be a net income proved by the oath of the perſon, and all who have not ſixty pounds are wholly exempted; they have no exemption, and the income is underſtood to be a groſs income eſtimated without appeal from the houſe rent, according to a moſt capricious and arbitrary claſſification. He hardly believed,

that with this explanation, the people of England would be over-fond of exchanging the ignorance and profuſion of their preſent rulers, for the wiſdom and frugality of the honourable Baronet.

The general ability of the country to make this extraordinary proviſion, and much more than this, for the proſecution of the preſent juſt and neceſſary war, was in his mind indubitable, when he recollected what had been proved in the laſt ſeſſion to the Houſe; that a new capital to the amount of eleven millions at leaſt, and he would himſelf venture to ſay, to a much greater amount, was annually flowing into the kingdom. Yet the fact muſt not be diſguiſed. The meaſure before the Houſe would indiſputably fall hard upon ſome individuals; the burthen to all would be much greater than they had ever felt in any one year; it was, without reference to our encreaſed means of bearing it, actually much greater than our anceſtors had ever ſuſtained. When therefore the people of England were called upon to ſupport ſuch an additional weight with fortitude, they had a right in return to expect energy and ſpirit in the counſels of their rulers. It had been ſaid that we had no hope but in a total change of ſyſtem: he would not ſay that; but he thought it time that ſome ſyſtem ſhould be adopted and ſteadily purſued; that we ſhould make, not ſuffer war.

It was impoſſible but that there muſt exiſt the moſt ſerious diſcontents in France. The unhappy people of that country muſt be ready to hail us as their deliverers. They muſt be eager to join the ſtandard of any adequate force which we might ſend, and to fight by our ſides for their liberties. For what had lately been done there? A majority of the people had been actually diſfranchiſed at one ſtroke of the pen; not only their elections of repreſentatives ſet aſide, but all their magiſtrates, municipal officers, judges and juries, throughout the greater part of their territory at once diſmiſſed; the leaders in their public councils arreſted, impriſoned, and tranſported without any form or pretence of a trial; and the proprietors, editors, and writers of all their moſt popular journals ſubjected to the ſame arbitrary ſentence; a proceeding, which he would recommend to the ſerious attention of thoſe, who complained that the freedom of the Preſs is extinguiſhed in England. He had ſeen in one of the laſt Paris papers, that they had again reſorted to this tyrannical ſeverity, againſt another unfortunate journaliſt who had preſumed to ſuſpect, that they intended to moleſt ſome of their weaker neighbours.

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neighbours, not yet ſwallowed up in their republic. They had themſelves proclaimed the ſenſe of the country to be againſt them; for they had juſtified their late violences by aſſerting that public opinion had been corrupted. But even if no effectual impreſſion could be made, the beſt way to prevent their invading us, would be to keep them in perpetual alarms by attacks upon different parts of their coaſt. That was one principal uſe of a ſuperior fleet. With this advantage, he ſhould ſuppoſe it feaſible, that an army of twenty or thirty thouſand men might haraſs the whole of the hoſtile force with marches and counter-marches from one extremity of their dominions to the other.

A gallant officer, whoſe peculiar ſtyle of eloquence often enlivened the councils of a neighbouring kingdom, held it, he had been told, as a favourite maxim, that "the beſt way to avoid danger was to meet it;" and for his own part, Dr. Laurence ſaid, the rhetorical figure in which it was conveyed, only impreſſed more deeply on his memory the ſound ſenſe and important truth of the ſentiment; it was the beſt ſtanding rule of policy for every great ſtate, in times of difficulty like the preſent. Offenſive war was the cheapeſt and moſt efficacious mode of defence. All hiſtory bore teſtimony to it. Whenever there had been any thing like a deadly feud between two powers, if either of them confined itſelf to mere defence, and paſſively waited the attack of the other, the ruin of that power had ſurely followed.

Our enemies were conſtantly holding up the examples of Rome and Carthage. They had publicly done ſo, in bringing forward their preſent loan upon England. The Houſe too had ſeveral times heard arguments illuſtrated from the ſame portion of hiſtory, and in the diſcuſſion of this very bill, it had ſupplied a quotation to an honourable Gentleman, who had from thence inculcated the duty of chief magiſtrates to take the lead of the ſenate, and the ſenate of the people, in providing for the extraordinary emergencies of the ſtate; though it did not come with the beſt grace from that honourable Gentleman, who had declared that he would never give one ſingle ſixpence of his general retainer, during the continuance of the preſent adminiſtration. Dr. Laurence ſaid, that he did not mean to rely upon any one particular paſſage, but to inſtance the entire courſe and train of thoſe events, which held forth ſo ſtriking a leſſon to mankind.

Why did Rome triumph? Why did Carthage fall? Becauſe Rome bore to ſee Hannibal at her gates; becauſe Carthage

Carthage would not bear to ſee from her walls Scipio deſolating Africa. The ſpirit of the former was ſhewn in the ſale of the very field on which Hannibal lay encamped, at the cuſtomary price of peace. The only diſpute between her oppoſite parties was about the mode of conducting the war. It was the ſoul of all their policy not to deſpair. Never was the character of that victor-people ſo finely diſplayed as by him who beſt underſtood it, by him whom the hiſtorian of his country ſtyles the fated, the deſtined, the providential general of the war, by Scipio, when he firſt harangued that army at the head of which his father and uncle had recently periſhed; which would have been annihilated but for the bold and vigorous promptitude of a private ſoldier; and which no Roman officer of rank and eminence would offer himſelf to command. It was the deſtiny which Heaven itſelf had allotted to Rome, he ſaid, that in all her great wars ſhe ſhould make her way to victory through defeat. He ran over her hiſtory, from the foundation of the republic to the calamities of that war and Hannibal thundering at her gates: then in as magnificent a perſonification as ever was created by human fancy, he pointed out to them the Virtue of the Roman people, ſtanding alone, entire, and unſhaken, amidſt the wreck of all things; raiſing, ſuſtaining, and exalting whatever Hannibal had daſhed to the ground. *In hâc ruinâ rerum ſtetit una integra atque immobilis virtus populi Romani: hæc omnia ſtrata humi erexit ac ſuſtulit.*" By this ſpirit it was that all the conduct of that great man was animated. By this he three times ſaved his country. But in what was it that he moſt ſhewed the vigour of his mind? In propoſing and undertaking the invaſion of Africa, while Hannibal was ſtill unvanquiſhed in the heart of Italy.

On the other hand, what was the failure of Carthage? She was proſperous while ſhe attacked, but ſhe was diſtracted by inteſtine diviſions. There was in her ſenate an eloquent man, at the head of a ſtrong party, who envying Hannibal's glory, from the beginning called aloud for peace, and reſiſted all ſupplies. In the very career of ſucceſs, nothing ſaved Hannibal from irretrievable ruin, but the raſhneſs of Varro, in offering him battle at Cannæ, when the Carthaginian army was in want of every neceſſary, in a ſtate of mutiny, and on the point of diſbanding. Hanno ſtill perſiſted; at length he prevailed. The ſenate, trembling at the approach of Scipio, thought only of collecting an immenſe army for their home defence, while Hannibal urged them

them ſtill more powerfully to preſs the war againſt Rome itſelf. Then the reinforcements and ſupplies which he demanded were denied; then he was compelled to abandon his beſt ſtrength, the Italian allies: then with a weakened, baffled army, he was recalled to oppoſe the victorious force of Scipio; he diſplayed his moſt conſummate courage and ſkill; he was beaten; and Carthage received the dictates of the conqueror: She ſurrendered her naval power, ſhe ſurrendered her political independence, ſhe ſtipulated to pay an enormous ranſom; but when the firſt inſtalment came to be levied, the people put on public mourning. Then it was that Hannibal laughed that bitter laughter which they reproved; but which he converted into a more juſt reproof on the folly of their too late repentance, and predicted to them from immutable principles of policy, the ſtill greater calamities to which their degradation would open a way. They became impatient of the galling yoke, tempted their fate, and in the concluſion of another war, were told "you muſt deliver up your whole fleet." What now? "You muſt bring in your arms; they cannot be wanted by men who ſincerely wiſh peace." They were brought. "You muſt now have fortitude to bear what further the ſenate decrees; chuſe habitations were you will; Carthage muſt be razed to the ground."

He had been repreſented, (Dr. Laurence ſaid) the other night, when a heavy indiſpoſition prevented him from taking notice of it, as having propheſied a war for fifteen years to come. He had uttered no ſuch opinion, becauſe he did not entertain it: he too well knew the exhauſted ſtate of our enemies to believe them capable of continuing it for five years: but he would not ſo libel the people of England, as to imagine it poſſible that they would not with the ſame conſtancy, which other nations have ſhewn in other times, ſupport a war not of fifteen but of fifty years, rather than ſubmit to diſgrace, ſervitude, and indeed utter annihilation as a people. There had lately prevailed a new mode of courting popularity, by ridiculing every notion of Engliſh fortitude, and preaching puſillanimoity. If that could ſucceed; if the people ſhould once think that a recommendation to their favour, it would not be in human wiſdom, and human power, he had almoſt ſaid it would not be even in Omniſcience and Omnipotence to ſave them; it could not be done without ſuſpending and for a time inverting the moral order of the world.

He did not like to talk of his own perſonal motives, but he truſted that he ſhould be excuſed if he ſhortly alluded to them, when every man who ſupported Government in this arduous conteſt

conteſt, was openly accuſed of being influenced by unworthy conſiderations. He held his intergrity as high as that of any man. He looked for no honours, and no emoluments of public life; he did not wiſh for eminence as a political character. He had never ſought the high diſtinction which he enjoyed, and which he knew how to value, of a ſeat in that Houſe. He even heſitated about accepting ſo momentous a charge, and diligently examined his heart before he entered thoſe doors. He had now ventured to deliver his ſentiments, becauſe being firmly perſuaded that our only ſafety lay in a vigorous proſecution of the war, he thought it incumbent upon him not to ſhrink from taking his part in the moſt unpleaſant duty of that Houſe; he, therefore, in the face of his country, declared his hearty approbation of the bill, as judging it from ſincere conviction, to be a neceſſary meaſure, and if not abſolutely neceſſary, yet expedient and wiſe, ſince it gave us the beſt chance of exiſtence, in a way which could alone make exiſtence not only honourable to a great nation, but even tolerable.

Sir *Francis Burdett* explained. He did not ſay that the Government of France was wiſe and œconomical. But that at the beginning of the revolution, the fear of ſuch a Government being eſtabliſhed in that country, was the original cauſe of the enmity entertained againſt the revolution by men who lived in corruption.

Dr. *Laurence* alſo ſaid a few words in explanation.

Mr. *Courtenay* ſaid, he could not approve of the coarſe invective with which the French Government and all their meaſures were treated by the learned Gentleman. Such language was more becoming the *poiſſardes* of Paris than the dignity of that Houſe; and he was ſorry to ſee it perſiſted in by thoſe on whom a great man (Mr. Burke) ſeemed to have thrown the mantle of Chriſtian proſecution, but who did not appear to have imparted to his diſciples one ſpark of his genius; nor was there more force in the learned Gentleman's arguments in favour of the bill, than there was liberality in his language. He confeſſed that it affected the rich, the poor, and the middle claſſes of ſociety, and by this confeſſion he muſt admit that all deſcriptions of perſons were unanimous in reprobating it. The learned Gentlemen ſeemed alſo ſeemed alſo deſirous to prepare tranſports and every neceſſary, again to march to Paris under the command of the noble Lord (Hawkeſbury), and to renew the triumphs of our Henries and our Edwards. His language was glowing and warlik.. His object was—

Ore clere viros, martemque accendere cantu.

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The bill now ſo highly approved of by the learned Gentleman, was however as vehemently oppoſed by the court of aldermen, who were uniformly in the habit of ſupporting the adminiſtration of the right honourable Gentleman (Mr. Pitt); but how to account for this oppoſition on their part, he was ſomewhat at a loſs, unleſs he muſt regard it as an unpremeditated effuſion of Engliſh integrity. The learned Gentleman alſo denies that we have ever acted tyranically at ſea, and aſſerts that no nation ever wielded the trident with more tenderneſs and moderation than England. He would only aſk him then, was this moderation and tenderneſs exemplified in our conduct towards Denmark and Sweden? And why two millions had been voted as an indemnity for the ſhips we had taken from thoſe powers. Was not this on our part a confeſſion of piracy? He ſaid, he would not follow the learned Gentlemen into the pompous account which he endeavoured to give of the flouriſhing ſtate of our commerce, nor into the proofs of our national proſperity which he derived from the increaſe of the national debt.—If the tax which he ſupported was right and juſt, why not let its merit ſtand on its own principle, and not ſupport it on French examples? If any thing in the meaſures of the right honourable Gentleman could terrify France, it was undoubtedly the power which he ſhewed to be poſſeſſed by the crown in levying a tax againſt the will of the Engliſh people, and by proving that the energy of the Engliſh Government was armed with the force of a Roberſpierre, and that it was in vain for them to war againſt the people of England, who were thus at the diſpoſal, and obedient to the nod of their rulers. In this, indeed, there was ſomething to alarm France. As to the tax, he thought its principle was neither juſt nor equitable. It would bear hard on all claſſes of the community, and it could not be raiſed unleſs it was to be enforced by military power.

Dr. *Laurence*, after explaining ſeveral parts of his ſpeech which he thought miſ-ſtated, begged permiſſion of the Houſe to explain one fact, which had been introduced by the honourable Gentleman. The caſes of ſhips, ſtopped with cargoes of corn and naval ſtores, for which indemnifications were afterwards given, always paſſed through Doctor's Commons, contrary to what the honourable Gentleman had ſuppoſed. Some part, though a very ſmall part of the money voted by Parliament for indemnifications, had in effect found its way to himſelf, in the ſhape of fees, as counſel for the Danes and Swedes; and though his clients might have complained of particular hardſhips in ſome caſes, yet he never knew that they generally

gave the name of piracy to a right which we had exercised in all the laſt three wars, as the prize acts would ſhew.

Mr. *Bryan Edwards* ſaid, he did not then intend to go at large into his objections againſt the bill. He roſe principally to obſerve that the will of the people was decidedly againſt the meaſure, and he could not ſee how Parliament could be ſuppoſed to repreſent the people while it diſobeyed their inſtructions. An honourable member (Mr. Roſe jun.) confeſſed that he had been inſtructed by his conſtituents to vote againſt the bill; but that he would not obey their inſtructions, becauſe the meeting held at Southampton for the purpoſe of taking the tendency of that bill into conſideration, was principally compoſed of perſons of a political complexion not favourable to his political ideas.

At this meeting Mr. B. Edwards ſaid, he had attended, and that if reſpect be ſuppoſed to ariſe from fortune, rank, and talents, that meeting was compoſed of the moſt reſpectable perſons in that town; and not only did they diſapprove of the bill, but they alſo moved a vote of thanks to thoſe Gentlemen who had oppoſed it in the Houſe of Commons. It was a meaſure, which, in their minds, created apprehenſion and diſmay; they conceived it to be deſtructive to property, and to every thing that tended to make trade and commerce proſper. That it would be attended with theſe miſchievous conſequences was univerſally felt, and therefore it was univerſally oppoſed. Neither could he refrain from condemning the invectives that were heaped on the frantic and intemperate language ſaid to be uſed by the French Government towards this country. He had in his pocket papers containing reflections and expreſſions no leſs virulent againſt France. They were uttered againſt that country before the murder of their king, by a Gentleman whoſe name and writings muſt live as long as the annals of England ſhall remain. What were the expreſſions of this diſtinguiſhed man (Mr. Burke) when ſpeaking of that country? —"If ever," ſays he, "we enter into that country, we muſt enter into it as into a country of aſſaſſins, with whom no modified hoſtility is to be waged, and where all that is not battle muſt be military execution." The ſame or ſtill more intemperate language was uſed by our Miniſter at Genoa in 1793. That city wiſhed to obſerve a ſtrict neutrality; but we would not permit it. In adopting this aſperity of language we are the more blameable, becauſe we began it, and the French are now only retaliating, or following our example. As to the meaſure under under conſideration, he muſt give it his moſt de-

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cided negative. Its principle was pregnant with miſchief, and could not be amended; and in his opinion would breed diſcontents that would ſhake the peace of the kingdom

Mr. *W. Smith* ſaid, he agreed ſo far with the ſentiments which had juſt been delivered by his honourable Friend, that he ſhould have little to offer. An Hon. Gentleman oppoſite had wiſhed a ſyſtem of vigour to take place, by which wiſh he ſeemed to inſinuate, that a ſyſtem of vigour had not yet taken place, but that it remained to be adopted. The Hon. Gentleman had recommended them to look their country in the face. In this opinion he perfectly concided, and that he might look his country in the face, he would give his negative to the queſtion. After a conviction of the Miniſter's incapacity to carry on the war, by the failure of his various ſyſtems of finance—by the general defeat of his deſign, and by the total diſtreſs and ruin which now threatened the country, how was it poſſible for any man to confide longer in his promiſes, or hope for more ſucceſs. Was there ever a perſon who, when he had ſeen another reduce his country to the moſt calamitous ſtate, and found him ſtill obſtinately perſiſting in the ſame ruinous meaſures to redeem it, would continue his confidence and ſupport? In order to prophecy of the future, he had recourſe to the experience of the paſt. In reviewing the navy, whether individual officers or commanders, he was happy to join the general voice of the people in acclamations of praiſe; but to the naval adminiſtration of the country that praiſe was denied; for Earl St. Vincent had derived his merit not from their aid and exertion, but from his own bravery in fighting a ſuperior fleet. If he conſidered the grand object of the war, whether the death of the King of France, the opening of the Scheldt, or the reſtoration of order and government were aſſigned, he could find only one ſingle actual object, which was the accumulation of empire to the Britiſh dominions. Would any man ſay, we had reduced the power of France? Would any man pretend to ſay, that any of our leading objects were obtained? Our allies had dropped off one after the other.

The Stadtholder remained under the protection of this country, and there was not one point in which we had been ſucceſsful. Had we not been the cauſe of contempt, diſgrace, and ruin to every State to whom we had officiouſly offered our protection, and could we then preſume to flatter ourſelves, that by a perſeverance in the ſame principles and conduct our condition would be better. It was true we had been ſucceſsful in the Eaſt Indies, but theſe ſucceſſes add-

larger ſhare of honour was due to our fleet for having been the conqueror in that engagement, eſpecially when it was recollected that they ſailed at a ſhort notice, after having been at ſea many months. But the honourable Gentleman had ſaid, granting all this, ſtill he would contend, that we had not in any degree been able to diminiſh the power of France. What! was not the defeat and capture of a great part of her navy, together with thoſe of her allies, a diminution of her power? Did not the capture of her colonies, with thoſe of her allies, diminiſh her power? And had not her power been diminiſhed by the ruin of her commerce? It was ridiculous to hear of ſuch perverſeneſs. If the whole of theſe misfortunes had been turned againſt us inſtead of the enemy, he ſhould be glad to know what the opinion of the honourable Gentleman would have been upon our ſituation. There was no doubt whatever, and he believed he ſhould be confirmed by the Houſe, that our naval adminiſtration had exerted themſelves very properly, and that all their exertions tended very materially to diminiſh the power of the French. In regard to the Weſt Indies, he certainly entertained ſome doubt whether the acquiſition were to every perſon ſo deſireable as might originally appear. But what would have been the ſituation of your colonies if they had not been captured? In this ſituation, expoſed as they were to perpetual attacks, he would aſk any perſon whether an offenſive was not the beſt ſyſtem of defenſive war which could be undertaken? He admitted that in the events of the continental war he had been greatly diſappointed; and in this diſappointment he had not the misfortune to ſtand alone. Was any blame however to be imputed to him or to the government for the failure of that war? Aſſuredly not. Government, and all who acted on the continent on our part in that war, had performed their duty honourably; but they were unſupported. The other members of the confederacy were either negligent or perverſe, and we ſhared in the general effects of their miſconduct. But though Great Britain may preſerve her colonies, although ſhe may be further able to preſerve herſelf, and though ſhe may continue to preſerve the empire of the ſea, did it alſo follow ſhe ſhould be able to preſerve the continent? He for one had been ſanguine formerly in the ſucceſs of a continental war. Why that ſucceſs was not obtained was not the queſtion now to be diſcuſſed. He had only one more reference to this part of the ſubject, and therefore to that part he ſhould immediately proceed. The honourable Gentleman had aſked whether there ever was a perſon who, after another had reduced his country to the moſt calamitous ſtate, and perſiſted in the

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ſame fatal meaſures to redeem it, would continue to repoſe his confidence and truſt? In reply to this, he ſhould only obſerve, that there were many occaſions where if ſuch a language had been uſed, it would have been fatal to the country. What would have been the reſult, if in the rebellion of 1745 when the enemy was actually in the kingdom, if he had adviſed miniſters to throw up their power into the hands of the Jacobites? By the firmneſs of the country, and by the firmneſs of parliament at that important criſis, the country was ſaved, and he had no doubt of ſimilar ſucceſs at preſent, if the ſame ſteadineſs and perſeverance were obſerved. He now came to the conſideration of another topic. It was generally aſſumed by thoſe who ſpoke againſt the bill, that a general diſcontent throughout the country ſtill prevailed againſt it. As no petition againſt taxes could according to the rules of the Houſe, be received during the firſt year of their impoſition, he had no certain mode of aſcertaining the truth of the aſſertion. But he doubted the fact. Thus far he was ready to allow indeed, that the great maſs of the people might complain of the additional burthen, for a popular tax was never heard of. It was impoſſible therefore, not to ſuppoſe, that ſome murmurs would be vented; but he could not believe, that, taking the country throughout, more objections would be found than to any other burthen. Nay, many places had approved it.

Mr. *Fox* ſaid, name them.

Lord *Hawkeſbury* heſitated.

Mr. *Fox* ſaid, there were Oxford and Newbury. (Here he was interrupted by a general cry of order.)

Mr. Sheridan and the *Chancellor of the Exchequer* roſe together. The latter ſaid, he wiſhed to ſpeak to order, which by the rules of the Houſe takes precedence. He ſaid, that as the hour was ſo late, and ſo many Gentlemen were ſtill deſirous to ſpeak to the queſtion, he ſubmitted to the Houſe whether it would not be more adviſeable to adjourn the debate to the next day. If they thought fit, however to bring it to a concluſion, he was ready to acquieſce. [*There was a pretty general cry of Adjourn! Adjourn!*]

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* then moved to adjorn till the next day.

Mr. *Sheridan* ſaid, that he had no objection, if it was the ſenſe of the Houſe to adjourn the queſtion, though he knew not from whence the number of ſpeakers were expected.

Mr. *Fox* ſaid, that he ſhould only detain the Houſe by a ſingle obſervation on what fell from the noble Lord (Hawkeſbury) who had juſt ſpoken. He had ſaid, that no very ſerious

or

or general objections had been ſhewn to the bill ſince the modifications had taken place. In anſwer to this, he muſt ſay explicitly, that as far as the ſenſe of the country had come to his knowledge, and particularly where it had been preſented to him by his own conſtituents, though particular deſcriptions of perſons were ſaved from the direct weight of the tax, yet they ſaw and felt that the meaſure was in its principle oppreſſive, unendurable, and ruinous

The queſtion of adjournment was then put and agreed to.—Adjourned at twelve o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

THURSDAY, *Jan.* 4.

THE Bill for recruiting from the Supplementary Militia was read a third time and paſſed.

ASSESSED TAXES BILL.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* moved the order of the day for reſuming the adjourned debate on the third reading of the Aſſeſſed Taxes Bill, which being agreed to,

Mr. *Adam* thought, that on a queſtion of ſuch importance to the country, every member ought to come forward and ſtate his opinion. He conſidered the Bill calculated to meet the exigency of the period, and believed that the modifications were capable of rendering it popular and efficient. Some Gentlemen had called it an additional tax upon luxury—it was no ſuch thing. It was a contribution upon thoſe who were beſt able to afford it in the country. Scarcely a perſon, whoſe income was leſs than 60l a-year, was called upon to advance any thing towards it: But the greateſt advantage attending the bill was, that it would convince the enemy that were ſafe in the very point in which they had thought us moſt vulnerable.—Of the juſtice and neceſſity of the war he never had any doubt. Nothing ſhort of the total overthrow of the conſtitution would ſatisfy the enemy. Impreſſed with theſe ſentiments, he ſhould certainly vote in ſupport of the bill.

General *Walpole* hoped that the adjournment would have been to a longer day. He was ſurpriſed at the ſupport which the preſent meaſure had received, as all Miniſters, from Machiavel to the right honourable the Chancellor of the Exchequer, had had their admirers ---Among the number of ſuch admirers, he muſt include the worthy Alderman (Luſhington), who had ſpoken the preceding night in commendation of adminiſtration, and

commendation reminded him of the ſtory of a Scotch Doctor, who, in the reign of George the Firſt, walked in the ſtreets, preceded by a black boy, calling out, "This is the moſt famous Doctor, who cures all chronical diſorders;" on which the doctor obſerved, "the boy is perfectly right." To the obſervation of the hon. and learned Gentleman (Dr. Laurence) who on the preceeding night had entered into the hiſtory of Rome and Carthage, he had only to add, that this country was in that ſituation in which Rome was deſcribed to be by Cicero, in his letters to Atticus, where he ſays, *Ferendum non probandum eſt.* We were now in the condition in which we muſt bear what we could not help.

Mr. *Hobhouſe* ſaid, having had the honour of ſtating his opinion of the meaſure already to the Houſe, did not mean to take up much time in the further diſcuſſion of it. The bill took away all option of diſcontinuing articles of luxury, and on the ſame principle 1-5th, 1-10th, or the whole of a man's property might be wreſted from him. It was a transfer of all property into the hands of the miniſter; and he thought himſelf doing but his duty in defending property, by oppoſing the preſent bill. It was perfectly in the ſpirit of the right honourable Gentleman's (Mr. Windham) celebrated propoſition, that the rights of private property were not more ſacred than thoſe of the emoluments of office. Following the ſteps of the French legiſlators, Miniſters had debauched the inviolability of private property and of credit: and they had done more miſchief in this country than the aſſignats of Robeſpierre produced in that, by depriving the bank note of its convertibility into caſh. Would Gentlemen conſider the ſituation of the country, they would perceive every where indications of rapid decay and ruin now bloſſoming where happineſs prevailed before. Many Gentleman of his acquaintance were about to give up their houſes; ſome had made an offer to perſons of lodging rent free if they would pay the Aſſeſſed Taxes. He had ſeen an advertiſement in ſome paper, by a Gentleman of Leiceſterſhire, offering the occupation of his houſe on theſe conditions. Thus would Gentlemen reſiding in the country be compelled to come to town, abandoning the poor, whom they once employed, to the operation of this rigorous, unequal aſſeſſment. After urging his former arguments, with a view to ſhew that the tax is unequal, and the criterion of income bad and capricious, he concluded with obſerving, that with the feelings he poſſeſſed he could not but ſpeak on the ſubject, but the guilt muſt be placed at the door of miniſters. He waſhed his hands entirely of the meaſure.

Mr. *Lefebvre* ſpoke in favour of the tax. He approved of the

clauſe for accepting voluntary contributions, but thought it did not afford ſufficient latitude; he would therefore in the courſe of the ſeſſion move for leave to bring in a bill relative to voluntary contributions. This meaſure was not without precedent. In the year 1745, and under Lord Chancellor Hardwicke, a ſimilar meaſure had been adopted, and to it the country was in a great degree indebted for the ſuppreſſion of that rebellion.

Sir *Alan Gardner* had no heſitation in declaring, and upon his conſcience he thought that he was correctly doing his duty towards his country at large, and that he was conſulting the intereſts of his conſtituents, in ſupporting the only meaſure which he had heard propoſed for providing the neceſſary ſum to anſwer the exigencies of the ſtate, in their oppoſition to our preſent moſt implacable enemy.

He did not think it neceſſary to trouble the Houſe with a repetition of the ſentiments he had on a former night delivered on this ſubject. He was equally convinced of the propriety of paſſing the bill into a law; it was required by our duty to our country in a criſis of danger, and ſhould receive his hearty ſupport.

Mr. *Percival* roſe, and began with remarking, that while hon. Gentlemen on the oppoſite ſide of the Houſe declaimed againſt certain parts of the bill, they had ſtudiouſly avoided to enter into the diſcuſſion of any of thoſe particulars that juſtified the meaſure. An honourable Gentleman (Mr. Hobhouſe) had ſaid that he would ſupport property; he conſidered himſelf alſo ſupporting the cauſe of property, and of every thing that could be preferred by our laws and the conſtitution. He was, he thought, ſupporting theſe in the ſupport he unfeignedly gave to the preſent ſcheme of taxation. An honourable and learned Friend of his had ſaid, that the bill if paſſed into a law, would go to alienate the affections of the ſubject from the Sovereign; he would aſk whether the arguments employed againſt it had not that tendency? It was vehemently contended by the ſame learned Gentleman, that the people were not at all unanimous in approving of the tax: in the ſame breath the abſence of unanimity was deplored; but if the honourable Gentleman was anxious for preſerving unanimity, and attaching the people to that Houſe, he would at leaſt have taken ſome notice of the beneficial meaſures adopted with a view to the ſafety and welfare of the people by the Parliament. An honourable Baronet whom he did not then ſee in his place, but whoſe abſence he in ſome reſpects regretted, had told the Houſe laſt night, that he took the opportunity of offering his opinion then, as it was the only opportunity he had had of doing ſo. For his part,

part, he could not conceive why the honourable Baronet chose not to attend his duty in that House; but had he attended to it, opportunities of offering his opinion would not have been wanting. In the speech he alluded to, the honourable Baronet professed not so much to dread the pressure on the country, as the application of so much money to the support of what? Of law and government. In that speech, he had called the present, a war against liberty; but it was not a war against liberty rightly so called; it was a war against the mad, and desolating liberty of France; undertaken equally with a view to prevent the importation of French principles into this country. Indifference to the honour and dignity of Englishmen as a people, and of the constitution, as the guarantee of their continued prosperity, was at all times unworthy of English bosoms. It ill became any man to embarrass discussions important as the present with declamatory accusations of Ministers; to interpret the motives of going to war, as arising out of profound hatred to the liberty of any people; to obstruct the supplies of the year by endeavours to irritate the people against the only practicable scheme of finance yet proposed, that is adequate to the crisis. This is done at a time when the enemy were assembling the army of England on their coasts, destined to invade us, and overwhelm and poison the nation with the formidable train of evils always engendered by a French invasion. The honourable Baronet having complained last night of misrepresentation, Mr. Percival said, he would have been happy to see him in his place, while he that evening made some remarks on the expressions, the alluded misapprehension of which gave rise then to explanation. What the words were as spoken originally by the honourable Baronet, he would not attempt to recollect, but certainly they afforded, in their explained state, more of admiration at the system of French politics, than solicitude for the tranquillity and independence of this country. The œconomy and political wisdom of the rulers of France were held up in contrast to the assumed prodigality and folly of our own Government, for the approbation of the English people. If the honourable Baronet proposed to himself any rational benefit from such a change of phrase, he could only say it was seeking in a difference of phrase effects that were inseparable from the original sentiment.

Mr. *Sturt* called Mr. *Percival* to order, observing, that he thought the hon. Member would be acting only candidly, did he withold general reflections until the hon. Baronet was present to whose speech he applied his comment.

Mr. *Percival* proceeded. Did he yield to the wish of the

terms of peace. This was the language the Directory had held. But if the road to negociation were open by a change of Miniſters, he would wiſh to know what were to be the terms of Peace? He would have the conditions fixed previouſly to any compromiſe; for from that ſympathy natural to men of nearly ſimilar ſentiments, and who aped particular habits, he could not help dreading that too extenſive a ſcale of conceſſion would be agreed to, if, on appointing the new negociator, we did not alſo limit the extent and nature of our ſacrifices. Already he had taken notice of the facility with which reform is on all occaſions connected by certain Gentlemen with peace. The right honourable Gentleman over againſt him had, on this ſubject, recently declared his ſentiments in that open, bold, and manly manner which always diſtinguiſhes him. He then told us, that nothing ſhort of total, radical and fundamental reform would ſatisfy him, or do for the country. Theſe were words of extenſive application, and liable to be miſunderſtood. They were ambiguous, and could not but be pernicious; yet he knew the right honourable Gentleman's adroitneſs at reply, and the eaſe with which he ſoftened harſh or frittered away ſtrong expreſſions, by toſſing them variouſly about in the courſe of an eloquent explanation. Phraſes vamped up for public uſe, or paradoxes decorated to pleaſe the populace, ſoon ſink into the frigid nothingneſs of words of courſe, if ever repeated within theſe walls. Probably the right honourable Gentleman, if he ſhould deign to notice any thing he could ſay, would tell us that by total reform he meant the reform of a part: that, though radical, it would only lop off a few branches, while the trunk remained undiſturbed; and might be fundamental without touching the foundation. It was not poſſible that while expreſſions thus ambiguous remained uncontradicted or undefined, but men of every party, and of all ſentiments and views, would entertain hopes of ſucceſs under the banners of a champion for ſo general a reform. If it was poſſible that the words could bear this interpretation, he owned that the quarter from whence they came alarmed him. It was the right honourable Gentleman who ſaid, on the queſtion of reſiſtance, that it was not merely a duty, but an act of prudence to reſiſt the Government: It was he who withdrew himſelf from public life on an hypotheſis, that attendance in that Houſe was not neceſſary, as it could not attach the country to the Legiſlature; from him we had, for the firſt time, heard that the acquittal of men who had conſpired againſt the Conſtitution, was founded in juſtice. Reverting to the ſubject of Peace, Mr. Percival contended, that as the ground of any arrangement

rangement between the enemy and the party in oppoſition to Miniſters, muſt be the enemy's pretenſions to indemnity, on the aſſumed principle of injuſtice and aggreſſion, no Peace could be had from a Negociator of that party, different from what had been already offered to his Majeſty's Miniſters. Gentlemen need not ſuppoſe that the expreſſions of friendſhip for the reformers of England, echoed from the Aſſemblies to the Directory, and from theſe to the armies, had their origin in a generous kindneſs, a benevolence of nature—no; they were uttered from a conviction that the reformers would be favourable to their ultimate object. In the minds of ſober men, the queſtion, however, was, whether we are to ſubmit to France; and yield to her every thing valuable in life without a ſtruggle. If we did not determine on ſubmiſſion, the diſcuſſion of this meaſure would be ſhort. Narrowing the ground of general argument, it would reſolve itſelf into two ſhort queſtions—1ſt. Is it proper to raiſe the ſupplies within the year?—and the 2d. Is the preſent the beſt ſcheme of Finance that can practically be acted upon to accompliſh that object? Of the propriety of acting upon the affirmative of the firſt, he had not heard even a doubt thrown out by the Gentlemen on the other ſide, who had taken part in the debate; and he inferred from the ſilence of the right honourable Gentleman (Mr. Fox) and his friend near him (Mr. Sheridan) that they were not averſe to the ſyſtem. [Theſe gentlemen here cried, "*No, No!*"] That the ſcheme of taxation was the beſt that could be adopted followed from the circumſtance of its being till the preceding night without a competitor. It has now a rival in the plan of the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Simeon.) He had many objections to this plan, but his learned friend would nevertheleſs cheriſh it with the fondneſs of a man attached to his own offspring. At this he ſhould be leſs ſurpriſed than at the choice of the honourable Gentleman (Mr. Martin) who adopted this child of a ſtranger, this phantom of the moment, and ſaid, "Now I have got a new plan, and I will entertain it, in preference to every other." Undoubtedly the preſent meaſure was bold, but it was alſo neceſſary; and the reſult of all the objections to it, was, that you muſt give no money at all, for the legiſlature could not aſſeſs one claſs, without neceſſarily affecting the other. An honourable Baronet had aſked whether they would prefer yielding to an enemy rather than this tax? The queſtion implied a doubt of the loyalty and firmneſs to the people, for whoſe ſake it was proper to aſk, whether the oppreſſion of their

their own poor, merchandizes ſeen within the graſp of licenſed robbers, the regulation of income on a ſcale adapted to the enormity of a forced loan, were things that could engage our poor, intereſt our merchants, and faſcinate our ſhop-keepers to the adoption of French maſters? He concluded with ſaying, that upon this queſtion, and in the diſcuſſion of this point, there could not be found two perſons who had entered candidly into the nature of the meaſure, that did not feel it to be the duty of Parliament to adopt it; its principle was juſt, and the object compatible with the beſt and deareſt intereſts of the country.

Sir *Francis Burdett* explained; he ſaid that it was deluding the people to ſay that the taxes would not ultimately fall on them.

Mr. *Percival* explained.

Sir *Francis Burdett*, in further explanation ſaid, he meant that he did not know in what ſituation the country could be, in which it could be worſe than at preſent.

Mr. *Martin* ſaid, that the learned Gentleman who ſpoke laſt had referred to ſomething that he did not ſay. He had ſaid that unleſs ſome meaſure leſs oppreſſive were propoſed, he would vote for the preſent; but that if one more rational were brought forward, he would vote for it. He ſhould attend till a reaſonable hour to hear the debate, and being no party man would liſten with attention to all, and endeavour to form the beſt opinion he could from the diſcuſſion of the reſpective plans. But he would neither waſte his health nor his time by ſitting till two or three o'clock in the morning, liſtening to ſpeeches of two or three hours length. It would be more agreeable to the country, and honourable Gentlemen would be better underſtood by the Houſe, if they compreſſed their ſpeeches into one quarter of the time. Whatever vote he gave on this meaſure, he hoped the Houſe would form their opinion of him from his general conduct, and not from any awkwardneſs of expreſſion.

Mr. *Sheridan* then roſe, and ſpoke in ſubſtance as follows: "The honourable Gentleman who has juſt ſat down has called for more explanations of what other Gentlemen have advanced, than I ever recollect to have heard in this Houſe. In candour I muſt conclude that the honourable Gentleman really wanted information upon the points which he affected not to underſtand; and that where he did miſunderſtand or miſtake the arguments of others, he did not mean to be guilty of wilful miſrepreſentation. The ſpeech of the honourable Gentleman

tleman, however, called upon ſo many members to explain the points upon which he has commented, that I have been under the neceſſity to give way to them. I now riſe, thus early in the debate, and I feel ſome ſatisfaction in reflecting, that the adjournment which has taken place gives me an opportunity of preſenting myſelf when the attention of the Houſe was awake, becauſe, had I proceeded laſt night, I might have found the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Martin) wearied and exhauſted, and diſpoſed perhaps to give me a hint to ſit down before I had finiſhed my argument. I have liſtened to the ſpeech of the honourable Gentleman, a ſpeech certainly of great talent, great ingenuity, and conſiderable vehemence. The ſentiments which it contains ſeemed to be ſo much in uniſon with the feelings of thoſe around him, that I flatter myſelf that the approbation with which it has been received may contribute to ſhorten the debate, and to ſuperſede the neceſſity of many long ſpeeches from that ſide of the Houſe. It was remarkable, however, that the honourable Gentleman, amidſt a variety of matter on which he deſcanted, cautiouſly abſtained from touching upon the real queſtion before the Houſe. Many of the topics which he brought forward, I am ready to admit were fairly introduced, and perfectly regular in parliamentary debate. While I admit the right of the hon Gentleman to argue the ſubject in his own way, it perhaps might have been better had he altogether abſtained from certain points: or, to uſe a phraſe which has become very faſhionable ſince the introduction of the preſent bill, had he *modified* his attack upon my right honourable Friend. The honourable Gentleman never attempted to ſhew that the right honourable Gentleman below him was the fitteſt perſon to adminiſter the affairs of this country, that he was the ableſt Miniſter for the conduct of war, and the moſt proper perſon to negociate with ſucceſs. The whole ſcope of his ſpeech was merely to ſhew that the right honourable Gentleman was placed in the avenue to bar my right honourable Friend, as if it neceſſarily followed, that he alone could be the ſucceſſor of the preſent Miniſter. Suppoſing, as he did, for the ſake of argument, that my right honourable Friend was qualified to negociate with a better proſpect of ſucceſs than the Chancellor of the Exchequer, he ſaid it would be incumbent upon the Houſe, as a preliminary ſtep, to treat with their Negociator. He thought that my right honourable Friend could not be inveſted with that character without danger to the country. What were the grounds upon which this aſſertion was founded? He accuſes my right hon. Friend of having conſidered men as innocent who were acquitted by the

verdict of a jury, and having argued upon this acquittal, that there was no proof of the conſpiracy of which they were accuſed. He accuſes him of having ſaid, on the diſcuſſions incident to the Treaſon and Seditious Bills, that reſiſtance would be a queſtion not of morality, but of prudence. Above all, he founded his apprehenſion upon words which he ſuppoſes to have been lately uſed by my right honourable Friend, that he would take no ſhare in any Adminiſtration without a total, fundamental and radical Reform. The hon. Gentleman has made a very pretty play upon theſe words. I cannot but ſuſpect, however, that the honourable Gentleman, who has been celebrated for epigram, has put theſe words into the mouth of my right honourable Friend, merely for the ſake of the point with which he has contraſted them. He finds out that the Reform ſo broadly ſtated will not be a total Reform, that the fundamental Reform will not touch the foundation, and that the radical Reform will be confined to the branches without deſcending to the root. This epigrammatic wit, however, is founded entirely upon the words which the honourable Gentleman has purpoſely added to the expreſſion to which he alludes. They were not uſed by my honourable Friend. The expreſſion he employed, and which has become more conſpicuous from its being made the ſubject of particular thanks in certain reſolutions lately advertiſed, was, that he would take no ſhare in any Adminiſtration, without a radical Reform in the Repreſentation and of the abuſes of the preſent ſyſtem. Such was the expreſſion of my honourable Friend, and the words which the honourable Gentleman has added into the bargain, were merely introduced to point a ſentence and to enliven his ſpeech.

The honourable Gentleman conſiders the conduct of thoſe whom he repreſents as unfit ſucceſſors to the preſent men in power, as calculated to encourage the Jacobins and to forward the views of the French. Theſe certainly are formidable evils, but the honourable Gentleman quickly diſcovers ſome ground of conſolation amidſt the dangers which he apprehends. He thinks that my honourable Friend would retract the declarations he has made, that he would renounce the principles he has avowed, and that in office he would not act upon the profeſſions he held before he came into power. On what part of the conduct of my right honourable Friend he founds this aſſertion, I am at a loſs to conjecture? What are the profeſſions made when out of office which in power he has belied? True it is that ſuch conduct is not unuſual with ſtateſmen. True it is that there have been men who have forfeited ſuch pledges; who

who have ſaid that there could be no ſalvation for this country without a radical Reform (for this beyond diſpute was the expreſſion of the right honourable Gentleman oppoſite) who have maintained that no honeſt man could undertake the adminiſtration of this country without that Reform, may like him abandon the word and principle they once held, and have reſiſted by all the power of corruption the cauſe which they laboured to promote. With the right hon. Gentleman, the type and image of apoſtacy before his eyes, it perhaps was natural that the honourable Gentleman ſhould conſider profeſſions as made only to be renounced. When he reflected that the preſent Miniſter had not only abandoned the principles he profeſſed, and violated the faith he pledged to the public, but had become the moſt zealous perſecutor of thoſe whom he had convinced by his arguments, and influenced by his example, there was no wonder that he ſhould diſtruſt profeſſions, and aſcribe but little ſincerity to the declarations of Stateſmen.

The honourable Gentleman apprehends that many dreadful conſequences would enſue were this radical reform to be carried into effect. What that radical change of ſyſtem is to be, the honourable Gentleman profeſſes to be ignorant. For my own part I can ſay, that no man can be more decidedly hoſtile than I am to any change of ſyſtem that could lead to a change of the ancient eſtabliſhed conſtitution of this government. But I will tell the honourable Gentleman what has been the conſequence of that change of ſyſtem which has been introduced into the conſtitution of this country. If any miniſter of brilliant talents, of ſplendid endowments, but actuated by principles of the moſt boundleſs and coloſſal ambition, raiſed up by influence, ſupported by corruption, ſhould ſet at nought the rules of Parliament, violate the act of Appropriation, raiſe money without the authority of this Houſe, and ſend it out of the country without the conſent of Parliament; if he has tranſgreſſed the conſtitution with impunity, if his criminality is ſuffered to paſs even without rebuke, this is nothing leſs than a radical change of ſyſtem. If by his folly and incapacity he has raiſed diſcontents; if by the burthens which he has impoſed to ſupport an impolitic and ruinous ſyſtem, he has alienated the minds of the people from his government; if to ſuppreſs the oppoſition which ſuch a ſtate of things muſt naturally produce, he has had recourſe to military force, and covered the country with barracks, in defiance of the conſtitution; ſuch practices

conſtitute a radical change of ſyſtem. If he has diſtinguiſhed his adminiſtration by ſeverity unknown to the laws of this country; if he has introduced new codes of treaſon and ſedition; if he has doomed men of talents to the horrors of tranſportation, the victims of harſh and rigorous ſentences; if he has laboured to vilify and to libel the conduct of juries, ſuch proceedings originate in a radical change of ſyſtem. If he has uſed the royal prerogative in the creation of peers, not to reward merit, but converted the peerage into the regular price of baſe and ſervile ſupport; if he has carried this abuſe ſo far, that were the indignant, inſulted ſpirit of this nation roufed at length to demand juſtice on the crime of which he has been guilty, he would be tried in a Houſe of Peers, where the majority of the judges were created by himſelf. I will tell the honourable Gentleman that ſuch a ſtate of things muſt have originated in a radical change of ſyſtem. Would it not be right then to pull down that fabric of corruption, to recal the government to its original principles, and to re-eſtabliſh the conſtitution upon its true baſis? Will any ſet of men deny the neceſſity of a radical change of ſyſtem, by which theſe evils ſhall be corrected but thoſe who already ſhare in its corruptions, or who at ſome future period expect to promote their perſonal intereſts by thoſe very abuſes which have exhauſted the ſtrength and endangered the ſafety of their country?

So much then for what the honourable Gentleman has ſaid upon this ſubject. It muſt now be clear that no peace can be obtained. It was not even ſuppoſed by the friends of Miniſters that they were ſincere in their attempts at peace till the laſt trial: then I am rather inclined to give them credit for ſincerity, though I can ſee that a right honourable Gentleman (Mr. Windham) trembles at the very idea of peace with the French republic. The honourable Gentleman, however, takes it for granted, that there can be no choice but between the Chancellor of the Exchequer and my right honourable friend; on a former occaſion, however, I ſtated, that any other ſet of men ſhould try to negociate peace with France, becauſe any ſet of men muſt negociate with a better proſpect of ſucceſs than the preſent Miniſters; it is not in nature that the French can conſider the right honourable Gentleman capable of maintaining the relations of peace and amity with their government. They know that the hoſtile mind exiſts, that peace is not ſought in the ſpirit of peace, that no real reconciliation is deſired. Any peace that could

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be concluded I could conſider as a falſe and hollow truce. It could not be a ground of ſecurity; it could not reſtore the bleſſings of peace. Upon the faith of it I could not conſent to the reduction of a ſingle man in the army or naval eſtabliſhment of this country. Jealouſies and ſuſpicions would poiſon all the advantages which a ſincere peace could beſtow. The French would feel that they furniſhed to the adminiſtration of this country the means of fomenting the diſſenſions in France, from which they cheriſh the hope of re-eſtabliſhing royalty; they would lay themſelves open to thoſe intrigues, and to that corruption which have hitherto been employed to overthrow their new inſtitutions. If the French Directory could encourage or agree to ſuch an inſidious truce and expoſe the government which they adminiſter to ſuch attacks as in this way it would ſuſtain, they would be guilty of treaſon to their country. But it is impoſſible they could riſk ſuch dangers. It is impoſſible that they could ſtake their exiſtence on the hollow and deceitful peace which the preſent Miniſter could offer.

The honourable Gentleman then cannot ſay that there is no alternative between thoſe who are in power, and thoſe he points out as their ſucceſſors. From different men and different meaſures, hopes of peace might be derived. But it is ſaid, that my right honourable friend, and thoſe who act with him, are co operating with the French; and what is the proof of this aſſertion? Why the French ſay ſo! This indeed is a curious mode of proving the fact. It would indeed be a hard rule if what the enemy ſay of what is done by any members of the Britiſh Parliament was to be the ſtandard by which they are to be judged. We are not to be tried by what we have ſaid, by the meaſures we have recommended, by the whole of our conduct, and by our own profeſſions, but by the opinion which the enemy may think proper to expreſs. But how then do we co-operate with the enemy? We are friends to reform; a phraſe which it ſeems is henceforth to be deemed ſynonimous with revolution. But how is this reform, from which ſuch dreadful conſequences are apprehended, to be introduced? Were my right honourable friend to ſupport it when in office, will not the right honourable Gentleman be ſtill ready to oppoſe it? The honourable Gentleman either thinks that my honourable friend, when Miniſter, will have in favour of reform that corruption, that influence, thoſe titles, thoſe jobs and contracts, by which it is now oppoſed; or he thinks that Parliament being diſſolved, that

views of perſonal intereſt and aggrandiſement they took the example from the conduct of this country. When they found the hypocritical pretences of religion, morality, and ſocial order belied by our eagerneſs to ſeize upon every iſland, to plunder every poſſeſſion which was expoſed to our power, they began to entertain ſimilar views, and to be actuated by the ſame motives. Thoſe who would ſucceed miniſters it is ſaid, however, are connected with Jacobins. Who are they who are connected with the Jacobins? Would it be the ſame thing to entruſt the adminiſtration of affairs in the hands of thoſe who oppoſe miniſters, as if the Whigs in 1745 had reſigned the ſtate into the hands of the Tories? The latter were avowedly deſirous to alter the ſucceſſion; but will Gentlemen ſeriouſly ſay that they believe that thoſe whom they repreſent as the only rivals of the preſent miniſters are leagued with any faction to alter the conſtitution of this country, in the ſame manner as the Jacobites in the year 1745 were hoſtile to the exiſting eſtabliſhment?

Availing myſelf of the latitude of reply which the general topics brought forward by thoſe who have ſpoken upon anything but the queſtion before the Houſe allow, I ſhall now proceed to make ſome remarks on the ſpeech of a learned Doctor who ſpoke laſt night. Having come to this Houſe ſeveral hours after the debate had begun, and finding that the gentlemen who ſpoke after I came in confined themſelves very little to the diſcuſſion of the preſent meaſure; I was obliged to take it for granted the particular queſtion before the Houſe had been very fully diſcuſſed in the ſpeeches which were made before my arrival. The learned Doctor to whom I have alluded perhaps may not remember that he ſpoke at all. A wiſe man, it is ſaid, doubts of every thing; and the learned Doctor ſeemed to carry his ſcepticiſm a great way, for at the commencement of his ſpeech he doubted whether he was ſpeaking. I remember the words with which he began were, "Sir, in riſing to addreſs myſelf to you on the preſent occaſion, *if I have riſen.*" If the learned Gentleman ſtill doubts whether he ſpoke at all, I can aſſure him that he made a very ingenious, a very elaborate, and certainly a long ſpeech upon a variety of topics, without ſpeaking at all to the bill before the Houſe; and if he doubts my authority, any other Gentleman may probably give him the ſame aſſurance. The learned Gentleman went into a wide view of Roman Hiſtory, and told us, upon the authority of Scipio, that we had little to dread from the threatened invaſion of the enemy, becauſe they muſt conquer us before we could conquer them.—What would the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London ſay, if the learned Gentleman were to tell them, when Bonaparte

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was encamped at Blackheath, that they need be under no apprehenſion, that, before he could advance to burn the city of London, Lord Hawkeſbury was marching to lay Paris in aſhes? I ſhould like to ſee the faces of the mercantile world, when they were informed on the authority of Scipio, that they could not be ſafe till the enemy were at the gates of the metropolis, and that they could not hope for a ſucceſsful termination of the conteſt till they had firſt been conquered! In the repreſentation of the conduct of Hanno, at Carthage, by whoſe exertions the ſupplies were refuſed to Hannibal, the learned Doctor did not do juſtice to Hanno: At the ſame time it is to be obſerved, that he ſaid not a word of the ſtriking difference between Hanno the Carthaginian, and the Hanno whom he inſinuated to be in the Britiſh ſenate. Hanno ſucceeded in keeping back the ſupplies. But has the Britiſh Hanno ever been able to prevail upon the ſenate to refuſe ſupplies? has he unnerved the vigour of our exertions; has he checked the career of ſucceſs; has he ſuſpended our victorious arms in the moment of triumph? On the contrary, has not the miniſter received ſupplies with unexampled profuſion; has he not been allowed to employ them as he thought proper; has he ever been rebuked for miſapplication; has his miſconduct ever been the ſubject even of enquiry? Hannibal too was a young man——*juvenem flagrantem cupidine regni.* The argument of Hanno was, "I hear of the victories of Hannibal, but I hear of no advantage which they produce to Carthage." Every victory is followed by freſh demands and new requiſitions. The continuance of the war muſt therefore prove ruinous to Carthage.—*Carthaginis mœnia quatit.* The affairs of the Carthiginians afterwards miſcarried. Hannibal afterwards laughed at his countrymen But what did he laugh at? He laughed at thoſe men who affected to be diſſatisfied with the terms of peace, without conſidering in whoſe hands they had left the conduct of the war. In ſimilar circumſtances any man might perhaps ſmile like Hannibal, to ſee the people of this country diſcontented with the terms of peace, when it was remembered that the war was proſecuted under the auſpices of the preſent miniſters.

I cannot refrain, however, from expreſſing my aſtoniſhment that a grave perſonage like the learned Gentleman, a member of the graveſt profeſſion which this Houſe contains, ſhould bring forward all his ſchool-boy politics to evince the propriety of invading France. The learned Gentleman, perhaps, thinks that it falls to his ſhare to ſupport in this Houſe the opinions of a man of much greater talents, of much higher endowments, the late Mr. Burke, whoſe name ought never to be mentioned

but with respect.—He thinks, perhaps, that he is the executor of that great man's principles; that he is called upon to administer to his fury without possessing a single spark of his fire. I regret that any gentleman should conceive himself the representative of the violent and extravagant declamations which so fatally were received in this House with so much approbation, and which have been attended with such lamentable consequences to this country and to Europe.

The frivolous school-boy topics, for such they are, upon which the learned Gentleman proposes to model our conduct, have indeed no similarity to the circumstances in which we are placed. When he desires us to imitate the conduct of the Romans, does he remember that the Romans were a people inured to war and to hardships? Does he mean to compare a commercial country like Great Britain with a warlike people like the Romans, or to point out similar rules of policy for the guidance of our conduct? Had Rome the debt by which this country is borne down? Had Rome the bulwark of a navy supported by commerce? Would sacking that capital have given a death to that credit, by which alone we can subsist as a nation? If the arguments of the learned Gentleman could even produce the effect which he desires, the event would not furnish a subject for the moralist and the historian, but the fate which would await the right hon. Gentleman, if he was seduced by such counsels, might be expressed in the language of the Poet—

——— I dement cutre per Alpes,
Ut pueris placeas et declamatio fias.

Posterity would brand his name in the same manner, furnishing in his destruction only the subject of panegyric to school-boy politicians, and a speech to a grave doctor learned in the law.

The learned Gentleman, amidst all his topics of arguments, said nothing as to the nature of the bill before the House. If after the deviations which the course of the debate has taken, I may venture to take that liberty without being called to order, I shall now say a few words to the question. It has been asked, do those who oppose this measure admit the principle, or can they produce any thing better? Certainly no person is bound to propose a measure of his own when he rises to oppose that of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, yet in such a crisis as the present it would be criminally to withhold any ideas which we can contribute, or any of the sentiments we entertain. I then say that the only mode by which any sum like that required can be raised, is by a loan, the interest of which is to be paid by taxes or voluntary contribution, with a sinking fund for the extinction of the debt. This is the true principle

ple by which money in this country can be raiſed. Suppoſe it is impoſſible to borrow; in ſuch a ſtate of things this country is ruined. If Government can borrow, the ſubject cannot give. I am very far from wiſhing to inculcate deſpair. If I really entertained ſuch a ſentiment, I ſhould wiſh to diſguiſe it even to myſelf. But we may yet borrow. How then are the funds to be raiſed to that ſtate at which it may be convenient to borrow? It muſt be done by abandoning the ſyſtem in which we have proceeded, by retrenchment in the public expence. If public ſpirit does exiſt, voluntary ſubſcriptions may afford ſome aid; but, of this, I confeſs, I am not very ſanguine. Above all, however, it is neceſſary to reſtore the bank to its former credit, to prevent any ſtipulation being made, to prevent it from paying its juſt debts; and to reſtore to the country the bleſſings of peace. As to the preſent meaſure it muſt end in a forced contribution of income by forced diſcloſure, a thing utterly irreconcileable to the ſpirit of a free and commercial country. If aſſeſſors were to be appointed arbitrarily to make aſſeſſments of the income of every individual, which, from the ſurveys already made by the collectors, of the income of individuals, ſeems to be the deſign of Miniſters, ſuch a mode of proceeding would be a better criterion than the aſſeſſed taxes. In my mind, no criterion at all, however good it may be thought, can render the principle tolerable. Thoſe who, from the criterion taken up by the Miniſter this year, have been caught, will be careful in future to avoid any external ſymptoms, by which, on a future occaſion they might be aſſeſſed. It will occaſion univerſal retrenchment, and conſequently injure the revenue by deſtroying conſumption. The effect of this ſyſtem of retrenchment will diminiſh the public revenue by at leaſt two millions. An arbitrary aſſeſſment would be better than that taken on any criterion, becauſe the former would make it indifferent to the perſon contributing whether he ſpent all his income or not; while the latter would induce him to avoid every appearance that could be made the future ſtandard of contribution. A coach-maker in Long-acre, would do wiſely, if he could, to give at once a hundred pounds, than a much ſmaller ſum which deprived him of his cuſtomers. In the ſame manner the watchmakers. Their employment was not taxed, becauſe that would ſeem to tax ingenious mechanics; but thoſe who wore watches were taxed, and many induſtrious men were reduced to the moſt deplorable wretchedneſs. The whole ſyſtem and principle of the meaſure appears to me utterly irreconcileable with every wiſe and juſt ſcheme of taxation.

What ſubſtitute then is to be taken? There are but three ways in which this ſum can be raiſed within the year, either by voluntary contribution, by encreaſing the exiſting taxes, or a forced loan; and of theſe three the preſent meaſure is the worſt. Might not the whole of the plan be poſtponed, except that which provides for voluntary contributions? And I am ſure, for one, I have no objection to read the bill in that caſe three times in one day, that we may try this experiment. With his bill hanging over, ſuch contributions could not be called voluntary, for no man could heſitate, in point of prudence, to pay the full amount of what he would be obliged to pay rather than be made to contribute on the valuation of income taken from any viſible ſymptoms. I am not very ſanguine of the ſucceſs of voluntary contribution, without ſome ſuch compulſion. From the higheſt to the loweſt of thoſe connected with the Government, there has been no diſpoſition to give up any thing; there has been no example to the people of this ſpirit of ſacrifice. It is not eaſy to encourage individuals in the habits of acquiſition, and the ſpirit of liberality towards the Government. If a Bengal nabobh, or a Chineſe mandarin, were to be informed that 400 millions had been lent to the Government by individuals; that a race was run by the competitors for the preference; that men contended about the ſubdiviſion of the portions, and to parcel out the parts among a crowd of friends, he would be ready to exclaim, O magnanimous, O invincible people! Were he again to be told that the views which actuated the lenders were ſelfiſh, that their profits were uſurious; that loyalty loan-holders had beſieged their houſe for indemnification of the loſs ſuſtained on a bargain, he would exclaim, O wretched, O undone people! It is by addreſſing the intereſt of this body of men, however, that the accommodation of the Government can be ſecured; and how is the credit of the country to be reſtored to that ſituation which will render it practicable?

No diſpoſition to contribute voluntarily has yet been diſplayed from the very higheſt to the loweſt ranks in the adminiſtration of the Government. While a teller of the Exchequer receives ten or twelve thouſand pound a year by the war, a near relation of that perſon contends that no peace ought to be made. But I am told that it is rude, uncourteous, vulgar, to ſuppoſe that ſuch a ſum could influence the ſentiments of any man. Rude, uncourteous, and vulgar as this is, the conſtitution is that rude, vulgar fellow, though the right honourable Gentleman will ſhout and ſcorn thoſe who ſuppoſe motives of this nature. The conſtitution is jealous of the effect of office, and

and even ſends a man back to his conſtituents who accepts a ſituation to which important duties are attached. I have no authority therefore in ſuppoſing that ſome bias may affect the mind where intereſt powerfully prompts a man to ſupport any ſyſtem of meaſures. I recollect, that at the end of the American war, when I was ſecretary to the treaſury, the noble Marquis, who is teller of the Exchequer, wrote a letter to the Commiſſioners of the treaſury, requeſting that the office might be placed in the reform, but ſaying at the ſame time, that his conſcience would burn to think that he was profiting by the calamities of the country. This offer, however, was declined. Now, however, when the public exigencies ſo ſtrongly demand ſome ſacrifice, I am perſuaded the noble Marquis will not only be ready to forego a part of the profits of his office, but will bring up all the arrears which burn upon his conſcience ſince the year 1783.

Laſt year I took occaſion to ſtate that twenty four millions would be neceſſary for the peace eſtabliſhment of the country, taking the average peace eſtabliſhment before the war at ſeventeen millions. Since that period ſeven and a half millions of permanent taxes have been added, and it will require another million and a half before the ſum already expended and due can be provided. Thus twenty ſix millions muſt be raiſed though peace were immediately to take place. When it is conſidered, however, what any new peace eſtabliſhment muſt be; when the ſyſtem which is purſued in this country is taken into view; when the manner in which Ireland is not governed, but ground down and oppreſſed; when the hollow and deceitful nature of any peace which the right hon. Gentleman is can make, recollected, no man can think that two millions more, making twenty eight millions, would be an extravagant computation as the amount of the permanent peace eſtabliſhment. This is a tremendous and awful conſideration, but if the country is to be ſaved, we muſt look our ſituation in the face, and make proviſion for the utmoſt extent of our difficulties.

While the bank continues in its preſent ſtate of dependence on the Miniſter, it is impoſſible to hope, however, the public credit can be reſtored, and the funds raiſed. Laſt year much was ſaid in the newſpapers about the connection between the right hon. Gentleman and the Bank. It was ſaid that the banns had been forbid. The conduct of the Chancellor of the Exchequer ſhewed that he cultivated the connection on account of the lady's dowry, not for the comfort of her ſociety. At firſt the affair ſeemed to preſent the appearance of a penitent ſeduction, but now it has degenerated into a conſented proſtitution. The country

country wished to forgive the indiscretion on the hopes of amendment. What has produced the infatuation it is not easy to conjecture, unless the right Honourable Gentleman has given the old Lady love powder. The heyday of the blood was over, but the rankness of passion has not subsided. In the first instance it might be more than a case of seduction, but from her subsequent conduct it became arrant prostitution. She might exclaim with Calista, in Rowe's Fair Penitent,

"I swear I cou'd not be the dear betrayer
"Kneel at my feet and sigh to be forgiven,
"But my relenting heart wou'd pardon all,
"And quite forget 'twas he that had undone me."

Nothing could more offend the decency and sense of a commercial people, than to observe the juggle between the Minister and the Bank. Upon the examination into the affairs of the Bank, the standing Committee of correspondence between the Bank and the Minister pronounce that there are sufficient means to pay all the private debts of the Bank—but the Minister interposes. The Bank is placed in the situation of a person who can pay and will not. Of all situations none can be more injurious to credit than this. When it is known that men are willing to pay, credit sketches a great way in favour of their ability; but when a person is understood to be able to pay, and will not, the confidence on which credit must be founded is overthrown.

The manner in which the last report of the Bank Committee is drawn up is likewise very curious. It is found there is enough of fund to pay the private creditors of the Bank; but no, says the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and claps his lock and key on their coffers. Without meaning any quibble on the name of the honourable Chairman of the Committee, the conduct of the right honourable Gentleman irresistibly reminds me of an old proverb. The report of the Committee is very favourable, but still the Bank must be kept under confinement. "*Brag* is a good dog," says the Chancellor of the Exchequer, "but *Hold-fast* is a better," and the Bank must be kept under the tutorage of the Minister till he finds it convenient for himself to set the Directors at liberty. The advances made by the Bank to Government occasioned the first stoppage, and now three millions are again to be advanced without any security whatever. If the Directors do not insist on some security for their repayment, they will be guilty of a gross breach of duty, and the most culpable

culpable neglect of the intereſt of their conſtituents. It ſeems that the Bank is to be the new Temple of Janus, ever ſhut in time of war. While war continues we muſt be contented to view the meagre paper profile; nor ſhall we be permitted to contemplate the golden buſt till the return of peace. The French Directory are thus to have the keys of the Bank, which cannot be opened till they grant permiſſion.

The right honourable Gentleman ſays, that the French aim their attacks againſt the credit of this country; and it is neceſſary to guard againſt their deſign. The expreſſion of the report is whimſical enough. It ſtates that the enemy deſign to attack us "by means of our credit." No, ſays the Chancellor of the Exchequer, I have taken care to take that weapon out of your hands; any other weapon, but this I certainly will not leave you to employ.

It is ſaid by ſome that the conduct of thoſe who oppoſe the Miniſter encourages the French; while, on the contrary, the whole ſyſtem of his Adminiſtration tends to encourage their deſigns. He has taught them to believe that he governs the lower claſſes only by coercion, and the upper ranks by corruption. More is done by the language held by ſome Gentlemen in this Houſe, that it is neceſſary to confine the ſoldiers in barracks to make them deaf, if the people cannot be made dumb, than by any conduct which can be imputed to the oppoſers of Miniſters. By ſhewing that the Miniſter can get no ſupport unpurchaſed, the enemy are led to think that there is no public ſpirit in the country, that nothing can be done but by jobs, and titles, and penſions. What can they think of thoſe who come forward under the pretence of public ſpirit, when they ſee that every man obtains his own private job as the reward of his Miniſterial devotion? They ſaw that diſgrace after diſgrace never diminiſhed his power, that every ſucceſſive attack on liberty was defended and ſupported by compliant majorities, that every new failure ſerved only to rivet the attachment of his ſervile adherents. When they ſee the nation endure theſe things, can they conceive it will be found to contain much public ſpirit to reſiſt a foreign enemy? Beyond queſtion great ſacrifices muſt be made whoever is Miniſter; and if the enemy perſevere in their deſigns, reſiſtance to invaſion muſt be encouraged at every hazard. We muſt give up the idea, however, of doing this and continuing in a ſtate of luxury. Should it be neceſſary we muſt ſhew that we are ready to

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ſtrip to the ſkin to maintain our independence and our liberties, in the ſame manner as they were compelled to ſtruggle for their freedom. It is mere cant and deluſion to talk any longer of giving up a part to preſerve the whole, that we muſt leave both our liberty and property unmortgaged to poſterity. If I am called upon to pay a ſhilling to preſerve the reſt, this is intelligible; but if I am called upon twenty times ſucceſſively for my ſhilling, it is ridiculous to tell me of giving a part for the preſervation of the whole. This will not do; and as a worthy Baronet (Sir W. Pulteney) ſaid on another occaſion, if it is ſo often repeated it comes to be no joke. This kind of paradoxical inſult cannot long be endured. It will not do to tell us that ſending millions of money to Germany for the defence of this country is true œconomy, that to lop off the moſt valuable of our liberties is to preſerve the conſtitution, that not to pay its lawful creditors is to ſupport the credit of the bank, and to introduce a univerſal diſcloſure of income is to protect property. This is the laſt ſtage of ſuch deluſion. The tricks have been too often repeated to elude the moſt inattentive obſervation. While the affairs of this country continue in the ſame hands, they cannot be adminiſtered wiſely or well. The country cannot have confidence in a ſyſtem always unſucceſsful, now hopeleſs; and the diſmiſſal of Miniſters muſt be the preliminary ſtep to any vigour of ſyſtem, or any proſpect of peace.

Mr. Secretary *Dundas* ſaid, it is impoſſible for me, Sir, conſiſtently with my duty, to ſit ſilent, after the variety of extraordinary and irrelevant matter which I have heard introduced into diſcuſſion by Gentlemen on both ſides of the Houſe laſt night, as well as to-night. Although much invective has been laviſhed upon the bill before the Houſe, and ſtill more on other meaſures of his Majeſty's preſent Miniſters, which have no ſort of connection with, or relation to, the ſubject under conſideration, and although the honourable Gentleman who has juſt ſat down has, according to his uſual cuſtom, indulged very much at large his talents in ſarcaſm and verbal aſperity, I cannot help drawing an augury in favour of the meaſure, from the manner in which that Gentleman has ſpoken, for, however, he may have been hurried along by the impetuous guſt of his genius into abuſe and acrimonious language, I cannot perſuade myſelf that a Gentleman of his diſtinguiſhed patriotiſm and zeal for the public good could indulge in mirth, while he predicted the ruin of the country; or that amidſt ſuch gaiety and pleaſantry of expreſſion he could entertain ſerious and ſincere apprehenſions of the ſevere diſtreſs which he pronounces

nounced to be inevitably the consequence of this bill. I confess, Sir, that I have to regret the difference of opinion that appears on the present occasion, and should certainly feel it more poignantly if I were not convinced that much of the disapprobation which the bill meets arises out of circumstances separate from itself at the same time. Sir, I am happy to find that the opposition of the night is not without concomitant matters of consolation, and that it has furnished me with the means of counteracting its effects.

I congratulate the House that I am enabled by it to compare topics which have been urged to night with others which were enforced with no less vehemence on former occasions, in direct contradiction to these; that I can remind those now of the times when the same Gentlemen who now press us to have recourse to the funding system only for raising the supplies of the year, insisted that our finances were totally ruined, that our resources were entirely exhausted, and that we should soon look in vain to the old system for a supply. This night, however, we are told by those Gentlemen what we always were, and at this very time are, convinced is true, that we have no reason to despair of raising the money we want in that particular way; and that the funding system is very far from being exhausted. Again, Sir, you may remember that with confidence it was insisted by the honourable Gentleman that the bank was ruined, that credit was utterly destroyed, and that circulation was at an end. I am glad to find that we are now assured by the same Gentleman, that circulation is not impaired—that the credit of the bank was not in danger—and that, so far from any apprehension of its being able to pay, it ought immediately to resume its wonted modes of payment in cash. Under those circumstances, Sir, the question comes before you with all the force it derives from its own internal strength. And, from the arguments of my honourable and learned Friend (Mr. Perceval) which had not been touched or argued upon by the hon. Gentleman but only referred to with some sport and pleasantry, as well as from the admirable speech with which we were favoured last night by the honourable and learned Gentleman in my eye (Dr. Laurence) a speech in which was strongly painted the situation into which the country was brought by the conduct of France, a conduct which, in all discussions in this House, was purposely kept out of sight by all those who opposed the war. Indeed, Sir, that honourable and learned Gentleman in that speech laid before the House such a detail, and in such a manner, as cannot readily be forgotten by any one who heard it, and must have made an impression that can-

not be worn away by the ſneers or pleaſantries of the honourable Gentleman. Sir, I have no heſitation to declare that, if ever there was a meaſure offered to this Houſe, that, far more than any other, deſerved approbation and applauſe, and called for the ſanction of Parliament, it is this; for if ever a meaſure was deviſed or could be thought of, to reſcue the country from its preſent diſtreſs and imminent danger, it is this. I aſk, Sir, is there any man who in his conſcience ſincerely believes the riches of this country are leſs now than they were at the beginning of the war? If he does, I deſire him to examine into facts, and correct his miſtake; let him look to our commerce, our manufactures, our revenues, to every circumſtance by which wealth is aſcertained or denoted, and he will ſee that in that period the riches of the country are abundantly increaſed.

Every thing to which a reference can be made for proof will be found to demonſtrate the truth of this aſſertion. The value of land is not diminiſhed, the progreſs of public works has not in the leaſt abated, commerce has conſiderably increaſed, our radical natural wealth is in full vigour, and the reſources of the country are whole and entire. And this brings me to the grounds on which I build my approbation of this bill. It will perhaps be aſked, if this is true, how comes it to paſs that the funds are depreciated, and that they do not go hand in hand with the proſperity of the country, and the increaſe of its wealth? But to this the anſwer is, that a large addition being neceſſarily made to the permanent capital of the country, the increaſed extent of commerce and manufactures requiring an increaſed capital, take from the public funds. If this be true, and I plight myſelf that it is, does it not become the wiſdom of Parliament to preſerve as far as it is poſſible the one, without detracting from the other of theſe objects, and to conſider of meaſures to furniſh the ſupplies neceſſary for the preſervation of the ſtate, without calling forth any means that would have a tendency to depreciate the funds. Much I know has been ſaid when it has ſuited the convenience of gentlemen's argument in favour of the plan of raiſing the ſupplies within the year, and on the other hand much is now ſaid in favour of the funding ſyſtem, becauſe it ſuits the argument of the preſent moment; for my own part I muſt ſay that I did always wiſh ſome method could have been adopted of raiſing a ſhare of the annual ſupplies within the year. At the ſame time I candidly own I always thought that without the aid of the funded ſyſtem this country could never have been

been raiſed to the extraordinary elevation at which it is arrived; and that they who firſt introduced it deſerved well of their country, and ought not to receive the ſtars which ſome, with more warmth than wiſdom, are diſpoſed to throw upon them. It is for this two-fold reaſon I approve this meaſure, becauſe it embraces both ſyſtems, and takes the benefit of each without laying an undue burthen upon either; for it raiſes a part on loan, and a part by direct contribution; the latter of which is to be continued till the former ſhall be liquidated, ſo as to provide for the extinction of the capital, and wholly exonerate poſterity from the burthens of the war. This will proclaim to the world, this will demonſtrate to all the nations of Europe, and particularly thoſe who were upon the watch to deſtroy this country, that Great Britain had ample unexhauſted reſources, and abundant means within herſelf to raiſe all neceſſary ſupplies, without any enlargement of our funded debts; and thus will this meaſure be found to lay juſt claims to all the panegyric which was ſo properly and univerſally beſtowed upon that for eſtabliſhing a ſinking fund. But, Sir, I will not ſtop here, this is not the only principle on which the bill deſerves praiſe: for if it be true, as has been frequently inſiſted upon, that it is good policy in finance to draw lines of diſtinction between the different claſſes and ranks of ſociety, this embraces that policy: for whatever pains may have been taken to miſrepreſent and vilify the plan, and my right honourable friend who has brought it forward, I do not heſitate to aſſert that the lower orders of ſociety have never been ſo feelingly and carefully attended to as in the financial adminiſtration of my right honourable friend, and in no meaſure of his more attentively than in the preſent.

But, Sir, it is in its effects as it reſpects the proſecution of the war, that I ſee its ſoundeſt policy and faireſt claims to your ſanction: it is admitted on all hands that the country ſtands in a criſis of unexampled danger, that great and unuſual exertions are neceſſary, and that nothing ought to be left undone to battle and fruſtrate the deſigns of the enemy. For my own part I declare it to be my belief, on the proſpect before us, that we ſhall have a very ſevere ſtruggle, but that that ſtruggle will not laſt long. But whether it ſhall laſt long, or ſpeedily come to a period, the reaſoning with regard to this meaſure remains unimpaired. If the enemy ſhould be frantic enough to put their threats in execution, and make an attack upon England, the ſtruggle cannot be

long, and there can be but one ſentiment and one feeling on the neceſſity and alacrity with which we ſhould reſiſt them: on ſuch an occaſion it would not be, whether we ſhould give more or leſs for preſervation, but whether we would not give all. On the other hand, if it ſhould turn out, as ſome are diſpoſed over-weeningly to believe, that the threats of attacking England are vapouring gaſconades, and mere idle menace, and that therefore the ſtruggle will be long and dilatory, this meaſure muſt appear to be in that caſe ſtill more neceſſary, as it would ſerve to ſhew the enemy that inſtead of hoping to ſucceed by the effects of protracted war upon our finances, they would have nothing favourable to expect from a nation which, inſtead of being obliged to have recourſe to credit for a ſupply, was able to provide for the exigencies of the war, by a draft on her annual incomes. Thus taken in either view, the meaſure appears to be indiſpenſably neceſſary. If an attempt ſhould be made by the enemy, it will enable us to make the ſtruggle ſhort and ſucceſsful; if not, it will be expedient at once for the ſupport of a protracted war, and as a warning to the enemy; and is therefore a moſt valuable meaſure.

But, Sir, to comprehend the benefits of the plan in all its parts and to its full extent, it will be neceſſary for us to caſt our eyes forward to the future, and to anticipate the advantages that will ultimately accrue from the manly endurance of a preſent inconvenience. If great ſacrifices are now made, and great temporary burthens are patiently endured; if the ſupplies are raiſed within the year, and at the ſame time the ſinking fund ſhall be kept up, and invariably applied to its original deſtined purpoſes, the conſequence will be that on the return of peace, the accumulated capital of the country will be great to a degree unexampled; the ſinking fund will acquire daily accumulation, and we ſhall find ourſelves in rapid return to that happy and glorious ſituation from which we have been driven by the aggreſſion of the enemy; that ſituation when Miniſters, inſtead of coming to Parliament to lay freſh burthens on the people, will come down, as his right honourable friend did before, to announce to the Houſe that he had it it in his power to take off an annual burthen from the country. But if under the influence of a perverſe and narrow policy, we ſhall act otherwiſe, the hour of peace will be attended with miſery, and all the bleſſings it ſhould bring will be fruſtrated by the enormous preſſure of an unwieldy debt.

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These, Sir, are the grounds on which I undertake to support the principle of this Bill; but some things have been said by different Gentlemen on the other side, on which I wish to make a few short remarks. In the earnestness of their zeal to depreciate the present measure, some of those Gentlemen have done that justice to my right honourable Friend which they formerly denied him, and have bestowed upon him that panegyric which their personal animosity and party rancour prevented them from affording him at the time it was due; for what have they said? In order to demonstrate the ruinous state of our finances at present, they bring into comparison and contrast with them those of 1792. I agree, Sir, that our finances in 1792 were such as might be brought in disadvantageous comparison with the finances of any preceding parts of our history. But who was it made them so? Even he against whom they would substantiate a charge, and enhance it by the comparison; my right honourable Friend. But let the honourable Gentleman do that justice, in compliance with the necessity of the case, that he is so unwilling to bestow from candour. Compare the finances of the country in 1792 and those in 1782; recollect who brought them from ruin in the latter, to the highest pitch of prosperity in the former? Remember that the right honourable Gentleman opposed me (Mr. Fox), in the years 1781, 1782, and 1783, frequently stated to the House that the situation of the country was more forlorn than it had ever been before. If the country was in that desperate state at that time, and was in so exalted a situation in 1792, remember that the change took place in the Administration, and was effected by the industry and wisdom of my right hon. Friend. During that period his labours improved the finances of the country, and raised them to a state of unexampled prosperity, yet the House has heard it said, not only this, but last night, that the man who had done all this had not one trait in his character of a good Minister of Finance. And here, Sir, an observation occurs which will serve to shew how far it would be safe or fair to depend upon the opinions, or at least on the professions, of those Gentlemen who oppose us. It is indeed impossible for me not to draw the most heartfelt consolation from the recollection of a circumstance which some now in the House must remember as well as I do, and of which those who were not present at the time ought to be informed. From the year 1782, when the finances were, as the right honourable Gentleman then stated, so very forlorn, to 1793, when they are now confessed to have been at the highest pitch of prosperity, not a day passed that my right honourable Friend

did

did not receive from the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Fox) ſome bitter inveſtive, ſome charge of incapacity and miſconduct, and ſome denunciation of future puniſhment for undoing the nation and deſtroying its finances. What then, I aſk, can the Houſe now ſuppoſe the Gentlemen on that ſide to mean by their ſarcaſms, charges, and denunciations of vengeance? What, but that which the right honourable Gentlemen then, and always meant—to thwart and fruſtrate the moſt ſalutary meaſures for their own purpoſes. Thoſe who have all along done juſtice to my honourable Friend, and regarded him in his true light, therefore, need not now be alarmed at the charges that he is deſtroying his country, that he has exhauſted her finances, and ruined her credit, ſince they know that the ſame expreſſions were at the time I have mentioned ſo frequently uſed, that one would think they might now be laid aſide as thread-bare.

Sir, among the other opponents of this meaſure I have to notice an honourable and learned Gentleman (Mr. Simeon) who ſits on this ſide, and who ſpoke upon the ſubject in ſuch a manner as entitles him to my reſpect. That Gentleman brought forward a project of his own—which, however deficient it may be in practice, did credit to his ſincerity, and ſhewed from the terms in which it was propoſed, that he was not actuated by antipathy to government, or by factious principles.—He propoſed that it ſhould ſuperſede this, and to that preciſe queſtion I wiſh to ſpeak a few words. Every man is fond of the child of his own begetting, and none more than the offſpring of the brain—it is therefore a natural and excuſeable partiality, for the honourable Gentleman to think more highly of that financial child of his than its qualities will juſtify—but it would be rather unreaſonable for him to expect that in compliment to his taſte a plan which had been prepared and matured under the immediate eye of the Houſe ſhould be diſplaced, in order to have his ſubſtituted in its room. I think therefore the honourable and learned Gentleman had better abandon his child for the preſent, or at leaſt put it to ſleep, till it becomes more vigorous, and able to walk by itſelf. It may perhaps have eſcaped him, that there is not a ſingle objection that has been laid to this particular meaſure, that does not really apply in a very great and extreme degree to his plan. Beſides there is one which has not nor cannot be ever ſuggeſted againſt this, which lies in the way of that, an inſuperable barrier;—part of his plan is a tax on the tranſfer of funded property—ſtrike out that part, and the amount of the tax would be extremely diminiſhed; and, yet I aſk, whether any man will ſay, that a plan to lay a tax upon the funded

property

property of this country would be adviſeable or admiſſible, and whether to all our difficulties this extraordinary one ſhould be added? I wiſh this to be conſidered, and the concluſion will be, that any fair man will not conſider ſo much what appears to his ſanguine mind to be ſpeculatively beſt; but what is moſt practicable. The honourable Gentleman has ſaid, that he communicated the plan to ſeveral of his friends, who gave it their approbation; but he ought to conſider that ſuch ſort of approbation as is proceeded in that way is rarely ſufficient evidence of the goodneſs of the object—that the ſilent acquieſcence of men in the predilections of the parent is no proof of the perfections of the child—that beſides being unwilling to give others pain, men are rarely diſpoſed to give themſelves trouble on a ſubject which to them may appear either unimportant or viſionary—that they on ſuch occaſions have generally ſomewhat to do, or ſomewhere to go; and above all, that what is meant either as civility, tenderneſs, or evaſion, may be ſwallowed by the parent as a proof of approbation. It will therefore be worth the honourable and learned Gentleman's while to reflect that, if his plan were brought forward, the very men who he thinks approved of it, may in all probability not give it their ſupport. But if, on mature reflection, the honourable Gentleman's plan ſhall appear to be better than this, and practicable, he can bring it forward hereafter, and move for the repeal of this law. If, on the contrary, it was now to be brought forward in excluſion of the preſent bill, and were found to be wrong, both would be loſt. Thus plan would ſucceed plan, and all vaniſh, till at laſt there would be no means of paying the army or navy. It is now ſix weeks ſince this meaſure has been brought forward, at which time my right honourable Friend ſtated the neceſſity of its being duly conſidered, and the probability of its undergoing great alterations; for experience has ſhewn, that no plan can, in the firſt modelling, be made ſo perfect as not to require amendment. It has ſince undergone a fiery trial, while the honourable Gentleman's is little known in its outline, and not at all in its detail, and ſhould therefore give way to it. Sir, the honourable Gentleman who laſt ſat down has ſaid that we ought to have recourſe to a loan, and ſtated many circumſtances that ſhould take place as auxiliary to obtain the loan; admitting, at the ſame time, that great exertions are neceſſary. One of theſe auxiliaries is retrenchment—that ſubject is already under the conſideration of a committee. Another is voluntary contributions, which he propoſes to open by a law at once. Does the honourable Gentleman expect from them the whole ſupply? If he does he is much more ſanguine than I am, though I do

believe

believe a very liberal aid will be given in that way---and unless the whole supply can be raised so, it will not be prudent to poſtpone the bill on that account. Peace too, the gentleman ſays is neceſſary to obtain a loan; but on the contrary it is certain that a loan is indiſpenſably neceſſary to the attainment of peace. As to the bank, Gentlemen ought to be ſilent, ſince every prediction of theirs upon that ſubject has been completely belied; and I will venture to aſſert, upon the beſt grounds of information, that no man, or body of men in the city of London would give a loan upon more reaſonable terms if the reſtriction was taken off the bank. On the contrary, they think that that reſtriction is the ſalvation of the country, and that the taking it off would be ruin. The honourable Gentleman (Mr. Sheridan) has indulged himſelf this night in much invective about the bank. It is rather inconſiſtent with his zeal in that cauſe, and indeed with his parliamentary duty, that the honourable Gentleman did not attend on the paſſing of the Bank Bill, when his arguments, which this night are irrelevant and nugatory, might have applied. I think his not doing ſo a proof that he was aware the public opinion was entirely againſt him.

Sir, I have now a few words to ſay on what fell from an honourable Baronet (Sir F. Burdet) whoſe ſpeech contained no ſmall portion of inflammatory matter. He has ſaid that all the ſupplies ought to be refuſed in order to puſh miniſters from their places. I hope, Sir, that when the honourable baronet propoſes another adminiſtration, he has one in view which will be acceptable to the people. If he means an adminiſtration formed of the right honourable Gentleman, beſides him and his friends, it may be worth his conſideration whether thoſe to whom he has alluded, as wiſhing for a new adminiſtration, are prepared to receive him as a miniſter who talked of a radical reform. And I beg leave to ſuggeſt to the right honourable Gentleman the propriety of explaining that expreſſion, which I aſſure him, has created great alarm, coming from ſuch authority.

Mr. *Dundas* then made ſome alluſion to the tranſaction ſtated in Lord Moira's letter, as a proof that thoſe who hoped to bring in Mr. Fox as miniſter could not hope to ſucceed. An honourable Gentleman (Mr. Sheridan) had dwelt on the circumſtance of the creation of Peers---one charge of ſending money out of the country---a ſuppoſed violation of the appropriation act---and on a projected parliamentary reform. But he would aſk why the honourable Gentleman and his friends had abſented themſelves from Parliament? He would aſk, where was a violation of the appropriation act to be complained of but in that Houſe?

House? Where was the charge of illegally ſending money out of the country, but in that House? Would he deny that the nomination to the Peerage was conſtitutionally veſted in the Crown? The honourable Gentleman ſhould have brought forward thoſe topics in parliament---they never experienced any reluctance in that House to diſcuſs them.

With reſpect to the charge againſt miniſters for the miſmanagement of the public money, he would obſerve that none of it had been miſapplied, as to the military operations of the country. So far as the Executive Government had the direction of theſe, there never was a period in which the Britiſh arms had been more ſucceſsful than the preſent. In anſwer to the charge of ſending forces to the Weſt Indies, he would firſt obſerve, that at the time the war began to be carried on there it was no ſecret, and not a word then was ſpoken againſt the meaſure;---on the contrary, objections were then made to ſo large a military force being ſent to the continent, on the ground that a ſufficient number of men could not be ſent to the Weſt Indies. In the next place he muſt contend that it was neceſſary to have ſuch a force there as would be ſufficient to carry on offenſive operations; on account of the new modes of attack adopted by the enemy, by which England muſt have loſt her poſſeſſions, if powerful efforts had not been made to attack thoſe of the enemy. After having ſaid ſo much, he would ſtate it as his opinion, that no meaſure was more calculated to meet the exigencies of the times than the bill before the houſe; and when it was conſidered what the country was contending for, he was ſure every gentleman muſt feel that there were no ſacrifices which ought not to be made, ſooner than ſuffer that degradation which an inveterate enemy would force them to ſubmit to. He ſaid he would then conclude, by quoting a paſſage from a pamphlet, written by a Mr. Harper, an American gentleman, on the occaſion of the differences which exiſted between the United States and France; a ſubject which was at preſent much agitated in America. Mr. Harper recommended to his countrymen to unite in taking ſtrong meaſures for their defence againſt France; to which power, if they intended to become formidable, they muſt make great ſacrifices; otherwiſe the greateſt ſacrifice of all would be that of their liberty and independence. A nation that would lay out her purſe againſt her right, could never fail of loſing both the one and the other.

Mr. *Tierney* ſaid,---Sir, before I animadvert on the pernicious tendency of this meaſure, I feel myſelf called upon to take ſome notice of the latter part of the right honourable Gentle-

man's ſpeech, in which he has uttered ſcarcely any thing but a long ſtring of unfounded, uncandid inſinuations. The words which have been attributed to my right honourable friend, and ſo often and ſo invidiouſly repeated this night, had, to my aſtoniſhment, got abroad into the mouhs of men; I am now no longer at a loſs to account for that circumſtance, for I can trace them home to his Majeſty's miniſters. As to the words themſelves, they were neither unconditional nor new, for I remember them to have been uſed by Lord Camelford in the year 1782; his Lordſhip then ſaid that a change of miniſters would be nothing without a change of ſyſtem—the expreſſion ſuggeſted itſelf as naturally to his lordſhip then as it does to me now. I ſhould be ſorry to take upon myſelf the office of explaining my right honourable Friend's meaning in thoſe words, ſince an opportunity now offers for himſelf to do ſo—but reverencing, admiring, and loving him as I do, I cannot refrain from ſaying what I mean by them. By *radical* reform I mean that reform out of which would grow a radical reform of abuſes —a reform in the repreſentation that would give every houſekeeper a vote, and make the members of this houſe real, as well as virtual repreſentatives of the people. If there were before any want of proof of the neceſſity of reform, the right honourable Chancellor of the Exchequer had in his miſconduct given ample proof of it. Sir, I ſay it is impoſſible there can be a decent repreſentation of the people while ſo many Peers are created. Sir, I know that the Peerage is proſtituted to the purpoſes of corrupting this houſe, and I can give an alarming inſtance of it:—A certain gentleman, for whom I have infinite reſpect and good will, being a man of a moſt amiable private character, but nevertheleſs without any pretenſions or claims from public ſervices to the ſtate, having never been in the navy or military, has obtained a ſeat in the Houſe of Peers, by laying out 70,cool. in purchaſing ſeats in parliament for men who were choſen by mock election, and ſent into the Houſe to vote for the Miniſter. If, Sir, it ſhall be attempted to deny this, I will prove it at the bar of this houſe; ſo that three members ſit in this Houſe by nomination of a Peer who obtained his peerage merely by that act of corruption. I aſk who can hope for any good while ſuch things are permitted to paſs, and the men who are guilty of ſuch acts are not brought to condign puniſhment?

Sir, I agree with the right honourable Gentleman that Bank-notes are circulated with uſual, or more than uſual currency; and I differ from my honourable friend, in his opinion that ſtopping the Bank would injure the raiſing a loan.

loan. There is certainly an increaſing currency in the Bank-notes; but does that reſt upon the ſolid foundation of the credit of the Bank? No ſuch thing. The perſon who takes a note thinks not of the reſponſibility of the Bank, but takes it merely becauſe he thinks another will take it from him. But let not the right honourable Gentleman rely upon that as a proof of ſubſtantial credit, for that credit is not to be relied on which lies at the mercy of a Jew-broker, who may deſtroy it by refuſing to take a note without diſcount. There was no truſt to be placed in the aſſociation, to whoſe efforts alone it was owing that the Bank-notes retained their currency: let only a ſlight panic ſeize the public, and then the conduct of the Bank will be found to have its due effect; the currency of the notes will immediately begin to fall, and at laſt to ſink to the ground, loſing its only ſupport, the credit which the aſſociation only at preſent produces. But, Sir, I diſlike this meaſure of ſtopping the Bank the more, becauſe I know it is intended to ſecure payment to thoſe who lately granted loans to Government; and ſtock-holders are not, in my opinion, entitled to any favour; for theirs is a ſpeculation in which they look for enormous profits, and therefore are not objects of relief in caſe of loſs. In fact, it is not more improper in Government to grant them a favour, than it would be in them to accept of it: in them it would be imprudent to aſk for more than a ſtrict performance of their original contract: the concerns of individuals is nothing to you, the dividend alone is your care. Sir, I need hardly remind you that the Miniſter put into his Majeſty's ſpeech an aſſertion, that our funds were flouriſhing, our commerce perfect, and our finances whole! Then why, I aſk, is there thought to be a neceſſity for this extraordinary meaſure, to raiſe, after all, only ſeven millions. In the laſt ſeſſion the right honourable Gentleman thought the funding ſyſtem ſo far from being exhauſted, that he afforded the Emperor a loan of three millions and a half. It is cruel then to argue the neceſſity of this meaſure now, when eight months ago the Miniſter could afford ſuch a loan to the Emperor. But if it was miſtake, and the right honourable Gentleman was ſo very wrong then, how can the Houſe put any credit in his ſpeculations for two years to come? If, on the contrary, the Chancellor of the Exchequer did foreſee this neceſſity, how will the right honourable Gentleman account for his having wantonly burthened the country with the loan to his Imperial Majeſty. Much has been ſaid about not burthening

poſterity, but if ever there was a war for which poſterity were intitled to pay, it is the preſent, ſince it has been undertaken profeſſedly for their defence; juſt as the ſtoppage of the Bank was reſtrained for the ſake of the ſtock-holder, who certainly deſerves no favour.

As to the plan of raiſing the ſum within the year, it is, abſtractedly ſpeaking, good, and I wiſh it had been purſued through the whole war; but however good it may be in the abſtract, we are not bound to adopt it as a practical meaſure when it is ſo oppreſſive on thoſe on whom it is to fall; for ſuch is the principle as well as the modifications, that it cannot fail to be found extremely injurious and unjuſt; it profeſſes to raiſe the ſum upon income, the criterion of this income is the aſſeſſed taxes, and no criterion can be leſs applicable, for it did not vary in proportion to the income of the perſons, ſince external appearance was often the ſame in perſons of extremely different fortunes. The right honourable Gentleman has formed a ſcale which riſes by fives up to two hundreds, and from thence all diſtinction is loſt, from two hundred up to the Marquis of Buckingham. The war is undertaken in defence of religion, morality, order, &c. but how comes it that 150l. pays a twentieth for his religion, and 200l. only a tenth, and the Royal Family nothing? Is it to be that the people ſhall be thus racked and torn for nothing. I have many other objections, Sir, to the meaſure. A minor, for inſtance, who has no eſtabliſhment, pays very unequally, and the penurious hoarder pays next to nothing; while the family of a man who dies ſhall be actually cruelly plundered. I alſo object to the proviſion in favour of phyſicians, which, like every other modification in the bill, is directly in the teeth of its principle.

The tendency of this meaſure would moreover go to break down the pride of certain deſcriptions of the community; the deſcriptions he alluded to was the middle claſs of landed Gentlemen, and by breaking down this honeſt pride, you give a mortal blow to the revenue of the country, by forcing this valuable claſs of men to adopt a ſyſtem of rigorous retrenchment; this he illuſtrated by ſhewing how it would operate on a gentleman of 2000l. per annum, who happened to be a magiſtrate, a caſe inſtanced by an honourable Gentleman (Mr. Wilberforce) and corroborated by two ſimilar inſtances, adduced by another gentleman (Mr. H. Browne); not only are theſe gentlemen compelled to give up that impoſing appearance ſo neceſſary to the dignity and ſanctity of their character as magiſtrates,

trates, but they are further obliged to leave their family ſeats, and to come to live in the towns. Can the country members behold ſuch oppreſſive injuſtice with unconcern, and countenance it by their votes? It was from gentlemen of this claſs that foreigners drew the character of the Engliſh nation, which they loved and revered, and from the ſame the nation derived its chief defence and ornament, in our ſailors, our ſoldiers, and in thoſe whoſe education, accompliſh the abilities which Nature had beſtowed. For this claſs the right hon. Gentleman could not be ſuppoſed to feel; he is unacquainted with pangs which wring the heart of a father of a family, when by this tax he ſhall ſee himſelf diſabled from giving a proper education to a darling ſon, and beſtowing a ſuitable portion upon a cheriſhed daughter? They may be told they might *ſwear off*, but at this the native pride and dignity of their mind will ſpurn and revolt. Mr. Tierney ſeriouſly warned the right honourable Gentleman to deſiſt from preſſing a meaſure ſo partially oppreſſive and unjuſt as the preſent; the ſum he wanted could eaſily be raiſed on a loan in the uſual manner, and to this he ought to reſort, eſpecially as the tax under conſideration could not, after the modifications it had received, produce more than five millions. He more particularly warned him againſt it, as a ſyſtem full of injuſtice and tyranny, and ſuch as he himſelf had attributed to another nation, which could not be attempted but in the plunges and ſtruggles of deſpotiſm in diſtreſs; it was ſtrongly and unanimouſly oppoſed by the people, and if in ſpite of this oppoſition, ſo unanimouſly expreſſed, the honourable Gentleman would perſiſt in forcing the meaſure through the Houſe, the Miniſter muſt take the conſequences of the great confuſion it muſt produce.

Mr. *Wilberforce* began with obſerving, that at ſo late an hour he was certainly unwilling to treſpaſs at any length on the indulgence of the Houſe, but that although the hon. Gentleman who ſpoke laſt had not made that perſonal appeal to him, he ſhould have felt unwillingly, ſtanding in ſuch a ſituation as he had the honour to fill, to depart without aſſigning in the face of that Houſe, and of his country, ſome few of the reaſons which would that night determine his vote. And he was not afraid to begin by declaring, in the face of all miſconſtruction, to which he well knew he ſhould expoſe himſelf by ſuch a declaration, that he had felt many and great doubts of the wiſdom and expediency of the preſent meaſure, and that, notwithſtanding the many modifications which it had received, many, and thoſe powerful objections yet remained againſt it. To the oath, he felt the ſtrongeſt repugnance on principles he had

had formerly ſtated, eſpecially as the breach of it was not to be attended with the uſual penalties of perjury. He could not approve of the proportions of the rates which were to be levied; he ſtill thought, as he had ſtated in the Committee, that the burthen would preſs too heavily on the middle claſſes, and not with ſufficient weight on the higheſt. He was aware however, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer conceived this would not be the caſe, and it was a ſatisfaction to his mind to reflect, ſince it was now become too late, conſiſtently with the forms of the Houſe to alter the bill, that it might ſtill be modified and corrected even in the preſent Seſſion, both in that inſtance and in others, by virtue of the clauſe which had been very wiſely introduced for that purpoſe, contrary to the uſual cuſtom of Parliament. Feeling the force of the above objections, and of others, to the meaſure of Finance now under diſcuſſion, he certainly had heſitated in making up his mind how he ought to act in the preſent inſtance; but on the whole, on the fulleſt conſideration, and the moſt mature judgment he could form, taking all circumſtances into conſideration, he was convinced he ought to give the meaſure his ſupport. To the *principle* of it he had, indeed, been uniformly friendly. He thought, that in the preſent circumſtances of the country, it was right to reſort to a more effectual expedient than the uſual one of funding; and it was even one of his objections to the plan now propoſed, that it did not go far enough, or ſufficiently meet the exigencies of the preſent times But then, no other meaſure had been propoſed as an alternative; for as to the expedient which had been ſuggeſted by his learned Friend near him, (Mr. Simeon) it was ſufficient to reply, that the meaſure, whether wiſe or not in itſelf, was not approved of by the Houſe; the queſtion, therefore, lay not between two different plans, each of them claiming the attention of the Houſe, but between that propoſed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the deſiſting from any meaſure whatever of extraordinary vigour. He muſt ſpeak out, and being reſponſible to the Houſe and the Public for his conduct, he muſt fairly declare, that great as was the importance of this meaſure in its own nature, it was now-become a matter of increaſed importance, on account of the principles on which it had been oppoſed, and the important intereſts which it involved. By the hon. Gentleman oppoſite to him, it was oppoſed diſtinctly on the ground of the preſent Adminiſtrations' having ſo far forfeited the confidence of the Houſe of Commons, that it was no longer right to truſt them with any farther ſupplies. If the preſent meaſure ſhould be rejected on ſuch principles, it would be impoſ-

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ſible for the preſent Adminiſtration to provide the means of carrying on with due energy the dangerous conteſt in which we were engaged. This, therefore, was the ground of his reply to the honourable Member, who had juſt preceded him. The honourable Gentleman had aſked, what would he and other Gentlemen ſay to their conſtituents, and what would be their language to him and to other country Members on the Bill now depending? He truſted, he ſaid, that in this inſtance, no leſs than in others, the ſentiments of his conſtituents would be found not materially to differ from his own. He knew their good ſenſe; he knew their public ſpirit. They would be well aware, that the ſtate of public affairs rendered it neceſſary to lay heavy burthens on the nation; and while, in common with himſelf, they would enforce to the utmoſt the peculiar duty at ſuch a time of œconomy in the public expenditure; thoſe burthens which were neceſſary they would declare themſelves ready to bear. They would perceive with him, that the queſtion was not merely an abſtract compariſon of two different plans of Finance, but whether or not, a great effort ſhould be made under the conduct of the preſent Adminiſtration, or whether they ſhould eventually throw the Adminiſtration of affairs into the hands of their opponents of whom they had been uſed to entertain diffidence and ill opinion. He was ſure, that thinking as they had done, of the conduct of oppoſition, what had paſſed lately had not tended to alter their opinions. And in particular their conduct in ſeceding from Parliament, under all the circumſtances which attended it, appeared he believed to them, as it certainly did to himſelf, one of the moſt criminal and miſchievous of their proceedings. It would be eaſy to prove that their ſeceſſion was directly ſubverſive of the firſt principles of repreſentative Government. But that which had always moſt forcibly ſtruck his mind, was the *time* and the *circumſtances* under which it took place. It was not merely that it was a period of war, when we were preſſed by a foreign enemy; it was not merely that it was in a ſtate of great financial diſtreſs, when the Bank had ceaſed to pay in caſh; it was not merely that a moſt dangerous mutiny was then raging in the fleet; all this would have been much, but that which above all the reſt, impreſſed his mind, was this; that when every attempt had been ſyſtematically making to alienate the affections of the people of England from the Conſtitution of their country, and to make them look any where rather than to the Houſe of Commons for redreſs of their political grievances, the Oppoſition ſhould lend their aid to theſe dangerous ſuggeſtions, by ſeeding the very night after the rejection of the

the motion for the reform of Parliament. What was this but as much as could be to declare, by their actions, that the Houſe of Commons was no longer a fit organ of the public voice; that it no longer ought to be regarded as the guardian of the public intereſt; in ſhort what was it but to throw a doubt upon its acts and virtually to deny its legiſlative competency. What an impreſſion muſt conduct like this be calculated to produce? The queſtion was one, which it did not lay with him to anſwer. He muſt remind the Houſe of the impreſſion which it had produced on other ſpectators, and that the French Directors themſelves had conceived from their language and their actions, that they were friendly to its cauſe. He begged Gentlemen would reflect, who it was that had ſtated this impreſſion to have been made upon them; not low and vulgar men, with ſmall opportunities of knowledge, or of caſual or ſuperficial attention to our political tranſactions; but the governors of a neighbouring country, men of diſcernment and intelligence, and likely, from a ſenſe of perſonal intereſt, to pay the cloſeſt attention to what paſſed among us. Surely this was an impreſſion which would not be effaced by the language which had been uſed in the preſent debate. One honourable Gentleman indeed (Mr. Sheridan) had treated the ſubject with his accuſtomed pleaſantry, and if he himſelf had come for the firſt time that night into the Houſe of Commons, doubtleſs, Mr. W. ſaid, he ſhould have been ready to exclaim, "Surely nothing can be more innocent, ſurely no miſchievous conſtruction can be drawn from any thing ſo pleaſant and facetious." To the uncommon powers of wit of the honourable member, he paid no unwilling teſtimony; nor at proper time and place was there any one who would be more entertained by it. But he knew from long experience that it was the habit of that honourable gentleman to clothe the moſt dangerous declarations with an air of pleaſantry and good humour: but the point of the epigram remained long after the joke with which it had been inveſted had paſſed away and been forgotten. Mr. W. animadverted alſo on the language of an honourable Baronet; language the more formidable, becauſe, not falling from him in the heat and impetuoſity of debate, but pronounced in the calmeſt and moſt collected tone of philoſophic compoſure. He particularly alluded to ſome ſtrong expreſſions concerning the Houſe of Commons, in which Mr. W. ſaid, he had remarked the Speaker to be moved by an inſtinctive impulſe, requiring the aid of his recollection to remind him that his language was not diſorderly, becauſe it had been held only of a late and not of an exiſting parliament. (Here Mr. W. was ſet right by being told that it was Mr. Jekyll, not

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Sir F. Burdett who had uſed the expreſſions alluded to, and he apologized to the latter Gentleman for having imputed them to him.) He muſt declare that language and conduct of this ſort had in his opinion a manifeſt tendency to realiſe the worſt horrors of the French revolution, which every Gentleman had profeſſed to deplore.

On the whole therefore the queſtion was this, whether the Houſe or the country ſhould or ſhould not ſubſcribe to the opinion, that the preſent adminiſtration had ſo far forfeited their confidence that no further ſupplies ſhould be committed to their management.—No man regretted more than himſelf that habit ſo generally prevalent on all ſides of the Houſe of deciding every queſtion with party views and on party principles. He thought it would not be difficult to prove, that to party ſpirit were to be aſcribed, in a great meaſure, the evils both which we ſuffered, and apprehended in future. But it would be weak and childiſh in any public man not to open his eyes to the real ſtate of the caſe before them; not to conſider the queſtion in all its circumſtances and in all its relations. Doing this it was, that he had declared the meaſure to have aſſumed even an encreaſed magnitude from the principles on which it had been oppoſed, and however he muſt confeſs it to be objectionable on various grounds, he felt himſelf bound on the whole not to reject it.

Mr. *Fox* ſaid.—Mr. Speaker, it gives me pain that I am obliged to riſe at ſo late an hour, and that I ſhall be under the neceſſity of treſpaſſing on the time of the Houſe for a conſiderable while, but from the very peculiar ſituation, in which I ſtand, it is unavoidable.—charges of the moſt direct and perſonal nature have been made againſt me, and I am ſorry I have not heard the whole of them. I underſtand that in my abſence, on former occaſions as well as during the debate of laſt night, charges and inſinuations have been thrown out; and a very conſiderable part of the debate this evening has been applied perſonally to me. The gentleman who ſpoke laſt (Mr. Wilberforce) has made a ſpeech which is a little ſingular in its turn at the commencement, when compared to what followed: he lamented the miſchiefs, was alarmed, it ſeems, to almoſt a fatal degree, at the probable effect of my introducing into almoſt every debate in which I happen to take a ſhare, party diſputes and perſonal animoſities. How far his ſpeech was calculated to prevent that miſchief, is, I preſume, a point that needs no argument. Indeed if that ſpeech could be diſpoſed of, as we do ſometimes with bills in this Houſe, that is, if the preamble of it could be poſtponed, it might, by going into a committee upon it, be proved to be one of the moſt extraordinary performances

that ever was exhibited in this Houſe. I return, it ſeems, to ſhew my animoſity againſt the Miniſter, not to ſhew my zeal for the public good. He thinks himſelf juſtifiable in arraigning me as it were upon a bill of indictment for neglect of duty, and being a candidate for office. He is pleaſed to cenſure, not members generally for their conduct, but particular individuals, whom he chuſes to ſuppoſe are candidates for office. Does he know that I am a candidate for office? Does he know who are candidates for office? We arraign the Miniſters, it ſeems, not becauſe their meaſures are bad, but becauſe we wiſh to ſupplant them. Is he ſure of that? He ought to be ſo before he makes the aſſertion. Is he ſure there is any temptation for it? He ought to be well acquainted with our conduct before he ventures to throw forth ſuch accuſations. But who is he, and who are his connections? Upon what grounds of juſtice or of modeſty does he aſſert that he has any knowledge of the motives or the ſecret wiſhes of thoſe into whoſe company he is never admitted, whoſe confidence he never poſſeſſed? Upon what authority does he make his accuſations? Upon what foundation does he reſt his unqualified aſſertions? He is connected with other individuals, and to ſerve them, as he ſuppoſes, rather than touch upon the contents of a bill which he cannot ſupport, he changes the ſubject of debate from the bill to that of the conduct of individuals, for the purpoſe of diverting the Houſe from the diſcuſſion of the meaſure which is now before them. He chuſes to ſay we are candidates for office; I do not know whether he is not a candidate. I am ſure he cannot know whether I am ſo or not. He ſeems to feel quite at his eaſe in deciding not merely on the characters of men, but alſo upon the degree of public confidence they poſſeſs. He dares take upon himſelf to ſay who has and who has not the confidence of the public; and that with as much eaſe as if he had certain means of knowing the fact. He aſſerts roundly, that the public have a bad opinion of us: who has commiſſioned him to ſay ſo? From what ſociety, from what company, of which he is a member, has the fact been communicated to him? Is it from his friends on the Treaſury bench? When he talks of me in the manner that he does, he ought to be ſure that he is borne out by ſomething that has the colour, at leaſt, of truth. I do not like, Sir, to talk of myſelf, but he has made it a duty which is unpleaſant to me, as I hope it is uncommon to all men. I am a member for a city, in all reſpects important; in ſome reſpects, and particularly

ticularly from the aſpect of this bill, the moſt important in this kingdom, becauſe the inhabitants of that city are to be more cruelly haraſſed by the enactments of it, than any other claſs of perſons upon whom it will operate. Does he mean to ſay that the opinion which he has been pleaſed to deliver concerning me, is the opinion of my conſtituents? — Will he try it by the beſt teſt, by the reſult of a general meeting of my conſtituents, convened after due notice, for the expreſs purpoſe of deliberating on the preſent meaſure? Will he take it from their parochial meetings? He preſumes to ſay there are members in this Houſe who are arrogant. Sir, I truſt it is not my general character to be remarkably arrogant, although I know he intended to direct that inſinuation towards me; but I will ſay now, ſince he drives me to it, that I am aware I am ſent into this Houſe with more of the affection of my conſtituents, than either he himſelf or any of thoſe who ſit around him; that there is not in this Houſe one man who has more of the affection of his conſtituents than the member who has now the honour of addreſſing you. I refer to thoſe who know me beſt, and who know me certainly much better than the honourable member can pretend to do, to vouch for me in this particular. They have done it in the moſt explicit manner; they are ready to do it again if that ſhould be thought neceſſary. "The people of this country have an ill opinion of me!" Where has he collected that fact? It has been quite otherwiſe expreſſed by thoſe who are at leaſt full as capable of judging of the matter as he is, for much of my labour has been employed in their ſervice. Has he found any thing any where which indicates that the public at large are diſpleaſed with my conduct? But he ſpeaks the language, or rather the common cant of the majority of this Houſe, the driſt of which, he will pardon me, I think I underſtand as well as he does. It is a cant which has no connexion with the ſentiments of the people. Some men in this Houſe ſay that Miniſters have the full confidence of the people: were I to follow the examples that are ſet before me, I might ſay, that the public have a very ill opinion of theſe ſame Miniſters. Sir, I never intended to be deficient in the duty I owe the Sovereign, but how many times more frequently within the laſt year than I ſhould have had occaſion to attend the levee, have I been called upon by different deſcriptions of his ſubjects to preſent to his Majeſty petitions for the removal of his preſent Miniſters, and that too from ſome of the moſt important diſtricts in his Majeſty's dominions?

nions? By theſe petitions not the general confidence, but the general diffidence of the people in the preſent Miniſters has been unequivocally expreſſed. Let thoſe who doubt this, if indeed there be any who doubt it, refer to the tranſactions of the laſt ſummer over ſo large a part of his Majeſty's dominions. I may be told, I know I may, "that petitions againſt Miniſters are nothing to this Houſe; that it will judge for itſelf, and it confides ſtill in the Miniſters." This is the faſhionable language of the day, nor could any thing elſe be expected after the repeal of the bill of rights; hence we ſee that petitions againſt any branch of executive authority are regarded as nothing; thoſe that are for any part of it, every thing. But if after the repeal of the bill of rights, for the ſubſtance of it is repealed, if after all the diſadvantages which the people labour under, they will nevertheleſs expreſs a general opinion againſt Miniſters: I aſk, is it not clear that ſuch is a ſincere opinion? If, under all the difficulties that are now thrown in the way of thoſe who meet to deliberate on any public affairs, men will meet, and declare their ſentiments to be hoſtile to thoſe who have ſo much power to injure them, what would they not do if left, as heretofore, to their own free will?

We have now, indeed, a form of government conſiſting of King, Lords, and a Commons' Houſe of Parliament; but not a government conſiſting of the King, Lords, and the Commons, repreſentatives of the people of Great Britain. It is a government in which the power of the people is nothing, and ſo it is indeed the faſhion now to admit, for we never hear now of an actual, all is a virtual repreſentation of the people; conſequently we find daily, that members of this Houſe ſpeak and vote in direct oppoſition to the inſtructions of their conſtituents, of which we had a ſtriking inſtance the other day in the conduct of a worthy Alderman of the city of London, who thought fit to declare, that in voting for the bill now before the Houſe, he was confident he was voting according to the deſire of his conſtituents. Who are his conſtituents? The livery of the city of London. What has been the conduct of that livery? In Common Hall aſſembled they voted an addreſs to his Majeſty, to diſmiſs his preſent Miniſters from his councils. That worthy Alderman has ſince continually ſupported theſe Miniſters in this Houſe. The Court of Common Council unanimouſly reſolve againſt the principle of this bill. The body of the livery in Common Hall declare the ſame ſentiments, and all the inhabitants of

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the different wards in the city concur unanimouſly in theſe ſentiments; they all inſtruct their repreſentatives in Parliament to oppoſe this bill; the worthy Alderman ſupports it; this is called the virtual repreſentation of the people! Such is the conduct, I perceive, of many of the members of this Houſe at the beginning of a Parliament; quite otherwiſe it is with moſt of them at the end of one. What was this but ſaying to the conſtituents that their member knew better than themſelves what their opinions were? What was this but following up the blow that had been already given to the right of petitioning? Not ſo the caſe with regard to petitions in the year 1784, when they came in aid of the power of the Crown. Whether the petitions that were then preſented were right or wrong, I am not now queſtioning, it is foreign to the ſubject; but it appears by the different receptions of them, and thoſe of the preſent time, that, in this Houſe petitions in favour of the power of the Crown are to be conſidered as every thing; thoſe in favour of the rights of the ſubject nothing. While the majority of this Houſe was againſt the proceedings of the King's Miniſters, it was nothing, and the petitions of the people againſt it every thing. When the majority of this Houſe is for the King's Miniſters, it is every thing, the petitions of the people againſt them, nothing. I proteſt I cannot account for this in any other way than that of ſuppoſing that there is a ſettled plan to exalt the prerogatives of the Crown, and to reduce the rights of the people to a cypher. Nay, is it not already done? What is the condition of the prerogative, or rather the influence of the Miniſter at this moment; and what is the power of the people? I proteſt I cannot account for the turn which this debate has taken, I cannot account for the violent invectives that have been urged againſt me, eſpecially this night, upon any other principle than that to which I have already alluded. Why ſhould the hon. Gentleman who ſpoke laſt (Mr. Wilberforce) be ſo violent againſt me, who have had the good fortune to agree with him in many ſubjects that were introduced into this Houſe by himſelf? How, but by ſuppoſing that he lends himſelf as an inſtrument to the Miniſter, to do any thing that he thinks will ſerve his inſtructor, and therefore he attempts now to divert the attention of the public from the ſubject of the preſent bill, to thoſe points which he chuſes to ſtate as my political defects. He imputes to me now an eagerneſs for office, with juſt as much juſtice as, in the year 1784, he lent himſelf as an inſtrument to the Miniſter to ſay, and

to

learned Gentleman, becauſe he adverted to my abſence from the Houſe, for he ſaid, "God knows whether I ſhall ſee that right honourable Gentleman again until the next ſeſſion." I think, therefore, he was bound, on his own principle, to take notice of my words (which it ſeems have alarmed him ſo much), immediately after they were ſpoken, for how did he know he ſhould ſee me again in this Houſe? he did not arraign the expreſſions when they were uttered, but now, at the end of three weeks, they recur to his memory with dreadful alarm! I am now coming to theſe formidable words which have created this great alarm; but as I have already been accuſed of being an egotiſt, I muſt beg pardon of the Houſe for recurring to any thing I ſaid of myſelf, and I wiſh the learned Gentleman had noticed them at the time, that I might have had an opportunity of explaining them if they were ambiguous, or correcting them if they were wrong. They were uttered, I remember, in anſwer to ſome inſinuation, "that I was a candidate for public employment," and, "was ambitious of public honours." I do not pretend to have a very good memory of the preciſe words of any man, eſpecially of my own, but I think the words I uſed were theſe:—"That a radical reform both of the repreſentation of the people in Parliament and of the abuſes that have crept into the practice of the Conſtitution of this country, together with a complete and fundamental change of ſyſtem of adminiſtration, muſt take place, and that until it did, I, for one, would take no ſhare in any Adminiſtration, or be reſponſible in any office in his Majeſty's Councils." I think theſe were my words; I am ſure they were the ſubſtance of what I ſaid. Was there any explanation neceſſary? I am not very dexterous at any thing, but ought to be ſo at explanations; and perhaps the learned Gentleman gives me credit for being ſo, becauſe he may think it impoſſible for a man who has been ſo often miſrepreſented as I have, not to have acquired ſome art in making his defence. I muſt confeſs it is an art in which I believe the honourable Gentleman oppoſite to me is my ſuperior, and that if I wiſhed to acquire perfection in that art, I ſhould, although the elder man, become the ſcholar of that right honourable Gentleman. Was there any thing ambiguous in theſe words, "a radical reform;" or, as the learned Gentleman pleaſed to call it, "a fundamental and total change of the ſyſtem upon which our affairs have been carried on?" By a change of ſyſtem I meant, ſimply and clearly to ſay,

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that the empire ſhould be governed by a ſyſtem of liberty, inſtead of a ſyſtem of reſtraint. Is the ſenſe obſcure, or are the words ambiguous? Whether my opinion is right or wrong, is quite another queſtion. I ſay, that to increaſe the power of the crown, and to abridge the liberties of the people, has been the ſyſtem of the preſent Adminiſtration. I ſay that it is a wrong ſyſtem. I ſay you ſhould diminiſh the power of the crown and increaſe the power of the people. I ſay you ſhould reſtore them to their juſt balance according to the true ſpirit of our Conſtitution. I ſay that it is eſſential to the happineſs of the King and the people. I take it for granted that the words I have uſed are now perfectly underſtood; and I thought, at the time I uſed them, that inſtead of being liable to reproach, they merited quite another fate. What did I mean by a change of ſyſtem? What! exactly what Lord Chatham meant when he ſaid the ſame thing—"not merely a removal of Miniſters, but a fundamental change of ſyſtem upon conviction of paſt error." I mean what Lord Camelford meant when he declared, and that at a time when we were threatened with an invaſion, I will not vote for a ſupply to be granted to his Majeſty now." What! was this an encouragement to the French to invade this country? No! no! He meant, and he expreſſed himſelf, that he would not vote for a ſupply until a pledge was given him, not merely that Miniſters ſhould be removed, but that there ſhould be a complete change of ſyſtem in foreign and domeſtic government. This ſpeech was much praiſed at the time, and has often been ſtated to be the ſpeech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. It was not ſo. It was the ſpeech of Mr. Thomas Pitt, afterwards Lord Camelford. I believe the preſent Chancellor of the Exchequer did not ſpeak in that debate, but we had the honour of his countenance, and I think the concurrence of his vote; I am ſure he did not think Mr. Thomas Pitt a dangerous man on account of that declaration, for one of the firſt acts of his adminiſtration was to promote Mr. Thomas Pitt to the dignity of a peerage, at a time when peerages were not made by dozens, but when a peerage was the reward of ſome worthy ſervice, or at leaſt beſtowed with delicacy, and was an honour to the man who had it. That was the language of Lord Camelford then. That was alſo my language then, and is my language now. If my opinion is wrong, that is another point, and a fit one for diſcuſſion. What danger is there in my ſaying of the preſent Miniſters what I ſaid of

former Miniſters? Was it imputed to Lord Camelford, that by reſiſting the ſupplies he voted for delivering up this country to the French, the Spaniards, or the Dutch, who who were then our enemies as they are now? Nobody ever imputed any ſuch thing to him. He ſaid by that vote, "I know it will be of ſervice to his Majeſty himſelf, as well as to his ſubjects, to call upon him to diſmiſs his preſent Miniſters." But, in truth, I am guilty of plagiariſm, and ſtill more guilty of repetition, by the aſſertion I have made concerning a radical reform. We are all guilty of it on this ſide of the Houſe, and ſo is the Chancellor of the Exchequer. As to myſelf, I have not only pleaded my guilt twenty different times, in twenty different ſpeeches, but I have actually recorded my guilt. I ſhould have ſuppoſed that what I have repeated ſo often in this Houſe, year after year, and which is to be found on the Journals of this Houſe, cannot be novel *now*. As long as I ſtated the neceſſity of reforming abuſes in general; while I ſaid there muſt be "a change of meaſures," a "radical change of ſyſtem," there was no alarm taken, but when I came to ſpecify a "Parliamentary Reform," then every thing I ſaid became dangerous and alarming, my words became *then* ambiguous and myſtical. Why ſhould that which I have ſo often inſiſted upon, be now ſo dangerous in the repetition? I had the honour of moving in this Houſe, in the month of May 1786, that which I will now read,

"On a review of ſo many inſtances of groſs and flagrant miſconduct, proceeding from the ſame pernicious principles, and directed with incorrigible obſtinacy to the ſame miſchievous ends, we deem ourſelves bound in duty to his Majeſty and to our conſtituents to declare *that we ſee no rational hope of redeeming the affairs of the kingdom, but by the adoption of a ſyſtem radically and fundamentally different from that which has produced our preſent calamities.*"

"Radically and fundamentally different;" am I not juſtified by the words of that Addreſs, at leaſt excuſed from any danger of novelty in what I ſaid concerning radical Reform. There ſurely muſt be ſome reaſon for all this alarm, for taking this up now as a novel and alarming doctrine; why, Sir, it is not difficult to find the cauſe of all this pretended apprehenſion of danger from my expreſſion. The Chancellor of the Exchequer finds his popularity is gone, that it is ſucceeded by public odium. He remembers what ſucceſs he had at the time of paſſing the Treaſon and Sedition Bills; in calling the public attention to my expreſſion inſtead of his own bills, he perverted my meaning, affixed to my words a dangerous tendency, and ob-

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rected the public mind from the ſubject, which he knew would not bear cloſe inſpection. I am not ſo deſtitute of plain common ſenſe, as not to be able to ſee the drift of his little artifice. The Miniſter is in a dilemma, his popularity is gone, public odium is coming on, his Bill is deteſted; he now endeavours to excite an alarm from my expreſſions, weakly and vainly imagining that by blackening me he can render himſelf tolerable. I ſpoke theſe words plainly, "that the Conſtitution ſhould be reſtored to its juſt balance, and the power of the people that which they enjoyed in a former part of his Majeſty's reign." The Chancellor of the Exchequer affected to ſhew ſome abſurdity in theſe words. What, ſaid he, "is all this to be done merely to keep things as they are?" To which I anſwered, "no; it is not to keep things as they are, but to reſtore them to what they were." I hope the honourable and learned Gentleman is now ſatisfied that I have explained myſelf ſufficiently, and that he will no longer ſtate my words as ambiguous, for they muſt now appear to him, as well as every body elſe, plain and intelligible. I ſee ſome ſtreſs is laid on the word *radical*; ſome may poſſibly ſuppoſe that I mean a Reform ſimilar to that which many have thought to be the beſt, that of *Univerſal Suffrage*. Now, having ſupported the ſcheme of my honourable Friend (Mr. Grey) in this Houſe, and having voted for it, I have by that conduct ſhewn I do not approve of the plan of Univerſal Suffrage, and have ſhewn the plan of which I do approve. The learned Gentleman was pleaſed to play upon the words, "radical and fundamental," and ſay that they meant to ſtrike at the root, to alter the foundation of our Conſtitution—No, to ſtrike at the root, to alter the foundation of abuſes; to deſtroy the monarchy, no, to ſupport it, by changing the ſyſtem that has brought this country to the brink of ruin. There are ſome Gentlemen oppoſite to me, who have not forgotten the whole of their former politics, and to whom this doctrine is not new. It is not freemaſonry, it may be divulged any where and to any perſon; it is to do what Mr. Burke, the Duke of Portland, Earl Spencer, and the right honourable Gentleman oppoſite to me, have declared eſſential to the intereſts of their country; they all declared they thought that abuſes produced the American war, and Mr. Burke publiſhed his ſentiments upon that ſubject, in a work called "Thoughts on the preſent Diſcontents." The whole of our politics at that time were directed, as mine are ſtill, againſt the root of theſe evils, and which it is the ambition of my life, and was once the ambition of the lives of others, to oppoſe. There are many Gentlemen on the other ſide, who

cannot think that the events of the year 1784, weaken theſe obſervations; they muſt know they ſtrengthen them, but they think that the Revolution in France has made it neceſſary to overlook the whole of this ſyſtem of abuſes. They fear what the Latins call *probabilis*; but they muſt know that there is ſuch a ſyſtem, and they muſt know that although they abandon their oppoſition to it I ſhall perſevere. Now, what have I done which all the Whigs of England have not conſtantly and uniformly declared to be abſolutely neceſſary for the ſafety of the ſtate? The only addition I have made, is that of calling for a Reform in Parliament, and although it is my opinion now, that it is impoſſible to correct abuſes without Parliamentary Reform, I confeſs I once thought otherwiſe, and that ſome abuſes might be corrected without it. I may be aſked, "why do you, who did not always think it abſolutely neceſſary that there ſhould be a Parliamentary Reform in order to correct abuſes, now hold forth, that is abſolutely impoſſible to correct abuſes without Parliamentary Reform?" To which I anſwer, "I have no difficulty in ſaying, that formerly I thought it only uſeful; that it was likely to do much good, and it was impoſſible it could produce any evil, I never thought the propriety of it doubtful; but there was a time when I did not think it a matter of abſolute neceſſity, that this country, though not ſo well, yet might ſtand without it; this was my opinion." The right hon. Gentleman oppoſite to me was of another opinion, for he ſaid in ſubſtance, (I do not pretend to quote words accurately) that "without a Parliamentary Reform, no good Adminiſtration could render any ſervice to the country, and without Parliamentary Reform the country could not be ſaved againſt a bad Adminiſtration." I heard that part of his ſpeech with pleaſure, although I did not go the full length of it in point of opinion. It was in part a compliment to myſelf; it conveyed an idea, that the then adminiſtration was, in his opinion a good one, and I had the honour to hold a ſhare in it; ſuch was the opinion of the Chancellor of the Exchequer at that time. He ſaid that without a Parliamentary reform there could be no ſecurity for the future, (mark the words,) "no ſecurity for the future." He looked forward, like our anceſtors, and called for ſecurity againſt probable evils. He ſaid that Parliamentary reform was the only ſecurity againſt a repetition of ſuch calamities as were brought upon us by the American war. I am convinced by experience, this Houſe and this country muſt be convinced by experience; the right honourable Gentleman's adminiſtration has convinced us all, that he was then right in his aſſertion, for we now feel a much greater evil than the Ame-

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rican war. But it may be ſaid, that this war is very different from any other war, and therefore it is not juſt to compare it to any other calamity. No two human events are exactly alike, but in their principle they are exactly the ſame, and they have produced ſimilar effects. The American war was commenced to cruſh the principles of riſing liberty; the calamities of that war, I am ſorry to ſay, more than the principle of it, rendered it unpopular; it brought Ireland in a ſtate of diſcontent, which could not be ſet at reſt, without either vigorous meaſures, or conciliation on the part of Government. What is the origin of this war? An attempt to ſtifle the genius of pretended liberty; to check, if you pleaſe, the progreſs of falſe and preſumptuous philoſophy. A war which was by artifice made popular for a while in this country, and moſt unfortunately for us all, popular in this Houſe. Here again the calamity and not the principle of the meaſure rendered it unpopular. The people became generally diſcontented. They wiſhed for peace. Miniſters oppoſed their deſires. They very generally and under great diſcouragements, petitioned the throne to change theſe Miniſters—They were not attended to. This has brought on the preſent moſt dreadful criſis. In the preſent war Ireland has now been goaded to diſtraction. Earl Fitzwilliam, with the moſt virtuous intentions, made to the Iriſh people promiſes which he thought he was impowered to fulfill. Theſe promiſes have been broken by Miniſters; the Iriſh people have been ſcourged by the iron hand of oppreſſion, and ſubjected to the horrors of military execution, and are now in a ſituation too dreadful for the mind to contemplate without diſmay or the heart to feel without horror. That country, inſtead of being part of the ſtrength, is part of the weakneſs of our empire, as well as its calamity. I cannot help thinking, therefore, that from theſe features of our ſituation the right honourable Gentleman's predictions are completely verified. "That without reform of Parliament there is no ſecurity to this country from being ruined by a bad adminiſtration."

An honourable Gentleman who ſpoke early in this debate thought fit to make an attack on what he called the *Seceſſion*. "This took place," ſays he, "in times of great difficulty and danger." There certainly is great difficulty and danger; but the queſtion is, whether my attendance in this Houſe can remove that difficulty or provide againſt that danger? But as there are many Gentlemen in this Houſe who are not partial to my authority in any thing, I will refer them to the authority of others. In the year 1777 the oppoſition, conſiſting of the Marquis of Rockingham—(whoſe name I can never men-

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tion but with emotions of eſteem and affection; whoſe worth, like that of moſt extraordinary men, was not ſo well valued in his life time as it has ſince his death, has demonſtrated the value of ſuch a man to his country)—Lord John Cavendiſh, Sir George Savile, and Mr. Burke—(I do not mention myſelf among them)—all thought that, (in the middle of the American war, and when great loans were to be raiſed, and when the country was in great difficulty) they could not do better than to ceaſe attending Parliament, when neither their virtues nor their talents could be uſeful; and after both had been exerted in vain. I ceaſed to think with them on the propriety of ſtaying away, and therefore came down to this Houſe before them; but I never blamed them for their conduct; nor is their conduct blamed now. So it ſeems that what was right and honourable in theſe perſons is factious in me. In my inſtance I am particularly unfortunate. I can pleaſe my adverſaries in no way. They ſay there is miſchief in my ſtaying away, and they accuſe me of producing miſchief by my ſpeeches. They are neither pleaſed with my preſence nor my abſence. "What are his motives for ſtaying away?" Upon my word, Sir, I will not flatter the honourable Gentlemen who ſpoke laſt by telling him that he is the cauſe either of my preſence or my abſence. But if I was obliged to attend much to him when I am preſent, he would be the cauſe of either my abſence or my preſence—perhaps he can gueſs which. I cannot ſtate any thing in this Houſe in favour of a Parliamentary reform without his telling me I afford encouragement to the French. Why then, Sir, if I paid that reſpect to his authority, which I dare ſay he thinks it deſerves, I ſhould ſtay away. "No, I muſt attend," but then I muſt either be ſilent or ſpeak as he pleaſes. I ſhall follow my own judgment while that is not diſagreeable to my conſtituents, and I will not ſo far flatter the honourable Gentleman as to ſay that I ſhould either ſave or pleaſe my conſtituents by following his directions. I apply this obſervation to ſeveral other members of this Houſe, and among the reſt to the honourable member for Lincoln. Is there not ſomething of ſelf at the bottom of all this ſeeming anxiety for my conduct? I know not whether it is from my depriving them of their opportunities, their glorious, and to ſome of them *golden opportunities*, of gratifying their vanity or their avarice. When I conſider theſe matters I do not ſee any great reaſon for wondering that ſo many Gentlemen ſhould be angry with me for my abſence, but to be plain with them, I am not very anxious about pleaſing them. The Gentleman who ſpoke laſt ſays that the people of this country in general are diſſatisfied with

my abſence." I ſhould wiſh to have a better authority than his before I arrive at that concluſion. The people I repreſent, who are without diſparagement fully as good judges of that as the honourable Gentleman, have told me otherwiſe, and I think I can rely on their veracity alſo as well as upon his. Another honourable Gentleman tells us, "that we are neglecting our duty while others are performing theirs." By duty, I preſume, he means "attending and dividing with the Miniſter." I made no general allegation that the members do not attend; the meaning of what I ſaid was, that when they are here they do not always perform their duty. The learned Gentleman, whoſe ſpeech imputed to us party violence, ſaid, "That the public look at us, and will judge of our conduct." I hope they do; and without vanity I wiſh they may. There is nothing that I have a greater deſire for than that the people of this country ſhould look at, and carefully examine, our conduct and the conduct of the Houſe of Commons. I wiſh them to judge, and to judge candidly, whether this is ſuch a Houſe of Commons, as, that in it, thoſe who think like me, can procure any advantage to the public by their attendance." But you ſtill keep your ſeat in Parliament," ſay they; why yes, I do, Sir, and I have no intention of applying to the right hon. Gentleman oppoſite to me for the Chiltern hundreds in order to vacate that ſeat---Why? Becauſe I do not think that ſuch a ſtep would be of any ſervice to the people of this country. Am I to deſpair that even *this* Houſe of Commons may change its ſentiments? Is that change impoſſible? I hope not: I believe not. Then why ſhould I reſign a ſituation, which, although now uſeleſs, may hereafter be uſeful to my country? "But you ſtay away becauſe you know you cannot obtain a Parliamentary Reform; you ſay that reform is abſolutely neceſſary, and therefore you do not mean to try for a Parliamentary Reform in this Houſe?" To which I anſwer, I know no other legal way, becauſe I know no other peaceable way of obtaining a Reform, and therefore I ſhall never try any other way. I confeſs I am not very ſanguine in my expectations of the Houſe of Commons, but I think it may, from circumſtances, commence meaſures which may lead to an entire and radical Reform. "But you do not expect to be able to perſuade the Houſe of Commons to commence this work,"---why no, not by my ſpeeches certainly, and yet I think they may be perſuaded---How? By the public. I hope ſuch an opinion will be ſo expreſſed as to induce this Houſe to ſee the wiſdom and neceſſity of the meaſure: and I am afraid it will never appear to this Houſe to be wiſe, before it appears to be abſolutely neceſſary.

ceſſary. I have done my duty in impreſſing this opinion upon the Houſe. But why ſhould I, by my attendance from day to day in this Houſe, give countenance to the idea that there is, in this Houſe, a free unbiaſſed opinion, and that it is not under the influence of the Crown, I am not of high authority, but that authority, ſuch as it is, I ſhould be ſorry to pledge to the doctrine that the branches of the Legiſlature are not under the controul of the Executive Power. I believe that thoſe, if there are any, who think that the legiſlative power is not under the controul and management of the Crown, know but little of the real condition of this, or the other Houſe of Parliament. I ſay ſo, becauſe I think ſo; then why ſhould I not abſent myſelf from ſuch a Parliament, as I think proper. But they ſay, "my conſtituents ſent me here; that I am not to follow my own inclination, but ſhould attend for their intereſts." I beg to appeal to my Conſtituents, and to none but them, for with their deſires I am ready to comply, my attendance this night in this Houſe is an inſtance of that compliance; but how ſtands this language with regard to Conſtituents? There are many counties large and populous, the electors of which may call upon their Repreſentatives to obey them, and they may do ſo; but with regard to this Houſe at large, I ſhould be glad to know how many Members there are whoſe Conſtituents have no influence whatever over them, becauſe between them there is not ſo much as the appearance of connection; and even where the caſe is otherwiſe, where the connection is ſuppoſed to be intimate, how many Members are there in this Houſe who have diſobeyed the expreſs directions of their Conſtituents? But you are ſpeaking on one ſide only; it is true the King has the prerogative of declaring war and proclaiming peace which may create ſome influence; but if a war be improperly declared, or peace improperly delayed, this Houſe has the power of withholding the Supplies." O! mighty well; I know it: but if the Miniſter can influence the majority and obtain their votes, what then becomes of your famous check upon the Executive Power? By the theory of your Conſtitution you are free, by its practice you have no freedom to oppoſe the Crown in any thing of this nature, and your Conſtitution is now ſhaken to the very foundation!

Nothing in which my name is included is to paſs unnoticed in this debate, and therefore the right honourable Secretary of State referred to a letter of a very curious kind, written by a noble Lord, for whom I have great perſonal reſpect, but I [illegible] leave to ſay, that I had no concern in, or knowledge of, [illegible] paſſed on the occaſion to which it refers more than the [illegible] honourable

honourable Secretary; nor had I any knowledge of, or concern in the publication of that letter. I know that an application was made to the noble Lord by ſome Members of this Houſe, requeſting him to call for a change of Adminiſtration. I know not who they were; I never was let into that ſecret. I never wiſhed to know who the parties were, but the publication of that curious letter has made known a fact of a very important nature to this country, viz." "That there are in this Houſe a great number of Members who conſtantly go on with the Miniſter, and give him their ſupport, although they diſapprove of his meaſures, and think him and his colleagues utterly unfit for their ſituations;" and who think, therefore, that there ought to be a change. But it is ſaid, "that if the Chancellor of the Exchequer were to go out of power, I ſhould expect to come into his ſituation, and that therefore what I may ſay upon the ſubject is not worth attending to." It is rather hard that I am to be thus ſilenced. Suppoſe I was completely diſintereſted, I know that to a man of the particular taſte of the Secretary of State, it is difficult to conceive a diſintereſted ſentiment. But, let him for a moment ſuppoſe me to be diſintereſted. How could I have acted otherwiſe than I did? Perhaps he thinks that, to be candid, I ſhould have ſaid, "My Lord, take care; I am going to ſupport you only for a while; you will not continue above a Seſſion or two; for then I will come into your place: you run into a danger." In reality I gave the noble Lord no advice upon the matter; if I had, it ſhould have been a diſintereſted piece of advice; if I had told him all I thought, I ſhould have ſaid, "Take care, my Lord; take care, that while you are forming a Miniſtry, you are not doing ſo without ſolid grounds; unleſs you have a proper pledge of a Reform, the good which you intend will come to nothing. Take care that you are not venturing into a country where a man of your frankneſs is not a match for the inſidious arts which will be practiſed againſt you. Take care you do not go into difficulties which will deſtroy you; that you are not invited only for the purpoſe of putting an end to the preſent war, in order that the ſyſtem which you ſtifle for a while may be re-eſtabliſhed" And, if I had been called upon to name this ſucceſſor of the noble Lord, I ſhould have no difficulty in pointing out the preſent Chancellor of the Exchequer as the man. I had no concern whatever in the matter. I ſhould wiſh certainly for a change of Adminiſtration that might be able to procure peace. My ſincere wiſh was, never to make any part of any Adminiſtration, and I never will, unleſs I have a pledge for a general reform of abuſes, which muſt be preceded by a

complete dereliction of thoſe aſſumptions of power that have been made ſince the right honourable Gentleman came into office; in ſhort, until we have a pledge that the Conſtitution ſhall be reſtored, at leaſt to the condition it was in when the Chancellor of the Exchequer came into power; and that there ſhall be an entire reform of abuſes. Until that ſhall be the deſire of the people at large, and the opinion of this Houſe, I will never form a part of any Adminiſtration. But I think it it is too much to ſay to me, "Why ſhould you ſtate your terms before your Sovereign has called for your ſervices?" I never ſtated my terms; I never offered my ſervices; and I have no deſire of an offer. But I have long ſaid, what I now ſay, that I will never accept of any employment but on the conditions that I have ſtated. But here again let me be properly underſtood; for although I wiſh for a reform of Parliament, I have no idea of obtaining it but by the organ and through the means of Parliament. The attempt to obtain it in any other way I never thought of. That I deteſt the preſent Adminiſtration—that is to ſay, the preſent ſyſtem, is moſt true; but if I deteſt them on account of one thing more than another, it is, that their meaſures have made me think it poſſible that changes may be made by illegal means, that is, without the intervention of Parliament. At one time I know that this was impoſſible: what a dreadful reflection to a feeling conſtitutional mind, to think of the change of ſentiment that has been effected! Some Gentlemen ſay "that with me every debate degenerates into party ſpirit; that I am ambitious, and that all my ſpeeches tend to throwing things into confuſion." Do they mean to ſay that I wiſh for violence and tumult? Do they think that I am deſirous of imitating Buonaparte, of carrying every thing before me by military valour; or, like Barras, to have troops ſitting in or ſurrounding this Houſe, and ſuppreſſing the men or party whom I dread by military violence? Do they think that any of us have ſuch wiſhes? Do they think that the inconveniences of my life (happily now leſs than formerly) are ſuch as make me wiſh for confuſion? That I aim at my time of life to ſeek a better fortune by the uſe of arms? I do not think that thoſe who know me will make any of theſe accuſations againſt me. Aye! aye! but then comes the order of the day, "*diſappointment and envy*;" what may not theſe paſſions goad me to? A learned Civilian, of whom I ſhall ſay the leſs becauſe I had formerly the means of knowing him intimately, chuſes to come forward and caricature me as an envious

envious and diſappointed man. The candour and generoſity of this attempt, coming from him, I ſhall leave to the world. The talents of thoſe artiſts for caricature I will not queſtion; but looking to themſelves and looking to me, they will, perhaps, find it difficult to exhibit my figure as the *emblem of envy*. Not that I defy their genius for miſrepreſentation, but I really think they might find among themſelves figures better adapted to the character. He diſcovers in me a reſemblance to Hanno, the Carthaginian. The alluſion naturally brings us back to the hiſtory of the period, and makes us think of Hannibal as well as Hanno. If I am Hanno, he muſt have had in his eye alſo the Hannibal of the preſent times. The learned Doctor did not ſay who the Hannibal was, although it was not difficult to find where he meant the alluſion to ſtrike; and certainly there were ſome points of reſemblance between the right honourable Gentleman and the character of Hannibal, which a Plutarch would deſcribe with energetic truth. We are told in hiſtory, if I remember rightly, that Hannibal was the ſon of Hamilcar, one of the greateſt generals and ſtateſmen in the world, and Hannibal was ſworn, at nine years of age, by his father, to be the eternal enemy of Rome. Whether the Chancellor of the Exchequer was ſworn at that age to be the eternal enemy of the French, I know not. There are ſome other circumſtances which we read in hiſtory concerning theſe two characters not unworthy of recollection at this moment: not only was Hanno an enemy to Hannibal, but alſo to the whole Barſine faction, who were ſuppoſed to have ſhared a great deal from the ſucceſſes of Hannibal in war. It was ſaid of him that in all his zeal for the public good he took particular care of his own family, and that Aſdrubal, and all his other relations in Spain and elſewhere, were enriched with the public ſpoil. The right honourable Gentleman may perhaps have ſome relations who certainly have not had their fortunes ruined by the war. I rather think there are ſome other points of reſemblance between Hannibal and the right honourable Gentleman, Hannibal having conducted the war againſt the Romans with great rage, and every degree of bitterneſs and cruelty; and after having ſworn, as I have ſaid, eternal enmity, thought himſelf a fit perſon to negociate a peace; and indeed, from the ſpeech which Livy makes him deliver, Hannibal was as eloquent a man as any that ever made a ſpeech. The figure that he made in the ſenate of Carthage upon that occa-

ſion was extraordinary. After all the declarations he had made, he felt the ſingularity of his ſituation, and he ſhortly expoſed it—"*Ego, Hannibal, peto pacem.* The Chancellor of the Exchequer has alſo conducted a war with as much bitterneſs and rage as that of Hannibal againſt the Romans. He alſo has ſaid it would be diſgraceful and ruinous to propoſe peace, but he alſo has thought himſelf a fit perſon to propoſe and negociate a peace; and, like Hannibal, he is a very eloquent man. But when we come to the other features of the character of Hannibal, I am afraid the reſemblance between him and the Chancellor of the Exchequer will fail. Hannibal was the moſt ſkilful and the moſt ſucceſsful conductor of a war the world ever ſaw. Is that the character of the Chancellor of the Exchequer? Hannibal had a conſtantly *diffident ſenate*, that counteracted his meaſures, thwarted his ſchemes, denied him what he aſked, and conſtantly allowed him but *ſcanty* ſupplies; and yet, with all theſe difficulties and impediments, he performed greater deeds in war than any other General, except Alexander. Is that the caſe with the Chancellor of the Exchequer? With a diffident ſenate, with ſcanty ſupplies, Hannibal contrived to keep up in Italy, for fifteen years together, a powerful confederacy againſt the Romans, although they were made up of ſtates jealous of each other, the intereſt of ſome of whom it was to attack Carthage, yet he kept them together in a confederacy againſt Rome for fifteen years. Is that the caſe of the Chancellor of the Exchequer? If, therefore, I am an envious man, let me be envious of the emoluments of the Chancellor of the Exchequer; do not ſay I am envious of his glory, for that would be a bad compliment to the character of my underſtanding.

It has been ſaid by the Secretary of State that we, unintentionally, pronounced a panegyric on the Chancellor of the Exchequer for his financial ſkill, by ſtating the year 1792 as a period of our proſperity: becauſe it muſt be well remembered that our condition in 1784 was very low in point of finance. I admit the great proſperity in the year 1792, as compared with that of 1784. I go farther, I applaud now, as I have often applauded, the Chancellor of the Exchequer's ſyſtem with regard to the Sinking Fund. But I cannot think it a very wonderful thing that this country ſhould flouriſh in its finance in the courſe of eight years peace. I ſhould certainly think otherwiſe if I agreed with the Secretary of State, who ſays, that the preſent low rate

of our funds is owing to the increaſe of our commerce. But why was I an approver of the conduct of the Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1792 in preference to that of 1784? Why! let him aſk his right honourable Friend (Mr. Windham) who ſits near him. The ſyſtem that was adopted in 1784 was entirely repugnant to the principles of our Conſtitution. Whether the calamities that have ſince befallen this country are the effect of the ſyſtem adopted in 1784, ſome perſons may think an important enquiry. I think otherwiſe; for by that ſyſtem the power of the crown was prodigiouſly increaſed, and much of that power, which till then had been in the hands of the people, was made to depend upon the caprice of that tribe of perſons who are conſtantly about a court, have none but court views, and may very properly be denominated a court faction. I now complain not of the guilt of this, but of the calamity. Has that ſyſtem, or has it not, produced that calamity? "But here we come to a diſtinction: in conſidering this war we muſt conſider ſeparately what we ourſelves have done, and what our allies have done. Our allies have deſerted us; we had no reaſon to ſuppoſe they would." Are we to conſider the character of a ſtateſman as not including in it ſome faculty of gueſſing at the views and intereſts, and conſequently the probable conduct of thoſe with whom he is to enter into alliance? The Chancellor of the Exchequer may ſay, "I engaged with the King of Pruſſia; I thought he would have been faithful, but he was faithleſs." Was he not warned of this? When he interfered in the affairs of Holland, he was deſired to look at the ſtate of Flanders; he deſpiſed our counſel: the reſult is before our eyes. "But this was a mere miſtake." Yes, it was certainly a miſtake; but it was a miſtake of which he was forewarned. How ſtands the caſe now with regard to Auſtria? I heard laſt night for the firſt time, in this Houſe (and I was almoſt confounded when I heard it; I had almoſt thought I had got into ſome other Houſe), Auſtria was called our "perfidious ally" by one of the friends of the Chancellor of the Exchequer! This naturally brings to my recollection the manner in which the Miniſter has often ſpoken of the Houſe of Auſtria.

To take the debate on the Auſtrian loan, for inſtance, as a ſample of the reſt: I conſidered the Auſtrian loan like a ſubſidy to Auſtria. I took the liberty of ſaying that we ſhould never have our money back; the Chancellor of the Exchequer fell into a rage at this: "What," ſaid he, "treat a

loan

loan like a *ſubſidy!*—a loan to a prince who is as punctual in pecuniary payments, as renowned for military glory!—our faithful ally!—it was baſe to deſert him!" How ſtands the fact? No re-payment was ever made upon this loan to his Imperial Majeſty; and in a few weeks the people of this country muſt pay out of their own pockets the intereſt of this money, which was advanced to the Emperor becauſe the Chancellor of the Exchequer was pleaſed to have a good opinion of the credit of the Bank of Vienna. "But human nature is liable to miſtake." So it is: but are thoſe who miſtake almoſt every thing, fit perſons to poſſeſs public confidence? "But do not look at the campaign with Auſtria; behold the brilliancy of our naval victories! Has our navy not acted as it ſhould do?" Certainly it has; and but for its exertions we ſhould not now be debating in this Houſe. But as an honourable friend of mine has obſerved already, what are we to think of that cauſe which even ſuch exertions cannot ſerve? Monteſquieu, who had a happy method of expreſſing his opinion, ſaid, that "he conceived God Almighty created the Turks and the Spaniards for no other purpoſe than to ſhew mankind what a great empire is, when inhabited by ſlaves." What would Monteſquieu ſay, if he lived among us? He would ſay, "That country muſt be in a deplorable ſtate, when it is governed by a Miniſter who cannot advance his cauſe one ſtep by the brilliant actions of a Howe, a Duncan, a St. Vincent! The man who cannot accompliſh his object by ſuch exploits, muſt have ſomething in view that is not attainable by any human power."

The Secretary of State has ſaid ſomething of an huſſaring expedition in America, by way of deriſion, I preſume. Have we had much profitable huſſaring in this war? I know the Engliſh have often acted with glory; and I hope they will continue to do ſo: but in compliment to the army that I reſpect, I had rather be ſilent than ſay any thing of the Engliſh campaigns in Flanders. But it was ſtated that we participated in the glory of our allies when they were ſucceſsful on the Continent; that to our ſupplies of counſel and of gold, were chiefly to be aſcribed the triumphs they had atchieved. Of this participation in the ſucceſs of our allies the Right honourable Gentleman boaſted in a memorable quotation:

> Quod Thebæ cecidêre, meum eſt: me credite Lesbon,
> Me Tenedon, Chryſenque, et Cylla Apollinis urbes,
> Et Syron cepiſſe: mea concuſſa putate
> Procubuiſſe ſolo Lyrneſſia mœnia dextra.

"The

"The people of England had a merit in this," he ſaid, from the loan they gave; there was not a peaſant in this country who did not participate in the joy for the victories of the Auſtrian arms, becauſe there was not a peaſant in this country whoſe labours did not contribute to produce the loan by which the Auſtrian arms were ſupplied.—Something of this kind was ſaid of the Pruſſian arms at one time---That ſcene is now ſhifted---now, even Auſtria is called a perfidious ally. What concluſion do I draw from this? Why, that a man who is compelled to change and to ſhift from point to point, as the Miniſter has done in the courſe of this war, either has no definite object in view, or that if he has, he never will arrive at it. How are the meaſures of the Miniſter defended? Can you ſay any thing for the Miniſter? "No; but others would be worſe." Why, truly that appears a little extravagant I think---"But would you not defend this meaſure rather than invite Buonaparte to come here? Which do you think the worſe of the two, this Bill, or the requiſition of Buonaparte?"---Why, truly I muſt confeſs this is an ingenious way of arguing; a curious queſtion to aſk of an Engliſhman; of the two, certainly a requiſition from our own governors is better than that of a foreign enemy, but what ſort of defence do you call that? What is this Bill? A requiſition; founded upon what---juſtice, or injuſtice? Upon injuſtice.

What is a requiſition founded upon injuſtice? A robbery---There is no criterion by which this plunder upon the people is to be made. Some have called it a tax upon expenditure, and ſome a tax upon income; it is neither the one nor the other. Indeed I have never heard any one of its advocates explain ſatisfactorily what it is. Quite ſure I am, that it is very difficult, if not impoſſible, to lay a tax upon income, without great injuſtice; and in this caſe, that injuſtice is of the moſt horrible kind. The caſe put by an honourable Friend of mine, is a very fit one, to ſhew the inequality of the meaſure. Suppoſe one perſon has 1000l. in the Short annuities, another 1000l. in the Long Annuities; the income will be the ſame to both, but the property is very unequal, conſequently the ability to pay is much greater in the one than in the other; ſo much as ſix to one, or thereabouts, and yet if this is to be regulated by income, the charge will be exactly the ſame on both. Income is a thing which cannot in its nature be aſcertained, and conſequently this meaſure muſt be defective in that particular, as well as in every other view in which it can be conſidered. Gentlemen have ſaid that "we ought to give up a part of our property, to preſerve the remainder." The juſtneſs of that propoſition I never attempted to deny, when taken

taken in its fair ſenſe; that is to ſay, when by giving a part the remainder is ſecured; but when a part is given to a meaſure that has in its very eſſence a tendency to render the remainder inſecure, there is an end of the juſtneſs of the propoſition. Such is the nature of the meaſure now before the Houſe. By aſſenting to this bill you will lay down a principle that the Miniſter may ſeize what part and what proportion he pleaſes of the property of the people of this country, upon the ſame pretext as he is pleaſed to make uſe of now, namely, that it is done for the public good.

I never, until laſt night, heard any thing like a ſpecific propoſition for taxing property in the funds. I have no doubt of the purity of the motives of the learned Gentleman (Mr. Simeon) who made that propoſition; but I cannot help expreſſing a hope that no direct tax of that kind will ever take place in this country. There is one way in which the funds may be made to feel the effects of taxation, and that is a fair way, for it is indirect in its effect. Such, indeed, is always the caſe when any addition is made to our funded debt; that addition muſt, in the nature of things, have ſome effect upon the value of that which was funded before. This effect, however, touches nothing but the marketable price of the capital; it has nothing to do with the dividends. That ſort of effect it is juſt it ſhould have; becauſe Government faith is only pledged for the punctual payment of the intereſt of your funded debt; the capital each individual muſt make what he can of in the market.

This bill is an unjuſt meaſure from the beginning to the end, but that which is the moſt glaring injuſtice is the clauſe which gives to the bill a retroſpective effect. That makes it what no bill ever ſhould be, viz. an *ex poſt facto* law. By this you tax a man next year, becauſe he kept a carriage laſt year. From the circumſtance of a man having kept a carriage laſt year, you preſume he will have a certain income the next, and therefore you tax him at a certain rate; nothing can be more inconcluſive, nor more unjuſt than this. Some gentlemen, indeed, admit that this bill is unjuſt, which they affect to lament, but they ſay that money muſt be had, and a great deal muſt be raiſed within the year, and therefore they will vote for this bill for want of knowing how to find out a better meaſure for the public ſervice. The member for Lincoln has ſaid, that although there is a great inequality in this bill, and conſequently much injuſtice, yet he muſt vote for it, ſince he knew of no better plan. When a meaſure

meaſure is propoſed to be agreed upon by this Houſe, to take from the people that which muſt in many caſes be taken unjuſtly, if taken at all, what ſhould that be called but a robbery, for it certainly is ſo? This bill is unjuſt in many caſes: it is acknowledged to be ſo. Are your public affairs in that ſtate in which it is indiſpenſably neceſſary that your legiſlature ſhould enact injuſtice? Why, Sir, this bill is ſo monſtrous, and the objections to it are ſo many, that the difficulty is, where to begin with them, or how to compreſs them into ſomething like a tolerable compaſs. I met a gentleman to-day, whoſe caſe is only one out of a thouſand others that are at hand, perhaps ſome of them harder, or will be ſo under this bill. That gentleman has, for ſome time, kept a four-wheeled little carriage, drawn by a ſingle horſe: he aſked me at what time it was neceſſary for him to prove he had diſcontinued the uſe of it, in order to be exempted from the duties of this bill upon that ſingle article? I told him I underſtood the day to be the 10th of October laſt. He ſaid he had laid it down before that time, and wiſhed to have ſold it, but could not meet with a purchaſer. I believe there are many members in this Houſe to whom that is no wonder. The gentleman then told me, that one day, after the 10th of October, having occaſion to go as far as Fulham, and it being a rainy day, he took his little carriage, there being a head or cover to it, and went in it, in preference to riding on horſeback, and to ſave the expence of a hackney coach. Thus by this one journey to Fulham in a rainy day, he has uſed this famous four-wheel-carriage, and muſt therefore pay for that ride 32l. a-year for an indefinite period. I ſay an indefinite period, for there is no time for the operation of this bill. it muſt be continued until a certain ſum of money be raiſed by it. Now I aſk, is this any thing like juſtice? I wiſh to know whether there was any thing adopted in France, that in point of principle is worſe than this? The extent of the injuſtice is another thing; the principle is the ſame whether the injury be large or ſmall: by the bye, this injury is not very contemptible in ſize. The next point that preſents itſelf to my mind, thus curſorily running over the bill, (for I do not profeſs to be minute, that would be endleſs:) the next point I ſay is the caſe of a perſon who is entitled to a ſmall fortune upon the death of his parent. It is a caſe of a moſt abominable oppreſſion, a hardſhip never heard of in this country until this bill made its appearance. Let us ſuppoſe the caſe of a ſon whoſe father had lived in a

profuſe way the year before his death, and whoſe expenditure was much beyond the proportion of his income. The ſon muſt pay for it, for the ſcale of aſſeſſment is not to be formed by what the eſtate of the ſon can afford, but by what the extravagance of the father has ſquandered. Thus a man is made to pay, not according to his ability, but according to his misfortune; not that misfortune which is brought on by his own fault either, but that misfortune which is brought upon him by the fault of another. Does this apply to the rich heir? No, he is protected by the proviſions of the bill; but it is thus the poor one is expoſed to the moſt inhuman cruelty. In reply to this it is ſaid that the relief afforded under the declaration of property, is an anſwer to all theſe objections. Are you aware of all the difficulties that will attend the declaration of income? I own that ſpeaking in the abſtract, I do not ſee why gentlemen of fortune ſhould have any difficulty in declaring what their incomes are; but I know they have that difficulty; they do poſſeſs that nicety. I know that many gentlemen in the country, who in the early part of their lives, in conſequence of ſome diſſipations had improvidently granted annuities, which they would profit highly by paying off, even although they mortgaged their eſtates for that purpoſe, but who nevertheleſs continue to pay ſuch annuities rather than mortgage their eſtates, becauſe that has a tendency to diſcloſe their real income. I am not defending that practice; I am not ſaying it is a wiſe one. I rather think it is a weakneſs, or perhaps a ſillineſs; but I am ſtating it as a fact, to ſhew the diſinclination men have to diſcloſe their circumſtances: and is it not cruel to attack their delicacy, or, if gentlemen like it better, their prejudices, in the way propoſed by this bill, and then to call ſuch a meaſure relief? Again, let us ſuppoſe two gentlemen, next door neighbours, each of the income of one thouſand a year, the one of them living in his own houſe, the other giving 200l. a year rent for the one he occupies; ſuppoſe the two houſes to be equally aſſeſſed, theſe two perſons will pay exactly the ſame ſum by this bill, although, in point of fact, the income of the one is a complete thouſand a year, and the other only eight hundred, for this bill does not allow the rent to be deducted out of the income. Do you call that juſtice? I will put another caſe: it is my own, and in my favour by this bill, but unjuſtly in my favour. I rented a houſe in London for a while; I afterwards bought it. I borrowed the money to pay for it, for which money I now

pay

pay the yearly intereſt of 100l. that 100l. a year which I pay as intereſt for borrowed money, may be deducted out of my income, under the proviſion of this bill, whereas had I continued to pay the ſame ſum in rent, and not purchaſed the houſe, I ſhould not have been entitled to make the deduction. Do you ſee any juſtice in that caſe? The truth of the matter is, that this bill is filled with moſt monſtrous inequalities, and the moſt groſs injuſtice in every branch of it. It reminds me of what is ſtated by Doctor Adam Smith, in his celebrated book on the Wealth of Nations: That author complains of the inequality with which ſmall taxes fall on different claſſes of the community. What would he ſay if he were living, and ſhould look at the inequalities of this bill? But the truth of the matter is, that the authors of this meaſure have already ſhewn a contempt for the liberty of the ſubject, and they very conſiſtently follow up their plan with a contempt for their property. But it ſeems "the ſtate requires great ſupplies:" I grant it. But let me aſk if the neceſſity is ſuch as to require great injuſtice? By this bill there will be caſes in which one man will pay triple the ſum which another pays, and yet both their incomes will be the ſame. In defending this bill you are forced to go to France for argument. You ſay, "I want money; money I muſt have, I care not how." This bill will fall with great weight upon the poor; and will fall unequally even upon them. It will fall with tremendous weight upon the middle claſs, but it will fall unequally upon the middle claſs, ſome of which it muſt inevitably cruſh. It will fall with conſiderable weight upon the rich; ſo that there is not one claſs in the whole ſociety upon which this bill will fall with juſtice. It has but one ſpecies of equality, and upon that perhaps you may defend it, the equality of its injuſtice, for to all it is certainly unjuſt.

Some Gentlemen in this Houſe have affected a great deal of contempt for the opinion of ſhopkeepers, as to the effect which this bill will have upon Gentlemen. "What can a ſhopkeeper know of a gentleman?" Why yes, he can, and muſt know a good deal of many gentlemen, before he can be a ſucceſsful ſhopkeeper. I aſk every Gentleman in this Houſe, whether, at a particular ſeaſon of the year, he does not allot a certain part of his income for the payment of his tradeſmen? When this bill comes to be carried into effect, may not many Gentlemen ſay to a tradeſman, and ſay truly, nay, muſt not many ſay, "I have been compelled to give away my money

to pay the new aſſeſſment, you muſt wait until I have another opportunity of paying you." Perhaps ſome Gentlemen may ſay as a learned Gentleman has decently ſaid, imitating the language of Harry the VIIIth, upon a well known occaſion, "You are brutes, and do not know theſe things." Tradeſmen are no ſuch brutes as not to know, that if a Gentleman has no money he cannot pay his bills. They know it already, many Gentlemen have given them pretty clear information upon that ſubject. But we may be told, that if a Gentleman does not pay his tradeſmen the law is open; that the law is equal to all: true, the law is equal to all; but that law cannot be enforced without expence, and is it equally convenient to all to defray the expence, which is a preliminary to the enforcement of that law; But it ſeems "we who oppoſe this bill have ſhifted our ground; at one time we complained that this bill would affect, in a direct manner, all perſons in trade, but ſince the modifications of the bill, that argument is done away." To which I anſwer, Look at the Reſolutions of the different meetings that have been held all over the Metropolis. They all ſtate that no modifications can render this bill free from objection, by which they clearly ſhew that they object to the principle of the bill.

Some Gentlemen have had the firmneſs to ſay, "that this bill is now a popular bill." But the noble Lord (Lord Hawkeſbury) laſt night very fairly excepted the Metropolis, by which he meant certainly the whole town and the out-pariſhes. I will, for a moment, be extravagant enough to ſuppoſe, merely for the ſake of the argument, that this bill is not diſliked in any other part of the kingdom; the inhabitants of the Metropolis will pay nearly *one fourth* of the whole. Is it not a dreadful thing that they who have to a man proteſted againſt it, many of whom have ſolemnly declared it will be their ruin, ſhould be commanded to comply with ſuch a meaſure? What is the language of a Money Bill? We give voluntarily: Who gives voluntarily; all the people of the Metropolis? No! do they not ſtate it will ruin them? Will this bill keep their affection towards Government? Is it to be ſuppoſed that they will want to be addreſſed by a few words which were delivered laſt night by an honourable Baronet (Sir Francis Burdet), to make them compare this to meaſures which the French have adopted? They are driven to make theſe compariſons by this Houſe: and that is what I believe the honourable Baronet meant by what he ſaid. Every one will not judge freely, but I hope moſt will. Is it not a lamentable thing that this Houſe ſhould paſs a bill againſt which the whole Metropolis proteſts, and

and from which nearly one fourth of the whole impoſt is to be collected? Then comes again the common place anſwer "You encourage the enemy by your obſervations." This is the old ſtale argument conſtantly made uſe of againſt me during the American War. "You are a friend to a French invation." Sir, I have ſome experience in theſe falſe accuſations of "encouraging the enemy," and ſo on. It is the faſhion now to ſay to any man who does not join in reverence to the Miniſter, "you are the friend of the French," "there are a number of diſaffected people in this country who wiſh to ſee things thrown into confuſion." Whether the Directory of France believe this or not, I neither know nor care. I know where they have learnt it. They have learnt it from the late books of Mr. Burke, and the ſpeeches of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and thoſe officious charitable friends of his, who confound in one common maſs of guilty friendſhip for the French, all thoſe who oppoſe the Miniſter. This idea Mr. Burke inculcated ſtrongly in his late pamphlets. He ſtates, "that all Reformers in this country are men of French principles." The Chancellor of the Exchequer, and all his aſſiſtants, aid and abet the publication of that ſlander, and if the Directory are fooliſh enough to believe it, all I can ſay is, I know to whom they owe the favour.

Does the Chancellor of the Exchequer think that this tax can be levied? When does he think the operation of it is to ceaſe? There is no ſtated period for its continuance, it is to be in force until it ſhall have produced ſeven millions in the firſt inſtance, and eight millions in the ſecond, the whole ſum to be raiſed being fifteen millions. Why then the bill, although called a temporary meaſure, is not to be for one, two, or three years, but is to continue till it ſhall have produced fifteen millions. Upon my honour, Sir, it is quite impoſſible to preſerve patience; here again I am called upon to pay too much in proportion, as my neighbour ſhall happen to pay too little. If I pay my ſhare for two years, and my neighbour does not pay for one, I muſt pay again, ſo that I pay for three years inſtead of two; that will be the general effect of it. You who can pay muſt continue to pay. After you have paid for yourſelf, you muſt then pay for your neighbour, if through inability or diſhoneſty he has not paid for himſelf; ſo that you may go on, year after year, for four, five, or ſix, or more years, paying money for others as well as yourſelf. "But this is the exigency of the time." Why, yes, Sir, it is that ſort of exigency or vengeance which puts to flight all notions of juſtice, of equity, of honor, or honeſty; and for what? For the ſup-

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port of this war. What is the nature of this war? What is the object of it? I can conceive that Hannibal might have ſaid to the Carthaginians, "Grant me but ſuch and ſuch ſupplies, and I will put an end to the war. I will take the city of Rome, and I will bring you peace." But is any thing of that kind the caſe here? We are told that this is a war not only defenſive in principle, but alſo in operations. Will you expect, that Lord Hawkeſbury ſhould go to Paris as Hannibal did to Rome? But to be ſerious. Do you expect that your armies, or even your fleet, can bring your affairs to a criſis which may terminate the conteſt? The right honourable Secretary of State ſays, "that if the French ſhould invade us, the ſtruggle would be a very ſhort one." I hope that if that event ſhould happen, the ſtruggle would be a ſhort one; but I hope alſo the enemy will not come. The threat that they will come, however, brings to my mind what was ſaid by the Chancellor of the Exchequer four years ago. I remember how, in a beautiful diſplay of eloquence, he ſaid, "the French were not on the brink, but in the gulph of bankruptcy." They now ſay we are in that ſituation. I hope they are as much miſtaken with regard to our reſources, as the Chancellor of the Exchequer has proved himſelf to be with regard to theirs.

I ſay I hope for peace, and I ſay there is no rational hope for peace without a removal of Miniſters. They ſay they have done all they can to obtain peace, and they refer to the opinion which this Houſe expreſſed upon the ſubject of the laſt negotiation. Not having attended when that negotiation was diſcuſſed, I will grant that in their laſt negotiation they were ſincere. But now they triumph and ſay, "whatever you thought of the war at firſt, now you ſhould join in the proſecution of it, for now you have no other remedy." Will the people of this country be ſatisfied with this declaration? Will they not rather ſay, "we ſhould have Miniſters who were not only ſincerely deſirous *laſt ſummer* to obtain peace, but who were *always* deſirous to obtain it; who are *now* deſirous to obtain it?" Will they not ſay, "we know that this conteſt might have been put an end to three years ago; nothing ſtood in the way of that bleſſing but the perverſe diſpoſition of his Majeſty's preſent Miniſters?" Indeed the hon. Gentleman, who ſpoke laſt, whatever reaſon may have changed his mind ſince, was of that opinion ſome time ago. He thought we ſhould propoſe ſome terms of peace. He made a motion to that effect, in which I had the honour to join.

join with him. Did he not think then that Miniſters had neglected their duty in not attempting to negotiate? I know not, nor am I ſolicitous to know, what he thinks now. I am of opinion, and ſo I believe are the people of this country in general, that Miniſters neglected an opportunity which they fairly had to obtain peace. This Houſe thought there was a fair opportunity for that purpoſe when the honourable Gentleman's motion was made. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, perceiving this, indulged the Houſe by allowing it to expreſs a wiſh for peace, but, by an artful trick, prevailed upon the Houſe to adopt certain words in their reſolutions, by which it was left to the King's Miniſters to judge "whether France was in a ſituation capable of maintaining the accuſtomed relations of peace and amity with other powers?" Will any man ſay he believes that France was not at that very moment capable of maintaining peace with any other power with which it ſhould conclude a treaty? Does any man doubt that the French were then as capable of maintaining peace as any power in this world? Was it not then apparent to all Europe? I am not bound to form a comparative opinion between the power of France to maintain peace at that time and at this, but if I was bound, I ſhould ſay that they were more ſo at that period than they are at this moment, or were laſt ſummer, when our Miniſters attempted to negotiate with them: therefore upon their own principle Miniſters have neglected an opportunity to obtain peace. Why then am I compelled to lay down my carriage? Why am I compelled to diſcharge my ſervants? Why am I compelled to turn away my labourers? Why am I to deprive my wife and family of their comforts? Why are the manufacturers and artiſans of this country ſtarving? Why are the middle claſs of ſociety to be reduced to poverty? Becauſe the French attacked us in 1792, and ſent away Lord Malmeſbury in 1797? No! but becauſe the King's Miniſters did not chuſe to ſay in 1795 that the French were capable of maintaining peace and amity with other powers. So that all your happineſs or comfort, and for aught I know, your exiſtence, is made to depend upon the opinion of the King's Miniſters, and that too when ſuch opinion was contrary to that of all the reſt of Europe. For this are we to be aſſeſſed and mulct, and robbed and plundered, more than any nation, not in a ſtate of revolution, ever was upon earth.

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We are all agreed that great exertions are neceſſary, but differ about the means. My opinion is moſt clear that great exertions muſt now be made; my opinion is as clear that ſuch exertions cannot be made while thoſe Miniſters, who have ſo abuſed their power, continue to poſſeſs it; and on account of whoſe negligence ariſes the very queſtion which is before you. But it ſeems we ſhould now be unanimous; and Gentlemen on the other ſide ſay, that "my ſpeeches are not calculated to produce unanimity." The beſt return to that is, "are yours ſo?" You wiſh us to come to you; we ſay you ſhould come over to us." What! the Majority come over to the Minority?" "Yes, the Minority come over to the Majority." There are many Gentlemen in this Houſe who have ſat upon juries. I aſk them, whether, when a jury is divided in opinion, and the caſe cannot be ſettled without a compromiſe, whether thoſe who are of the ſevere opinion do not conſtantly give way to thoſe of the milder diſpoſition? When the queſtion therefore is, whether you ſhall agree to a meaſure directly hoſtile to the Conſtitution, that calls upon the people to pay what they have diſtinctly told you they cannot pay, I ſay that the Majority ſhould come over to the Minority. You cannot expect the confidence of the people upon your preſent ſyſtem; it has already led to too many misfortunes. I ſay the maſs of the people of England are againſt you; but were it poſſible to obtain it, would you be contented with the unanimity of the people of Great Britain? I ſay you ſhould have the unanimity and affection of the whole of the Britiſh Empire. Look at Ireland. After the fatal conſequences that have enſued upon your breaking the promiſes which you authoriſed Lord Fitzwilliam to make, do you conceive that you will have unanimity there without Parliamentary Reform, and the emancipation of the Catholics? After the inhuman dragooning and horrible executions, the recital of which makes the blood run cold; after ſo much military cruelty, not in one, but in almoſt every part of the country, is it poſſible for this Adminiſtration to procure unanimity in that country? I will do them the juſtice to ſay, they do not themſelves expect it; they truſt there to the force of a military government. In this war it is ſaid, and truly, we have more acknowledged ſuperiority than ever we had, even at ſea; and yet ſuch is the general diſaffection in Ireland, and ſuch is the cauſe for general diſaffection in England, that the force for the internal defence of both, is four times

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as great as when you had all France, Spain, and Holland againſt you; and when they were powers independent of each other, not, as now they are, under the nod of the French Republic. Now you are forced to have large armies, not only againſt foreign nations, but alſo againſt your domeſtic enemies, as you call them, both in England and in Ireland, but moſt particularly in Ireland. In this country we are told there are many diſaffected perſons, and ſo on; and it was brought as a charge againſt me, that I ſaid I thought there was no plot againſt the Government of this country proved to exiſt. I thought in the year 1792 that the number of perſons who were diſaffected to the form of our Government was not large. I thought, with Mr. Juſtice Eyre, "that they were almoſt without numbers, without money, and even without zeal;" but I do not think now, however, that becauſe there is ſilence, therefore there is ſafety. "But you predicted that Lord Fitzwilliam's zeal would produce miſchief; nothing for a long time after that happened in Ireland, and therefore your prediction was wrong; Lord Fitzwilliam's recal produced nothing." Were not the ſeeds of diſaffection and revolt ſown by that recall? Have you not encouraged them to ſhoot up? Have you not nurtured them in their growth? Do you not now ſee the produce? Do you not expect ſoon to be called upon to reap the harveſt? My opinion is, that thoſe who were for a Republic in preference to Monarchy, or who wiſhed to reduce the Monarchy to a cypher, were few at firſt. I believe they are not yet formidable in numbers, but that they are increaſed in ſuch a proportion, that if they were at firſt ſo numerous as they were ſaid to be, they would now be a dreadful body, is what I cannot heſitate to ſay. Are you now proceeding in a way to reduce their number? Do you expect to make men love the Monarchy of this country by confuſion, confiſcation and military cruelty? When men reaſon, or think they reaſon, upon any ſubject, you muſt treat even their prejudices with tenderneſs. You are now a divided and diſcontented people. What is your remedy? A change of ſyſtem. A Miniſtry that ſhall give confidence to the French, not that confidence which *they* wiſh, but the confidence which *we* wiſh, a confidence that we have a Miniſtry capable of commanding the unanimous affections of the people of Great Britain and the people of Ireland. This can be obtained only by an entire change of ſyſtem, by a correction of abuſes,

by a parliamentary reform, and above all, by allowing the people their juſt balance in your political ſcale: that is the way to unite their affections, and to make the whole maſs of them as it were one man, fixed and determined on his object, and that object his country's glory That is the way to diſplay the real beauties of our conſtitution, the true old Britiſh conſtitution. Shew the people that their conſtitution is not paper and packthread; but that it is capable of procuring them real ſolid bleſſings: not a conſtitution under which thoſe only can go on with the war who are hated and condemned by the people; not a conſtitution under which the multitude are preſſed almoſt to death, while others ſmile and bear no part of the burthen. I ſee here the impropriety of not having an example from the higheſt authority to encourage us to bear our burthens. A learned Gentleman alluded to the caſe of the people of Rome, when they were oppreſſed. They ſaid to their rulers, "you may beat us with ſtripes, but you cannot take from us that which we have not." What did the people of high rank in Rome do? They made the greateſt ſacrifices they could, to ſhew the people they were willing to bear their ſhare of the burthens; they did not leave themſelves any gold or ſilver, except for the ſake of diſtinction, viz. a gold fringe for the Patrician youth, and ear-rings and necklaces for the Roman matrons. I aſk for no ſuch ſacrifices, I only aſk that thoſe who have the higheſt prerogatives, privileges, and immunities, ſhould not be wholly exempted from theſe burthens, and ſtand aloof from the ſcene of action. I only aſk that ſome ſacrifices ſhould be made, to what extent I ſhould leave to the good ſenſe and honourable feelings of others.

But it is ſaid that this bill will give no additional influence to the Crown. I do not mean to inſinuate that Miniſters intend it ſhould, on the contrary I acquit them of any ſuch intention; but that it will have that effect is moſt clear, and it is unavoidable. It will add more to the influence of the Crown, than any other meaſure that has been adopted in the courſe of the preſent war. I think I know what I am ſaying upon this ſubject, having had a great deal of experience upon it in the courſe of ſo many repeated canvaſſes for the ſuffrages of the electors of the city and liberty of Weſtminſter. If the caſe ſhould be, as I am afraid it will, that when the contribution is due, hardly any man can pay it, what are you to do? Would you caſt every defaulter into priſon, or diſtrain upon his goods? No, there will be ſome indulgence.

That

That muſt be, in the nature of the thing, diſcretionary, and thus every man muſt be, more or leſs, under the power of the tax collector; that collector muſt, from the nature of his office, be connected with Government. Thoſe who canvaſs at elections will find a vaſt number of men who have very decided opinions againſt Adminiſtration, but who are afraid of doing any thing that may diſoblige thoſe who have influence with the executive power. I do not ſay that this is the deſire of Miniſters. I do not think it is: but I do ſay that this will be the inevitable conſequence of it; for a prodigious number of men will be aware that they muſt either vote for a court candidate againſt their conſciences, or be ruined. What, then, is the reſult of all this? Why that the Crown will have by this bill an immenſe power, in addition to that enormous influence which it already has in this Houſe, and which has been the ſource of all your evils, and which has made you a mockery of the public voice. I ſay put an end to all theſe unſeemly appearances. Recur to your good old Engliſh conſtitution. Make the Crown what it ought to be, what the conſtitution intended it to be, the guardian of the rights and liberties of the ſubjects; not the object of their jealouſy and alarm, ſuch as I have no heſitation in pronouncing it now to be. I aſk you to examine with attention the hiſtory of this country, and to reflect upon it: you will ſee that all its calamities have been chiefly owing to that ſyſtem which tends to increaſe the influence of the Crown, and to encroach upon the rights of the people; a ſyſtem that muſt end either in ſlavery or revolt? But when we examine the courſe of this war, and the train of evils which it has already brought upon us; when we ſee the contemptible ignorance of the greater part, the indifference of others, of thoſe who generally compoſe what is called the court party, concerning the rights and liberties of the people, and of the means to procure them happineſs, when we ſee what deſcription of perſons they are, naturally, from their ignorance and folly, led to protect and encourage, when we ſee that it is a part of their ſyſtem to excuſe from all burden thoſe who ought to be the moſt ready to bear it, we are naturally led, I think, to call for a radical and fundamental change of ſyſtem, as well as of the Miniſters who have acted under it, and who have brought you to your preſent moſt calamitous condition. I wiſh this country to manifeſt its ſtrength to the world at large, and moſt emphatically to the enemy. I know that cannot be done without large

large ſupplies; but all our ſupplies muſt be voluntary, in that has conſiſted the very eſſence of our country's glory, in that has conſiſted the difference between us and other nations, and has ſo often exalted us above them all, in faith, in credit, in honour, in every thing that conſtitutes the greatneſs of a people. It is in that too has conſiſted the difference between the meaſures adopted in this and other wars, and which reveals the myſtery of your preſent diſtreſs. What is the remedy? A radical reform, a change of ſyſtem, but above all, a Parliament that ſhall be known, felt, and acknowledged to ſpeak the voice of the people. I remember how beautifully this point was illuſtrated by Mr. Burke, in his celebrated ſpeech for conciliation with the colonies, the ſubſtance of which was (ſpeaking of the caſes of Wales and Cheſter), that the march of the human mind was ſlow; that it was not until after two hundred years diſcovered, that by an eternal law, Providence had decreed vexation to violence, and poverty to rapine; that our anceſtors did however at length open their eyes to the ill huſbandry of injuſtice. They found that the tyranny of a free people could of all tyrannies the leaſt be endured, and that laws made againſt a whole nation were not the moſt effectual methods for ſecuring its obedience. Accordingly in the 27th year of Henry the Eighth, the courſe was entirely altered: with a preamble, ſtating the entire and perfect rights of the Crown of England, it gave to the Welſh all the rights and privileges of Engliſh ſubjects. A political order was eſtabliſhed, the military power gave way to the civil; the marches were turned into counties. But that a nation ſhould have a right to Engliſh liberties, and yet no ſhare at all in the fundamental ſecurity of theſe liberties, the grant of their own property, ſeemed a thing ſo incongruous, that eight years after, that is in the 35th of that reign, a complete, and not ill-proportioned repreſentation by counties and boroughs was beſtowed upon Wales by act of Parliament. From that moment, as by a charm, the tumults ſubſided, obedience was reſtored, peace, order, and civilization followed in the train of liberty. When the day-ſtar of the Engliſh conſtitution had ariſen in their hearts, all was harmeny within and without.

Simul alba nautis
Stella refulſit
Defluit ſaxis agitatus humor;
Concidunt venti, fugiunt que nubes;
Et minax (quod ſic voluere) ponto
Unda recumbit.

This

This is saying, that it is a divine principle which God and Nature have planted in the human character, so that it is there and there only can be true security for social blessings, where there is a true Representation of the People. By this he has said more in favour of a Representative Government (I do not mean a Representative Government in the sense which some invidious persons are ready to impute to me, but a true Representation of the People in this House) than is contained in some whole volumes that have been written upon the subject. You know what has passed in Ireland upon the subject of a corrupt Parliament. It is good for us to have a magnifying glass through which such an object may be viewed, because it enables us to see its deformity the more distinctly. Mr. Grattan stated plainly, "that Peerages were sold in Ireland to those who sent Members into the House of Commons to vote for Government," was that denied? Not a word of it; something of that kind was stated by my honourable Friend, Mr. Tierney, not very ambiguously either, applying to the specific case of a certain Peer lately created; Was that denied this night? No notice taken of it; will you then persist in passing a bill which the whole metropolis, called upon to pay one fourth of it, unanimously disapprove? Yes, I believe you will; in utter defiance of the public voice. Am I then unreasonable in my declaration, that I will not attend this House, when I am so confident I cannot do good? The best thing I can do is to draw the attention of the People to the House of Commons; let them see what passes here, who they are, who sit and act here; then let them decide whether they are represented here or not. I do not wish to have any share in directing their anger, much less to enflame their passions, although it is said, much artifice is employed for that purpose. There was a division here some time ago, and there were two hundred and odd against fifteen. I do not mean to detract from the abilities of that minority, especially those of my honourable Friends who spoke to night, but they will forgive me, if I say, that the public abhorrence of this bill is not the effect of their eloquence. It is owing to the intrinsic iniquity of the bill itself. which is most evident from the fact that almost all the Resolutions of all the parishes were entered into before any thing, or before much, had been said in Parliament against it. I know we are in a situation to which the wisdom of our ministers is not adequate. I will go further, and say, that the wisdom of no man, or body of men, is equal to it; nor ever will be so upon your present plan of politics. We must have the advice of the People collected and expressed freely and liberally. Our basis must

muſt be made much broader than it is at preſent. We muſt give to the People their due ſhare in the Government, We muſt let them know and feel that they are fighting for their own rights and for their own ſovereignty, againſt foreign nations, and fighting for that liberty which no foreign nation can give. You can do nothing by ſaying in this Houſe, "this or that is the opinion of the People," but you ſhould have that opinion from themſelves freely expreſſed, by a true *ſubſtantial*, as well as a *virtual* repreſentation of the People. Not by univerſal ſuffrage, in my opinion, but upon a ſcale ſhort of that, but, with that limitation, as large as it is otherwiſe poſſible. Theſe are the only means to ſhew the real ſtrength of this country. By theſe means you will neither have nor want ſo many mercenary troops as you have at preſent, but you will poſſeſs a much more important force to aſſert and protect your freedom.

Mr. *Pitt* ſaid, after the great length of time that has been conſumed in the debate, the Houſe, I am ſure, will not be ſurpriſed if I ſhould deſire to avoid, as much as poſſible, the vaſt maſs of extraneous matter that has been brought forward on the preſent occaſion, and ſelect from the numerous topics that preſent themſelves to my view, ſuch as bear directly on the ſubject under our immediate conſideration. With this view I ſhall endeavour to guide the attention of the Houſe through the various irrelevant and contradictory arguments that have been uſed, and fix it more excluſively on thoſe leading and practical points, which alone can determine the queſtion we are now called upon to decide. I ſhould have thought it, Sir, unneceſſary to enter at any length into this argument, after the admiſſion made by the ſeveral gentlemen who moſt vehemently oppoſed this meaſure, if I did not find that the principle they conceded in name is afterwards recalled in ſubſtance, and treated as a matter foreign to their conſideration, and wholly inapplicable to the caſe now before them. The principle I allude to is this, whether, in the preſent circumſtances of this country, there is or is not an occaſion to make a great and unexampled exertion to defeat the projects of the enemy, and ſecure our own national independence and honour. The affirmative of this propoſition has been uniformly admitted and openly avowed; unleſs, therefore, the Houſe, influenced by what has been advanced in the courſe of this night's debate, ſhould think proper expreſsly to retract that opinion, I have a right to take it as the fundamental point that will govern their determination. This is not an opinion haſtily adopted, and lightly conſidered. It is the language which, after

ter full deliberation and inquiry, the Houſe, at the commencement of the ſeſſions, preſented at the foot of the throne. Such, at that time, was their opinion, and the facts on which it was founded, has, in the interval which has elapſed, been neither weakened nor denied So far from any thing having been advanced contrary to this poſition, in the courſe of this debate, the right honourable Gentleman himſelf (Mr. Fox) has unequivocally admitted, that a great military and financial exertion is indiſpenſible in the preſent ſituation of the country. Now having advanced ſo much, it was natural to expect he would diſcloſe the nature of thoſe exertions, the neceſſity of which he did not deny; and if he diſapproved of the preſent mode of raiſing ſo conſiderable a part of the ſupplies within the year, that he would point out how that end might be obtained, by means leſs objectionable. The queſtion, as now argued by the right honourable Gentleman, is, whether, after a delay of ſix weeks ſince the firſt agitation of this ſubject, and two months ſince the iſſue of the negotiation, from which period the neceſſity of the exertions he admits muſt be dated; whether, after ſuch a delay, all exertion ſhould not be ſuſpended on the part of the country, till the Houſe ſhould obtain the diſmiſſion of His Majeſty's preſent Miniſters, a radical Parliamentary Reform, and a total change of ſyſtem. Such is the ground, if I followed the right hononrable Gentleman, and underſtood him right, on which he wiſhes the preſent queſtion to be determined. In his opinion the guilt of the preſent adminiſtration is ſo enormous, their general and particular miſconduct ſo manifeſt and great, that all the faculties of Government ſhould be ſuſpended till they are removed. Their removal alone, however, will not do, and he has no hopes of ſecurity without a radical Reform in Parliament, and a total change of ſyſtem; and, unleſs theſe latter points are conceded, he profeſſes that he will not take any ſhare in any new adminiſtration that may be formed. With a view of perſuading the Houſe to purſue theſe objects, much time and much eloquence have been conſumed, to convince them that they had a regular conſtitutional right to withhold the ſupplies till the grievances of which they might think proper to complain were redreſſed. But time and eloquence appear to me to have been wholly miſemployed. No one that I know of ever doubted of the validity of that doctrine. The true queſtion now was, according to the right honourable Gentleman's mode of reaſoning, not whether they had a right under the conſtitution of withholding ſupplies till grievances were redreſſed, but whether the Houſe and country look upon thoſe things

things as grievances which the right honourable Gentleman does; and whether they will make ſuch an exerciſe of power in the preſent ſituation of the country, to obtain a radical Parliamentary Reform and total change of ſyſtem, according to his acceptation of thoſe expreſſions? It becomes, therefore, of great conſequence to aſcertain what that acceptation is; and if any ambiguity or uncertainty exiſts from looſe and indefinite expreſſions, the true meaning will be found to ariſe no leſs from the colour and complexion of circumſtances which accompany, precede and follow his profeſſions, than logical diſtinctions and the context of words. Now I wiſh to put it ſeriouſly to the Houſe, whether notwithſtanding the explanations for the firſt time given this night by the right honourable Gentleman of the extent of his meaning in this reſpect, whether a very conſiderable portion of uncertainty, as to their extent, does not yet remain, and whether all the exertion he himſelf admits neceſſary for the ſalvation of the country, is to be ſuſpended till objects, ſo general, looſe, and indefinite, are obtained? for ſuch is the partial reſult of all he has now advanced. To deſcend to the few particulars he has mentioned—a change of miniſters, he ſays, is abſolutely neceſſary before any peace, conſiſtent with the welfare and ſecurity of the country, can be expected. Yet how was this attempted to be proved. I do not conſider myſelf much indebted to the right honourable Gentleman's candour in admitting, that at leaſt Miniſters were ſincere in the laſt negotiation for peace. No men, in or out of the Houſe, could venture to entertain a doubt of a fact ſo plain and manifeſt. The internal evidences of the treaty itſelf, and every circumſtance by which it was attended, ſets every ſuſpicion on that ſubject at defiance. The purity and zeal of Miniſters throughout the whole of their conduct on that occaſion, is eſtabliſhed beyond the poſſibility of doubt. It is not now for me to enter into the diſcuſſion how far in 1794 and 1795, France was capable of preſerving the relations of peace and amity. Every thing that the right honourable Gentleman could urge on this ſubject, was advanced when the facts of that queſtion were recent, and regularly before the Houſe, which, after full enquiry and deliberation, gave an opinion contrary to that which he maintained. Every ſtep that Miniſters have taken, relative to peace, has been ſubmitted to parliamentary diſcuſſion, and is fully before the public. And I can aſſert with confidence, that no man can reflect upon their conduct in that reſpect, or deny that they have done every thing to obtain peace, ſhort of ſacrificing the honour and welfare of the country. According

to

to the right honourable Gentleman's own view of the ſubject, it is a ſingular mode of reaſoning, to threaten Miniſters with diſmiſſion, that peace might be obtained, becauſe they had not done every thing in their power to obtain it before, though there is no doubt they have ſince been, and were ſtill diſpoſed ſo to do. The reaſoning is ſtill more curious if followed further. Suppoſe the meaſure recommended by the right honourable Gentleman were adopted, is it likely that any new Adminiſtration could ſucceed in negotiation with the enemy, after a conſiderable ſuſpenſion of exertion and comparative weakneſs, when the preſent Adminiſtration, backed with the whole ſtrength of the country, and having done every thing conſiſtent with their duty to oppoſe the wrath of the enemy, had failed? Who will undertake that, in caſe of an appointment of a new Adminiſtration, by means at leaſt injurious to our ſtrength, the enemy will be inclined to give terms of peace which they denied to the preſent Miniſters, when their conduct was admitted by all to be ſuch, as this new Adminiſtration could alone adopt. What ground of probability is there to expect ſuch an event? But if the right honourable Gentleman's argument has any weight, it is at beſt ill-timed at preſent, and ſhould have been argued two months ago, on the firſt termination of the treaty. The right honourable Gentleman has attempted to draw a diſtinction between the reſponſibility of thoſe in office, and thoſe who are not ſo. In this, however, I do not ſee any marks of that impartiality which ſhould equally guide both the one and the other. He ſeems to think, that while he has a perfect right to arraign the conduct of public men in office, that he, being a private Member of Parliament, is not anſwerable to any account. I certainly know of no ſanction that any man in office has, that ſhould exempt him from animadverſion on his conduct; and as little am I acquainted with any exemption that private gentlemen may have from reprehenſion, when their conduct is ſuch as to deſerve it—juſtice, prudence, and expediency, as little exempt the one as the other. I therefore cannot but behold the right honourable Gentleman as amenable in his conduct as any other perſon, whether I conſider his character, in relation to domeſtic concerns at home, or the ſituation of the enemy abroad. With ſpecious profeſſions of humility, he has doubtleſs declared himſelf a ſimple individual, and expreſſed a determination to abſtain from the riſque and fatigue of public office. But what does this amount to? It is not certain that, thinking as many around him do, the country can alone be ſaved by him. Thinking ſo, I ſay, if a change of adminiſ-

tration ſhould take place, will they not feel themſelves bound to overcome his ſcruples, and inſiſt, as a matter of public duty, that he ſhould take upon him the burden of office. Nay, I put it to them, whether they would not conſider it as the pride and glory of their lives, by any means in their power, to place him in the ſituation to which they think his talents entitle him; and if they think ſo, they will, in ſo doing, do no more than what, according to their view of the ſubject, is right, and highly laudable in them to effect. Nevertheleſs thoſe who might differ from them in that opinion, and though admitting the brilliancy and extent of the right honourable Gentleman's talents, think that the practical application of them is not conducive to the welfare of the country. Such perſons muſt be allowed to look to that event with repugnance and alarm. Upon this ſubject I have no heſitation of declaring, that were I obliged to plead guilty to every other charge againſt my colleagues and myſelf, or from any motive ſhould wiſh to relinquiſh my preſent ſtation, yet, while I wiſh ſuch a peace as is conſiſtent with the ſecurity and welfare of this kingdom, I ſhould feel it as a bounden and over-ruling duty, if the right honourable Gentleman had any chance of ſucceeding me, to remain in office at any riſk, and with every ſacrifice, in order to prevent an effect ſo fatal and ruinous to the ſafety and conſequence of this country, as the gratification of the wiſhes of him and his friends. I have yet to learn what is the nature of that confidence which the enemy are to have in an adminiſtration ſupported by that right honourable Gentleman. I have on a former occaſion ſaid, that I do not envy thoſe whoſe boaſt it is that they ſtand high in the confidence of the enemy. It is maintained, that in caſe of a change of adminiſtration, the Houſe and the country would have the moſt unlimited confidence as to the ſincerity of the negotiation for peace, and if it could not be obtained on terms adequate to a juſt and reaſonable expectation, that in ſuch a caſe the war would be continued with incalculable advantage. Will thoſe who think in this way, attempt to deny that the right honourable Gentleman and all his friends have uniformly, ſince the commencement of the war, maintained the cauſe of the enemy, at leaſt ſo far as to contend that they acted on the defenſive, and retained a right of inflicting vengeance, and that we were the aggreſſors. Throughout the whole courſe of the war they have aſſerted the juſtice of the enemy's cauſe and the inſufficiency of our reſources. How in caſe of ſuch men ſucceeding to offices, terms favourable or juſt to this country are to be expected, or how, if the war is to be con-

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tinued, the enemy are to be convinced of the energy of the kingdom and permanency of our means, I leave, with no doubt of its deciſion, to the prudence of the Houſe.

The next point of attack againſt his Majeſty's Miniſters is, their general miſconduct in reſpect to general conſtitutional doctrines; and then that they are bad financial miniſters, and incompetent to preſerve the combination, which, as to the proſecution of the war, they had relied ſo much on. Theſe points, I muſt obſerve, have repeatedly been diſcuſſed and decided in this Houſe, and are wholly irrelevant to the preſent queſtion, and may without any interferences be decided again after this is determined, as they have been before. Theſe I do not in the leaſt conſider myſelf bound to enter into at preſent, and if I did, the deciſion, either one way or the other, would not affect this bill. Upon theſe ſubjects, however, it is obvious that the ſtrength of the right honourable Gentleman's arguments lay in this. He ſays, you, the Adminiſtration of the country, are incompetent and ignorant; you rely on foreign alliances: theſe alliances deſert you. You grant ſubſidies, you guarantee loans; we told you this would not ſecure you allies. You are fools, and we are wiſe. This I believe is not a weak ſummary of his charge againſt thoſe he is inclined to condemn in every act, and impeach the motives when he cannot deny the effect. I aſk, however, and put to the recollection of the Houſe, whether thoſe loans, ſubſidies, and alliances, were ever maintained on any ſuch principle as that it was impoſſible to be deceived. In the nature of the thing, no independent ſtate can have ſecurity againſt another, from want of foreſight and prudence. It is no imputation againſt our ally, that another might not ſee ſo acutely its own true permanent intereſt and ſafety. In the caſe of our acting with greater wiſdom and reſolution than others, we are not to let our regret at their miſconduct over-rule our own ſatisfaction in our own prudence and ſagacity. Even to this very moment I do not regret thoſe loans, ſubſidies, and alliances of which the right honourable Gentleman complains. They were entered into with true views of the laſting and real intereſt of the country: and though the intereſt we had received was leſs than, with a view to the reſpective intereſt of the parties, we deſerved, yet it was full as much as we had earned. I could have wiſhed thoſe powers had had a true ſenſe of their own intereſt; but as a matter of policy, I do not regret the advantage we derived at the expence at which it was purchaſed.

chaſed. When it is conſidered that the conduct of Miniſters with reſpect to peace, was ſuch as thoſe who wiſh for a change themſelves, approve, it is pretty certain that the real cauſe for their retirement is not that which is oſtenſibly aſſigned; but whether the motives be real or pretended, it can be no reaſon for poſtponing the preſent bill, as whether the preſent Adminiſtration continue, or yield their places to others, this bill is a meaſure eſſential to the ſecurity of the country from the menaces and deſigns of a rancorous enemy, would be equally expedient and neceſſary. Suppoſe the right honourable Gentleman was at the head of a new formed Adminiſtration, would he tell the Houſe that he would expect any ſucceſs in his treaty, ſhould the nation diſarm, or be unprovided to continue the conteſt with vigour and effect? Were he Miniſter, the ſame exertion would be neceſſary, the ſame queſtion would revert, whether it was expedient to raiſe ſeven of the nineteen millions within the year. Is it therefore fair, or generous, or manly, to hear the poſſibility of a change aſſigned as a cauſe for delay, a meaſure which, under every Adminiſtration, would be equally neceſſary, and muſt be equally made the ſubject of diſcuſſion. There muſt be ſome ſecret motive for this ſudden exertion of the right honourable Gentleman. It was moſt probably to take advantage of what he ſuppoſed the public opinion, that he thus appeared again in embattled phalanx, and left the hidden path of ſecret warfare. With what other view would he otherwiſe bring into ſuch a debate all the inflammatory topics he has urged, and in a ſpeech of three or four hours, though attending, as he ſays, by the expreſs commands of his conſtituents, ſcarce touch on the ſubject which he avowedly came forward to diſcuſs. Inſtead of attending to the details and particular bearings of this bill, he adverts only to its principle in the moſt general terms, and did not even attend in that ſtage in which alone, by means of regulations, he could alleviate thoſe hardſhips of which his conſtituents complain. Far from attending to the inſtructions he profeſſed to obey, he enters into the moſt foreign and diſſuaſive queſtions concerning the origin and conduct of the war, in which as uſual he decides in favour of France, and againſt this country, and in favour of himſelf and party, againſt the Miniſters in whom his Majeſty thought proper to confide. He wiſhes to impoſe on the Houſe the condition of putting off the diſcuſſion of the bill he was ſent here to diſcuſs, in order to enforce that radical reform of Parliament and total change

change of ſyſtem, of which his conſtituents in their inſtructions ſaid nothing, and which if he thought it his duty to urge, he ſhould have felt it his duty to attend for that purpoſe, without waiting for thoſe injunctions which were the occaſion of his preſence. I for one ſhould be glad to have a clear idea of what the right honourable Gentleman means by this ſpecies of reform and change. He has on former occaſions expreſſed the ſame wiſhes, but yet in a way more general. In the courſe of what he has ſaid on this ſubject to-night, we have at leaſt the ſatisfaction of learning that he looks only to theſe changes through the organ of Parliament, which however he expects will not be affected by the power of his eloquence or the force of his reaſoning within, but by the influence of the public mind from without. The preciſe plan of parliamentary reform of which he is the advocate, is now for the firſt time diſcloſed, namely, that brought forward laſt ſeſſion by another honourable friend of his, not now in his place (Mr. Grey). Thus much then for a plan of parliamentary reform, which the Houſe had already diſcuſſed and rejected, and for other particular reformations, on which neither his conſtituents or the public had expreſſed any opinion at all, for theſe purpoſes he wiſhed the Houſe to ſuſpend and hang up all the means of public defence, in a criſis of unexampled danger and difficulty. This mode of obtaining his objects is certainly leſs mild and regular than the one he profeſſed himſelf attached to, and recommended with reſpect to parliamentary reform; for it tends to this, ſuſpend your exertions, let the enemy come and make this change of ſyſtem and reform the price of ſelf-defence, an expedient at leaſt hazardous and raſh under the preſent circumſtances of the country. If, to avoid this inference, the right honourable Gentleman ſhould contend that by the influence of the public mind, he means the operation of the fair rational ſenſe of the public mind on their repreſentatives only, then he muſt admit that he has at laſt found ſomething more ſympathetic between the people and their repreſentatives, than he thinks it poſſible to diſcover in ſome views of the ſubject he occaſionally takes, a conſiſtent ground of virtual and effective repreſentation, even in the preſent form of Parliament. If he means neither of theſe, but ſomething elſe different from both, but which he does not think it fit and prudent at this moment explicitly to ſtate, his views are then evidently open to the objection, on the ground of ambiguity and indiſtinctneſs,

diſtinctneſs, which an honourable friend of mine (Mr. Wilberforce) had ſaid occaſioned diffidence and alarm. He has thought proper, on this, and ſeveral other occaſions, to quote ſome words uſed by me in reference to this ſubject. It is impoſſible to recollect particular words uſed ſo long ago; but I frankly admit that my views of Parliamentary Reform were favourable to that object, and that I on all occaſions expreſſed my opinion with all the warmth of expreſſion I could uſe, theſe however muſt in common candour be underſtood in reference to that object as at that time underſtood, and not as to the change of meaning that expreſſion has undergone in later times. He has done me the juſtice to ſay, that he believes it was not me who declared "that no good Government could ſubſiſt, nor bad one be oppoſed with ſafety, without Parliamentary Reform." But whatever words I may have uſed, or to whatever doctrines I may have ſubſcribed, they muſt be underſtood in reference only to the ideas of Parliamentary Reform then entertained, and I ſolemnly declare that whatever I may have ſaid or done on that ſubject, had no relation to the preſent prevailing ſyſtem of reformation, or any principle on which they are founded. My ideas then were as different from theſe ſyſtems then, as my language is now. I always, as is well known to the right honourable Gentleman, oppoſed every plan of univerſal ſuffrage and individual repreſentation. All the words I then uſed, all the meaſures I then abetted, muſt be conſidered as bearing a relation to the ideas and views of things then entertained. By the ſame rate the right honourable Gentleman muſt now be judged, the words he uſes will be underſtood, unleſs otherwiſe reſtricted, by the ideas and views of things now received; and ſurely he cannot deny that the expreſſions he has this night made uſe of to ſignify his wiſhes, conſtitute the watch words of a party out of doors, whoſe real meaning is well underſtood, and admits of no doubt. Is it not known that they couple their ideas to his words, and they hail him as a convert to their ſyſtem, and a champion in their cauſe? If indeed the right honourable Gentleman does mean ſomething in a more limitted and rational ſenſe, ſure I am, he muſt be thankful for that ſcrupulous vigilance and alarm that wiſhes to diſtinguiſh his views of a radical Reform in Parliament for thoſe entertained by the Correſpondent Society, he accidentally expreſſing himſelf in preciſely the ſame words which that body has thought proper to adopt. It happens, however, that there is a further coincidence ſubſiſting between that body and the right-honourable Gentleman than mere [illegible] He has not only, they ſeem to think, exalted, like them, [illegible] repre[illegible]

repreſentative Government, but looks with a jealous eye to nobility and hereditary honours; in ſhort, diſclaims every principle of government but the repreſentative ſpecies. This I believe is well known to be their opinion of him, though undoubtedly he will contend that they miſconceive the meaning of his words, and that they do not imply the object they ſuppoſe. Whatever may be his meaning on other points, he has now, however, fully explained the views he entertains of Parliamentary Reform; and I muſt declare that I would forego for ever all proſpect of Reform, rather than incur the riſk of ſuch a one as he wiſhes, by his own confeſſion, may take place. What is it he contends for? No leſs than that the whole elective franchiſe ſhould be taken from thoſe in whom it has long reſided, and transferred to all the houſeholders in the kingdom. This is the preliminary not only to all ſupply and exertion, but to other changes hitherto unlimitted by any deſignation of their objects. After concealing his opinion for fourteen years, as to the ſpecific plan of Reform, it now appears no leſs than a total change of the old ſyſtem of election, and a ſubſtitute that will at once demoliſh all the benefits connected with it. In ſhort, he would take from the old Electors all their rights, and inveſt them without reſerve in new. The right honourable Gentleman has further expreſſed as a general principle, that he wiſhes to repreſs encreaſing power, and encourage protecting liberty. In the firſt place, I wiſh to know what he means by theſe terms. I here remark the ſame uncertainty and ambiguity that appear in moſt of his profeſſions, and which occaſions no groundleſs degree of diſtruſt and alarm, in thoſe who do not enter ſo readily into his views as thoſe immediately around him. I wiſh to know what is this encreaſing power he wiſhes to reprobate, and what this protecting liberty he means to encourage. In another part of his ſpeech he ſays, that the authority of Parliament, ought to be ſuch as it was before the American war. Here alſo I am at a loſs to reach the meaning of his words. I know of no liberty then poſſeſſed that is not now equally enjoyed. On profeſſions ſo looſe and indefinite, it would be abſurd to rely, unleſs they are circumſcibed by diſtinct meaning, they never can be adopted as a ſafe and rational ground of action. Another Commentator on the acts of Government (Mr. Sheridan) had, in addition to the charges advanced by the right honourable Gentleman, inſiſted, that an end ſhall be put to the poſſibility of making a breach in the Appropriation Act. This charge is not now for the firſt time brought forward. It was fully and regularly diſcuſſed on a former occaſion, when firſt advanced; and how did it turn out; that

that the Appropriation Act had not been violated; but that under particular circumſtances, the form had been departed from to preſerve its ſpirit. The ſame may be obſerved with reſpect to the charges advanced relative to barracks, and the laws concerning perſons ſent out of the kingdom. The right of aſſembling, petitioning, and all the other inſtances advanced as matters of criminal charges againſt the Adminiſtration, Government by his Majeſty's preſent Miniſters, which at this late hour it will hardly be expected that I have ſtrength ſufficient minutely to examine and anſwer. The ſum total of theſe objections amount to this, that the Houſe ſhould at once repeal all thoſe wiſe precautions and meaſures which, after an anxious view to the particular circumſtances of the times, and an adequate diſcuſſion of each particular, they had thought proper to enact, not only with the conſent of a vaſt majority of their own body, but with that of at leaſt nine tenths of the people out of doors. All thoſe wiſe domeſtic regulations are no leſs eſſential to our ſecurity than the exertions of military force. Is the Houſe and country prepared for ſuch ſacrifices, ſuch ſweeping preliminaries. The honourable Gentleman objects alſo to the conduct of Miniſters with reſpect to peerages. Here, too, he was, as uſual, general and indiſtinct. What is it he means? Does he intend to ſay the prerogative of the Crown to create Peers ſhould be extinguiſhed? How does he limit his objections? What exceptions are they that he makes? Does he mean that no vacancies ſhould be filled up, that he may ſupply a large arrearage when he comes into power in the way uſed, when, as he ſays, "Peerage was given as an honour" 'Till particulars are mentioned, it is impoſſible to reply to ſuch vague charges, which rather impeach the Conſtitution than criminate the Miniſters. Theſe, however, are the principal allegations, for which it is contended that Miniſters deſerve to be diſmiſſed from their offices, in order that others more competent to forward the national intereſts, ſhould ſerve the public in their ſtead. If we paſs the bill, the right honourable gentleman ſays that we ſhall not be conſidered as the repreſentatives of the people, intimating thereby ſome doubt, at leaſt, that we are not now the ſubſtantial and virtual repreſentatives of that body. How does he make that aſſertion good? Becauſe, he ſays, large meetings of the people have expreſſed their diſapprobation of the bill; and therefore, if we do not adopt their opinions, he aſſures we have no ſympathy with them, and in no ſenſe

ever can be called their repreſentatives. In the firſt place, I muſt obſerve, that theſe meetings were only held in the metropolis; that in other parts of the kingdom no diſapprobation has been expreſſed, and that even in the metropolis itſelf the oppoſition has a good deal ſubſided ſince the modifications, which have removed the principal cauſes of objection. In the next place I ſhall never agree that this Houſe, as the repreſentatives of the people, are bound to bend to every partial and unſettled opinion of that body. I mean not to deny that we ſhould give due weight to the influence of public opinion; but it never was the principle of the Conſtitution that the repreſentatives of the people ſhould ſhift with every breath of popular deſire. Nothing could be more inconſiſtent with true wiſdom and public utility, than that the legiſlators ſhould be influenced by every fleeting and partial expreſſion of the public will. How eaſy was it in the preſent caſe, by miſrepreſentation, and an imperfect view of the bill in its operation, to raiſe in the firſt inſtance a popular clamour againſt it; a general diſinclination towards it appeared in the public meetings within the metropolis; but no ſooner was the ſubject fully underſtood, and its particular hardſhips removed, than it was regarded in a very different light, as appeared by the proceedings of the common-hall in the city, and other parts. The Gentlemen oppoſite to me are ready enough, on all occaſions, not only to condemn the conduct of his Majeſty's Miniſters, but alſo to make the public a party to their cauſe. I have not only a right to conſider them as prejudiced in this reſpect, but, from frequent experience, erroneous alſo; for in many caſes where they have as loudly maintained the public opinion was with them, on a fair enquiry, where occaſion offered, we have found the fact to be directly the reverſe. Is it in the nature of things, that a heavy and general tax can, in the firſt inſtance, be popular? And, on the contrary, it ever muſt be the eaſieſt of all things, by artifice and miſrepreſentation to raiſe a clamour againſt any ſuch meaſure on its firſt breaking upon the public mind. It is hardly poſſible for ſuch tax to be popular and cheerfully received; all taxes are neceſſarily hardſhips, and muſt be ſubmitted to, not from pleaſure, but a ſenſe of public duty. And I hope with confidence that this tax will be ſo received by the good ſenſe and fortitude of the people; and that when it comes explained and amended, they will ſubmit to the ſacrifices it enjoins, as a meaſure of urgent neceſſity, under circum-

ſtances of the moſt ſevere trial that this nation ever experienced. It does not, however, enter into my ideas of public duty, that the Legiſlature ſhould conſult the popular opinion at the expence of public ſafety. There was one part of the right honourable Gentleman's ſpeech that I am impelled to notice, from the extraordinary requeſt it contained. He admitted the great uſe of unanimity, and allowed, that in this critical period in particular, it was highly deſirable. The mode, however, in which he means to obtain it is, in my opinion, ſomewhat ſingular. He ſays, we the minority, conceiving ourſelves right, will not yield to you, the majority, but, as unanimity is deſirable, you ſhould undoubtedly come over to our opinion. So that the majority are thus called upon at once to forego their opinions, though adopted after long and frequent debate, and to tread back all their ſteps, and admit themſelves to be wrong although they knew themſelves to be right. This was the reaſonable requeſt his arguments conveyed; and we were told that a zealous unanimity was to be expected on no other terms. In like manner he requires us to poſtpone the bill indefinitely, though ariſing from urgent neceſſity, and calculated for ſecurity and defence, until he ſhall in his good time return to his parliamentary duty, and, as occaſion ſuits, unfold to our view, for ſeparate diſcuſſion, all the parts of that radical change in our ſyſtem he projects. As to the principles of individual conduct in this Houſe, it is not now a general queſtion of how far a member is authoriſed to ſecede from his attendance; but, in my opinion, that virtual repreſentation, of which the right honourable Gentleman is ſo fond, cannot be more completely violated than by a dereliction of duty, particularly in a moment of imminent danger to the country. And this is doubtleſs aggravated if it ſhould be done with a view of depreciating the body of which he is a member, and to alienate the affections of the people from it. I can hardly conceive how a man can act in groſſer violation of his duty as a member of parliament than by ſuch a conduct. Much of the fact, in ſuch a caſe, muſt be collected from attendant circumſtances. I ſhall not now inquire by what motives thoſe Gentlemen acted (Mr. Burke and others), alluded to by the right honourable Gentleman, who ſeceded in the American war; but I recollect that his own ſeceſſion was announced after the motion made by an honourable Gentleman (Mr. Grey) for Parliamentary Reform; and that, in the courſe of that debate, the

nourable Gentleman ſaid, that unleſs the meaſures were adopted, the Houſe would not be any longer intitled to the reſpect of the people out of doors. As to the general principle, nothing can be more certain than that it is a violation of duty to deſert a poſt committed to one's charge, and that in exact proportion to the danger of thoſe for whom we undertake the charge it increaſes. Now it did ſo happen that the right honourable Gentleman would not, in his whole political career, have choſen a moment of ſeceſſion more encompaſſed with danger than the one in which he actually did ſecede. The motive, therefore, is at beſt ſuſpicious, and declining to attend under ſuch circumſtances, led at leaſt to inquiry, whether by keeping away he ſought opportunities to effect that, by inflaming the people without theſe walls, which no exertion of his talents could atchieve within. He retired juſt as the rancour of our enemy became moſt inveterate, and excluſively directed to this country; and when the manifeſtation of their malice called forth the ſpirit and zeal of all claſſes to ſupport our national independence and honour. Juſt at this juncture it was that the right honourable Gentleman thought proper to retire. On what ground is it that Gentlemen oppoſe this Bill? Do they deny the danger that ſurrounds us? Do they maintain that exertion is not neceſſary? That it can be ſuſpended with ſafety? No; they do not attempt to do either; but, as the means of obtaining their own objects, they are willing to riſk the honour, welfare, and exiſtence of the country. The right honourable Gentleman had aſſerted his right to ſecede on his own motives of expediency, and, of courſe, thoſe who ſurround him will not object if I take their juſtification on the ſame principle; but the right honourable Gentleman, it ſeems, retains his opinion of that expediency, and only now appears at the particular injunction of his conſtituents to defend their local intereſt. How comes it, then, that he appears ſo ſurrounded with friends, who, adopting his principle of ſeceſſion, have not, in the deſire of their conſtituents, the ſame motive for his particular exception. Can any thing ſhew in a ſtronger light the blind acquieſcence of party zeal, when, in defiance of every avowed principle of their public conduct, they now attend to add to the ſplendour of their leader's entry. There is one point in the Conſtitution of this country in which difference of opinion ariſes, namely, concerning the inſtructions of conſtituents to their repreſentatives. Some think themſelves bound to obey them, whatever their individual opinion may be on the ſubject. Others thinking theſe inſtructions intitled

to their reſpect, yet follow the dictates of their own conſciences. Of this latter claſs the right honourable Gentleman profeſſes himſelf to be. According, therefore, to his own admiſſion, he now attends in ſpite of his own opinion of the expediency of ſeceſſion, to diſcuſs the local intereſt of his conſtituents. He, nevertheleſs, declined attending in that ſtage of the bill, in which alone he could be of ſervice in that particular, by propoſing reliefs for the particular hardſhips his conſtituents might ſuſtain; and now, without noticing the modifications made, he objects to other particulars, without ſuggeſting or moving any remedy. He came here to oppoſe its local and partial effect, yet indulges only in a general and indiſcriminate oppoſition to it; and profeſſing to come for the expreſs purpoſe of diſcuſſing this bill, he introduces every topic that has been decided during the long period of his abſence. The Houſe muſt therefore decide in what ſpirit, and for what real purpoſe he attends. Nothing that he has ſaid can be underſtood as touching in any degree the queſtion now before us. He may, indeed, be ſaid to reproach his Majeſty's Miniſters, but can with no propriety be ſaid to ſpeak to the ſubject for which his conſtituents directed him to attend. With reſpect to many objections urged in the courſe of the debate, I muſt ſay in general, that if Gentlemen had attended in the proper ſtage of the bill, they would have heard them anſwered. It is not that the objections are unanſwerable, but they have not heard the anſwers that have been given by neglecting to attend when it was their duty to be preſent. Upon the queſtion of a great and unuſual exertion, no doubt is made; all agree that it is indiſpenſable. Now, if this is to be made, the next inquiry is, in what manner is it to be done? From whence ariſes this ſecondary queſtion: Whether it is to be done in the uſual mode of raiſing ſupplies, or by raiſing a conſiderable proportion of the ſum requiſite for the current ſervices within the year? Upon this latter queſtion the right honourable Gentleman (Mr. Fox) is dubious; his right honourable Friend (Mr. Sheridan) thinks that a ſum ſhould be raiſed by a great exertion within the year. There is one objection to the preſent plan not eaſily to comprehend, namely, that by this mode of exertion I only relieve the ſtocks ſo as affect a few particular friends of Miniſters; for the old ſtockholders, who bought in before the war, it is ſaid, cannot be hurt, inaſmuch as they manifeſt an intention of retaining their capital and receive the ſame intereſt. Therefore no depreciation of the funds can affect them. This, however, is a very fallacious and defective view of the ſubject; for property, the nature of which is [illegible] muſt always depend on the value of that [illegible]

thing to prevent the depreciation of 200,000,000l. in capital, or can that be ſaid to affect only a few particular friends of a Miniſter? If further loans are to be made for the public ſervice, is it of no conſequence whether the funds are at 40 or 48 per cent? Does it make no difference whether money is borrowed for the public at 4, 5, or 6 per cent? Has the price of ſtocks no effect on commerce and agriculture if they fall below a certain point? According to this plan it is not property that is directly taxed, but expenditure is made the criterion of income in its application. I admit that ſome inequalities will be found; but ſo there muſt in every plan of raiſing a conſiderable ſum within the year, and this only forms an objection to the plan in caſe it can be ſhewn that the ſame ſum can be raiſed by means leſs partial and irregular. There have been inſtances of large ſums raiſed within the year, but in no inſtance by means leſs liable to the objection of irregularity. On the whole the Houſe will decide whether they will, under the preſent circumſtances of the country, make a great and unuſual exertion to reſiſt the enemy, or whether, on the arguments they have heard, ſuſpend all defenſive precautions, and leave the country open to the ruinous projects of an inſolent and overbearing enemy. Notwithſtanding the right honourable Gentleman has intimated his intention to perſevere in his retirement, I leave this queſtion to the Houſe, in full confidence that they will decide on this, and every other occaſion, ſo as moſt effectually to ſupport the independence and permanent intereſt of the country.

After a few words from Mr. Fox, Dr. Lawrence, and Mr. Sheridan, the Houſe divided on the Amendment:

For it 75—Againſt it 202.

The original motion was then put, and the Houſe again divided: *Ayes* 196—*Noes* 71. Adjourned at a quarter paſt 5.

LIST OF THE MINORITY,

ON THE THIRD READING OF THE ASSESSED TAX BILL, JAN. 4, 1798.

Anſon, Thomas
Aſley, Jacob (Norfolk)
Aubrey, Sir John
Barclay, Geo.
Barlow, Hugh
Beauclerk, Chas.
Biddulph, Rob. (Herefordſhire)
Bouverie, Hon. E. (Northampton.)
Brogden, John
Bunbury, Sir J. C. (Suffolk)
Burch, J. R.
Burdett, Sir F.
Byng, George (Middleſex)
Cavendiſh, Lord G. H.
Clayton, Sir R.
Coke, T. W. (Norfolk)
Coke, E.
Colhoun, Wm.
Combe, H. C.
Copley, Sir L.
Courtenay, J.
Denſon, W. J.
Dickenſon, Wm. (Somerſetſhire)
Edwards, Bryan
Fitzpatrick, R. H. Gen.
Fletcher, Sir H. (Cumberland)
Foley, Hon. A.
Folkes, Sir F. M.
Fox, Right Hon. C. J.

Green, James
Hare, James
Hobhouſe, Benjamin
Howard, Henry
Huſſey, Wm.
Jefferys, N.
Jervoiſe, C. J.
Knight, R. P.
Langſton, G. (Somerſetſhire)
Lemon, John
Mainwaring, W. (Middx.)
Milner, Sir Wm.
Nicholls, J.
North, Dudley
Normey, Wm.
Norton, Hon. General
Pierſe, Henry
Plumer, W. (Hertfordſhire)
Rawdon, Hon. John
Richardſon, J.
Roberts, A.
Ruſſell, Lord W. (Surrey)
Ruſſell, Lord J.
Scudamore, John
Sheridan, R. B.
Shuckburgh, Sir G. (Warwickſhire)
Shum, George
Spencer, Lord Robert
Stanley, Lord
St. John, Hon. St. Andrew (Bedfordſhire)
Sturt, Charles
Tarleton, General
Taylor W.
Thompſon, Thomas
Tierney, George
Townſhend, Lord John
Tufton, Hon. Henry
Tufton, Hon. John
Tyrwhitt, Thomas,
Vane, Sir F. H.
Walpole, Hon. G.
Walwyn, James
Weſtern, C. C.
Wigley, Edm.
Wilſon R.
Winnington, Sir Edward

TELLERS.

Jekyl, Joſeph — Smith, Wm.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

THURSDAY, *Jan.* 5.

Mr. *Tierney* roſe, according to his notice, to move for a Committee of ways and means.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* wiſhed to know whether it was the honourable Gentleman's intention to bring forward the motion, of which he had given an intimation on a former night? If ſo, he hoped the Houſe would conſider that this day was appropriated to the further conſideration of the bill which was diſcuſſed and read a third time yeſterday. And as the motion of the honourable Gentleman could in no ſort be made a part of the bill, the Houſe would agree with him that the Committee of ways and means ſhould at leaſt be poſtponed; he therefore oppoſed the Speaker's leaving the chair.

Mr. *Tierney* ſaid, he thought he had been already ſufficiently explicit. He would now ſtate, beyond the poſſibility of being miſunderſtood, that the object of his motion was to repeal all laws which exempted the Royal Family from paying taxes, and for this purpoſe the preſent moment was of all others the moſt proper. For it was expedient that when this bill went forth into

the world, it ſhould carry along with it the proſpect of an univerſal participation in the difficulties and burthens it would occaſion, and for this reaſon he would perſiſt in it. He ſaid it would produce no delay, for its tendency was obvious, and it ſpoke home to men's hearts. As this was a time of miſconſtruction and miſrepreſentation, he thought that few obſervations ſhould be made, and that a ſilent vote would be moſt prudent and decorous; and he hoped the Right honourable Gentleman would be of the ſame opinion, and leave the matter to the unbiaſſed judgment of the Houſe.

Mr. *Secretary Dundas* ſaid, the honourable Gentleman's diſcloſure made reſiſtance to the Speaker's leaving the chair more neceſſary. When the clauſes alluded to were introduced into tax bills, it was not for the value of the ſum, but as a mark of reſpect to the Sovereign, and in that point of view it ought not to be diſcontinued—for any other reaſons he had no documents before them; if there were any they might be taken into conſideration on a future day, and if the motion were acceded to, it could not be incorporated in the preſent bill.

Mr. *Tierney* ſaid, he did not mean it ſhould be incorporated in the preſent bill—he meant it merely to ſpeak to the world that the Royal Family partook in the burthens of the people; and whether that voice was conveyed in one form or another was of little importance; at a time a new mode of taxation was adopted he muſt expreſs his ſurpriſe that his motion ſhould be objected to as a deviation from form—[Mr. *Tierney* was called to order by the Speaker.]

Mr *Wilberforce* objected to the meaſure as inſidious; to his knowledge in remote parts of the country inflammatory papers were circulated, and he ſaw ſomething congenial to them in the object of the preſent motion—he pronounced an eulogium on the Monarchy, and pointed out the propriety of preſerving its ſplendour and dignity.

Mr. *Smith* ſupported the motion; he ſaid it would render the bill more palatable, and would have that effect. He agreed with Mr. *Wilberforce* that the Monarchy ought to be ſupported in dignity, but in times like the preſent, a ſacrifice of ſplendour might tend to its ſtability.

Mr. *Pole Carew* thought this a ſtrange motion for a man to bring forward, who had ſo lately ſupported the neceſſity of ſplendour in the ſitting Judges. The ſubject had in fact been already decided, for in 1791 there was an enquiry into the ſtate of the civil liſt, and an addition made to it.

Mr. *Martin* ſaid that the peculiar hardſhip of the preſent times, which had been ſtated as an argument in favour of the bill

for

for increaſing the Aſſeſſed taxes, applied with double force in favour of the motion then before the Houſe.

Mr. *Nicholls* ſaid, that as all taxes before were on conſumption, the Royal Family contributed by their conſumption, but this was a quite new kind of taxation; he was for maintaining the ſplendour of the Crown, but was for the motion.

The Houſe divided,

Ayes (For Mr Tierney's motion)	—	9
Noes — —	—	57
Majority	—	48

ASSESSED TAXES BILL.

On the queſtion "that the Houſe do proceed further in the third reading of the ſame,"

Mr. *Tierney* took occaſion to notice the declaration made by his Majeſty to Parliament, "that he would make a common cauſe with his People," &c. It now happened that he was made by his Miniſters to ſay one thing, and act differently. His Majeſty's People were to be offered up as ſacrifices by the preſent bill, while that Great Perſonage who was made to declare that he would riſe or fall with them, was to be wholly exemp from its operation. If his motion had been agreed to it would have had greater effect in counteracting the machinations ſaid to be practiſed by diſaffected perſons, than all the laws that had been enacted againſt them. His Majeſty would thus remove the ſtings that might be lurking in the breaſts of any perſons. This was to him an additional reaſon for oppoſing the bill. That while the whole principle of taxation was reverſed with regard to the People, who would be thus burthened and degraded, the Crown was to contribute nothing for its own defence.

Mr. *Yorke* condemned the conduct of Mr. Tierney in expreſſing himſelf in the manner he did of his Majeſty, as highly miſchievous: when he was called to order by Mr. Tierney, who ſaid, that every Gentleman muſt have underſtood him to allude to his Majeſty's Miniſters, and not to have thrown the ſlighteſt imputation on the Royal Perſonages in queſtion. Mr. Yorke replied, that the honourable Gentleman's ſpeech went to make the People believe, that the Houſe wanted to ſcreen his Majeſty in an improper manner.

Mr. *H. Thornton* ſpoke againſt Mr. Tierney's throwing difficulties in the way of the bill, then before the Houſe.

Mr. *Wilberforce* deprecated the expreſſion that the People were to be made ſacrifices by the bill.

Mr.

Mr. *Tierney* explained.

Mr. *W. Smith* ſaid he always wiſhed to ſee the rank and dignity of the Crown ſupported by a ſuitable proviſion. Although a million a year was appropriated to the Civil Liſt, yet not above a tenth of that ſum was applied to the private expences of his Majeſty. He then proceeded to make ſome obſervations on Gentlemen withdrawing from Parliament, which called up.

Mr. *Dundas*, who ſaid that no Member had a right to ſay, that he would abſent himſelf from that Houſe. That they were all, from the moment they were returned to Parliament, under the orders of that Houſe; and the Houſe could, if it choſe, make them ſit there from four in the afternoon, till twelve at night.

Mr. *Martin* ſaid, that from the wiſh he had to attend his duty in Parliament, he ſat in his place till four o'clock in the morning, when being quite exhauſted, he felt himſelf juſtified in retiring.

Mr. Serjeant *Adair* wiſhed that this deſultory converſation might be put an end to, and that the Houſe ſhould proceed to the queſtion before it.

The Houſe then entered on the further conſideration of the bill, when ſeveral clauſes were propoſed by the *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, as riders to the bill. The chief of theſe were a clauſe, that perſons aſſeſſed to the new rates ſhould be permitted from the fifth to to the twenty-fifth of April next, to appeal againſt the amount of the old aſſeſſment. A clauſe to make the the certificate of the Governor or Deputy Governor of the Bank, upon the prompt payment of money to be raiſed by the bill into the Bank, anſwer inſtead of a receipt. A clauſe for allowing perſons a diſcount on prompt payment into the Bank. Another clauſe providing, that no more than once the amount of the old duty ſhould be laid on any addional carriages which perſons might begin to uſe after the paſſing of the preſent Act. A clauſe to exempt from the bill all chambers and apartments in hoſpitals, occupied by perſons for charitable purpoſes.

The abatement in favour of perſons having more than five children is extended to all claſſes.

Mr. *Lloyd* gave notice, that after the holidays, he ſhould move for a reduction in the fees of the Tellers of the Exchequer, and other ſinecures.

And laſtly, the Chancellor of the Exchequer brought up a clauſe to prevent evaſions as to thoſe houſes, the occupiers of

which might claim an exemption under pretence of letting lodgings. It provided, that no houſe ſhould come under this deſcription, unleſs on an appeal it appeared, that a part of it had been let out in lodgings, or advertiſed to be let in the courſe of the year preceding the time of making ſuch appeal. All theſe clauſes were agreed to.

Sir *Charles Bunbury* preſented a clauſe for the relief of country gentlemen of moderate incomes, but who were obliged to ſupport a certain rank in life. That thoſe who inhabited only one houſe not being in, or adjacent to any market town or city, and who already paid above 25l. a year for their ſervants, horſes, and carriages, ſhould pay no greater additional aſſeſſment for their houſe than if it contained no more than forty windows.—Adopted.

A clauſe was alſo adopted to exempt taxed carts.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* ſaid, it would be neceſſary to reviſe the laws relating to taxed carts, by a ſeparate Act, as many Gentlemen evaded the duty on two-wheeled carriages, by their being rated as taxed carts.

A *Member* gave notice, that after the receſs he would bring forward a motion to that effect.

On the ſuggeſtion of Mr. *Wigley*, the *Chancellor of the Exchequer* conſented to change the 10th of October to the 1ſt of November, being the day before which perſons who had laid aſide their carriages and horſes, ſhould not be liable to the new duty.

The bill being gone through was paſſed.

At twelve o'clock the Houſe adjourned till Thurſday.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

SATURDAY, *Jan.* 6.

ASSESSED TAXES BILL.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, attended by ſeveral members, preſented this bill from the Houſe of Commons, which after the deputation had withdrawn, was, on the motion of Lord Grenville, read a firſt time.

Lord *Grenville* then moved, that a ſufficient number of copies of the bill, for the uſe of their Lordſhips, be printed, which was ordered accordingly.

Lord *Grenville* gave notice that on Monday next he would move that the bill be read a ſecond time on the following day.

The

The various bills before the Houſe were then diſpoſed of in their reſpective ſtages; among theſe was Fozard's Divorce bill, which was read a third time and paſſed.

Adjourned till Monday.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

MONDAY, *Jan.* 8.

Heard counſel in an appeal from the Court of Seſſion, in Scotland, in which William Smith, William Dryſdal of the Turf Coffee-houſe, William Dumbrech of the Hotel, James Robertſon, John Hay, and John Mackey, chaiſe-hirers and poſt-maſters, in Edinburgh, were appellants, and William Scot, Procurator Fiſcal, was reſpondent.

The appellants had combined together, and agreed that they would not let out any chaiſe for leſs than fourteen-pence per mile This being complained of before the Juſtices, the combination was declared illegal and unwarrantable. It was afterwards brought before the Court of Seſſion, the deciſion of which was the ſame as that of the Juſtices.

Upon which the parties appealed to the Houſe of Lords, and their Lordſhips affirmed the judgment of the Court of Seſſion.

ASSESSED TAXES BILL.

In the abſence of Lord *Grenville*, Lord *Walſingham* moved, that the Aſſeſſed Taxes bill be read a ſecond time the next day, and that their Lordſhips be ſummoned on the occaſion.—Ordered.

Read the bills upon the table.—Adjourned.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

TUESDAY, *Jan.* 9.

Lord Perth (late James Drummond, Eſq.) was introduced in the uſual form, ſworn, and took his ſeat: his ſupporters were Lords Walſingham and Fife.

The bill to enable the Supplementary Militia to enliſt in his Majeſty's regular ſervice, paſſed a Committee of the whole Houſe.

ASSESSED TAXES BILL.

Lord *Grenville* moved that the order of the day for this bill being read a ſecond time, be read. It was read accordingly, and the bill was read a ſecond time.

Lord *Grenville* moved that the bill be committed, but as a preliminary, deſired that the joint and unanimous addreſs of both Houſes of Parliament to his Majeſty on the 15th of November laſt, be read:

That part of the addreſs being read in which the two Houſes ſtate—"we know that great exertions are neceſſary; we are prepared to make them, and to ſtand or fall with the law, religion, &c. of this country," &c.

Lord *Grenville* then ſaid, he did not wiſh to detain their Lordſhips to hear the whole of the addreſs read, and therefore he had deſired that only part of it ſhould be read: from that part, however, it appeared to the Houſe, that their Lordſhips had carried to the foot of the throne a ſolemn pledge to ſupport his Majeſty in the proſecution of the war, againſt an implacable enemy, till by the vigorous exertions of the whole nation the conteſt ſhould happily be brought to a termination, in a ſafe, honourable, and permanent peace. The ſentiments expreſſed in that addreſs were the foundation of the bill before their Lordſhips. By that bill the Houſe of Commons had commenced a meaſure that was agreeable to the ſentiment of the addreſs, and they now invited their Lordſhips concurrence in that meaſure. This was a bill to raiſe a large ſupply within the year. It was a bill by which the poor were wholly exempted from any burden whatever. It would fall comparatively light on the middling claſs of ſociety, and none but the rich were called upon to contribute largely. That was the higheſt claſs of ſociety, and that claſs he had now the honour of addreſſing. He knew their Lordſhips would feel it ſo, and he was confident that this was, to men of their integrity, honour, and patriotiſm, quite ſufficient, and indeed the beſt recommendation to the motion with which he ſhould have the honour of concluding, viz. That this bill be committed.

Lord *Carrington* ſaid, he felt ſtrongly at this important criſis, the neceſſity of making a great effort to prevent too heavy an addition to the funded debt of the country. That could only be done by raiſing a conſiderable part of the ſupplies of the year by direct contribution; and no plan effectual for that purpoſe could be propoſed, which would not meet with his hearty ſupport. If he objected to the bill before their Lordſhips, it was becauſe the meaſure was not direct or ſtrong enough for the exigency of the times. The object of it was a tax upon the income of each individual, through the medium

medium of his expenditure, to be levied by the criterion of his aſſeſſed taxes. With great deference to the opinion of other noble Lords, who might be better qualified to judge, he queſtioned whether it would not have been wiſer to have gone directly to income, rather than to have taken a criterion which cannot always be a juſt exponent of it. Expenditure is ſeldom a preciſe teſt of income. In this free and happy country, in which affluence is ſo generally diffuſed, many perſons of large fortunes live in privacy, more perhaps from the natural character of Engliſhmen, which generally prefers comfort to magnificence, than from any deſire of hoarding. On the other hand, there are many in the higher ranks on whom that particular part of their expenditure ſubject to taxation by aſſeſſment, ſuch as houſes, ſervants, carriages, &c. will fall ſo heavy, that their quintuple aſſeſſment, if not reduced in the manner preſcribed by the bill, will go much beyond the proportion of income intended to be levied by it. On ſome claſſes of the community, conſiſting of perſons in particular ſituations, and of particular profeſſions, it was indeed feared that the tax would bear too heavily, and it muſt in juſtice be owned, that every plan which the moſt mature conſideration could ſuggeſt, or the moſt induſtrious perſeverance could furniſh, had been adopted to relieve ſuch perſons.

But theſe inconveniences might have been avoided, and thus modifications would have been unneceſſary, if it had been thought expedient, under certain reſtrictions, to come directly at the income of each individual; and he conceived it might be done in a manner not liable to great objection. The greateſt he had heard was, that it might produce a general diſcloſure of income; but he thought this might be removed by the board to whom this declaration ought to be made, being under an oath of ſecreſy, and by other precautions. But if this be an objection, which he could not admit, it operated, though in a ſmaller degree, againſt the meaſure then before their Lordſhips; for, in certain caſes, a man muſt either ſubmit to ſuch a diſcloſure, or pay more than a tenth of his income, while another, of whoſe income the tax may not reach a twentieth part, is called upon for no diſcloſure at all. But he hoped that this inequality would be corrected by the people themſelves, for he contended that the circumſtances of the times, and the principles of general policy and intereſt which dictated the bill then before their

Lordſhips,

Lordſhips, impoſed upon every individual amongſt the higher ranks the duty of contributing a tenth part of his annual income, even in caſes where the bill does not attach upon it. They lived, his Lordſhip obſerved, in moſt extraordinary times: it had pleaſed Divine Providence, by the conſequences of the French revolution, to afflict Europe with a ſcourge, greater and more ſevere than it had ever felt ſince the irruption of the barbarous nations. We have hitherto happily eſcaped. But at length this inveterate enemy to the order, religion, and happineſs of mankind, relying on our inteſtine diviſions, is aſſembling on its own coaſts, with the avowed determination to invade us. But he truſted they would be diſappointed, and that peace was near at hand. He would inform their Lordſhips why he thought ſo. Should the enemy have the good fortune to eſcape the numerous fleets that will be ſtationed to intercept them, he would venture to pronounce that the moment of their landing in force in this country, would be the moment in which Britons would all unite. Their internal differences would vaniſh; with one heart and mind they would ruſh to the coaſt, and ſhew thoſe daring invaders what it was to contend with a free, brave, and unanimous people, exerting themſelves in defence of every thing which can render exiſtence dear to them. Then, and he was afraid not till then, they might expect a ſecure, permanent, and honourable peace.

But, if this expectation ſhould not be realized, if they ſhould at this time twelve month be ſtill contending, as they were now for their exiſtence as a nation, he hoped that ſome plan of direct contribution according to income might be adopted, ſo as to produce within the year, the greateſt part of the money that might be wanted, to ſhew the enemy that our reſources, as well as our ſpirit, were inexhauſtible.

Here his Lordſhip ſaid he ſhould have concluded, but that he found himſelf unavoidably impelled to trouble their Lordſhips for a few moments, upon a ſubject extremely intereſting to himſelf, and not wholly unimportant to their Lordſhips. He aſſured the Houſe that he had been made the ſubject of a moſt atrocious calumny; for a great while paſt, it had been occaſionally inſinuated in the public prints—ſometimes in the ſhape of anonymous paragraphs—but at others in the reports of what has been ſuppoſed to have paſſed in another place, but which, on a minute enquiry, he found were not accurately given. It had been inſinuated that he had obtained the honour which he then had of being able to addreſs their Lord-

ſhips

ſhips in that place, by the means of baſe and vile corruption, by the proſtitution of parliamentary intereſt for that purpoſe. Before he replied to the inſinuation, he muſt beg to remind their Lordſhips, that though he was new in that Houſe, he was not new to their Lordſhips, that during the twenty years he had ſat in the other Houſe of Parliament, his connections, his habits and his friendſhips were many of them formed in that with ſeveral noble Lords, whom he then ſaw before him, ſome of them, he might ſay it without arrogance, conſpicuous for their genius, abilities and virtue. To theſe noble perſons he could make a confident appeal. Did they think it poſſible for him to have been guilty of ſo foul a traffick? He was convinced that every one of their Lordſhips would repel this charge from him, with the ſame indignation as that, with which he repelled it from himſelf. But to reply to the inſinuation more particularly, he averred to their Lordſhips, upon the honour of a gentleman, a name which he conſidered as paramount to every other, that at no time, in no place, and under no circumſtances, did he ever directly, or indirectly, with any perſon whomſoever, bargain, promiſe, agree, or even hint, at the application of parliamentary influence, with the view, or for the purpoſe of obtaining a ſeat in that Houſe. The inſinuation was in the whole, and in every part, falſe and groundleſs. He had committed theſe words to writing, as the ſtrongeſt he could find, but if any noble Lord would furniſh him with ſtronger, he would repeat them. If the forms of the Houſe would permit, he ſhould wiſh publickly to ſtate every thing which paſſed, on the occaſion of his Majeſty's moſt gracious intention of placing him where he then was. But as they did not, his Lordſhip ſaid he ſhould be moſt happy to communicate the particulars to any noble Lord, who might condeſcend to be informed of them. Their Lordſhips might be aſſured they would not find occaſion to bluſh for him. He ſhould be equally ready to ſatisfy and convince every gentleman out of that Houſe, who might be deſirous of knowing the truth; and having made this ſolemn declaration, he had a right to expect, that no perſon, be he whom he might, would venture to ſtate a ſimilar charge, in any place whatever. At leaſt, if he ſhould, he hoped he would do him the juſtice to give him previous notice of his intention. His Lordſhip concluded with ſaying, "My Lords I have now done. His Majeſty has been graciouſly pleaſed to confer upon me a moſt diſtinguiſhed mark of his royal favour. I received it with gratitude. It ſhall not be ſullied in my keeping. I will wear it, if not without reproach, at leaſt without guilt, and will, by the bleſſing of God, tranſmit it untarniſhed to my poſterity."

Lord *Holland* ſaid, the Addreſs of both Houſes of Parliament, ſtated by the noble Secretary of State to have been voted unanimouſly, and part of which has been read to your Lordſhips, appears to me to be a mere ſtatement of the exigencies of the times, under the circumſtances of the country; but does not warrant any ſuch meaſure as that which is now before you. I am not ready to diſpute with the noble Secretary, that under the adminiſtration of which he forms a conſiderable part, for the laſt five years the condition of this country has grown worſe and worſe, for that is too plain a propoſition to be debated, either here or any where elſe. If it were enough for a Member of Parliament to ſee that the exigency of his country was great, that its diſtreſs was general, and that he was to be excuſed, from examining the ſyſtem that produced the calamity, that it was no part of his duty to enquire how money had been already applied, or what probability there was of its being duly uſed in future; then, perhaps, I might agree with the noble Secretary, in the truth of the preamble of the Bill which is now before you; but even then I ſhould find it my duty to oppoſe the enactments, becauſe I do not think that they agree with the preamble.

When you are called upon to vote for a meaſure that has for its object the raiſing ſo large a ſum of money as is here propoſed to be raiſed, and muſt neceſſarily lay upon the people a much heavier burthen than any they have ever yet felt, it is neceſſary you ſhould inquire whether thoſe to whom millions upon millions of the money of the people have been entruſted, and who have hitherto heaped upon them in return for it only diſaſter and diſgrace, are about to change their ſyſtem. They ſhould hold out to you ſome hopes that theſe great additional and tremendous ſacrifices which the public are now called upon to make, will be employed in a manner very different from thoſe millions which have hitherto been uſed with ſo little effect. That our ſituation is now an alarming and a dreadful one, is a propoſition which I believe I ſhall not hear denied. I ſhall hear, no doubt, that ſuch ſituation has been brought upon us by extraordinary misfortunes. Certainly they are extraordinary misfortunes; but to whoſe fault are they chiefly owing? Was it not the duty of Miniſters not to have wantonly plunged us into a war, without conſidering what theſe misfortunes were likely to be? But having entered into the war, Miniſters affect to be ſurpriſed at the exertions of the enemy. Is that wonderful, my Lords? Have not ſentiments been uttered in this Houſe, and in other places, the natural effect of which is to unite all thoſe who have [illegible] lue for the liberties of mankind? When therefore we [illegible]

our preſent ſituation being ſuch as requires great exertions, I wiſh the argument to have a retroſpect effect, that you may ſee the cauſes of your preſent calamity, elſe you will have no chance of avoiding future ruin. But I would aſk how it is poſſible for any rational being to expect that the people will approve of the meaſure which is now before you? Can you expect that they will go hand in hand with you in purſuing that mode which a confiding Parliament has, with uniform reliance upon Miniſters, adopted from time to time, when you know, that in no one inſtance has that Miniſtry anſwered the expectation of the public? I certainly do think this country ought not to grant any more money without a proper pledge, not only that Miniſters are to be changed, but that the preſent ſyſtem is to be changed alſo. I think that change of ſyſtem comprehends a true repreſentation of the people in Parliament; an entire and radical reform of abuſes. You can never rationally hope for the cordial co-operation of the people without making them importantly intereſted in the Conſtitution; at leaſt allow them all the power they had at the commencement of the preſent conteſt. This is the only way to procure a ſafe and an honourable peace. I know it is a very common argument in favour of Adminiſtration to ſay, "no Miniſters were ever in ſuch a ſituation as the preſent are, and therefore great allowances are due to them. Why will you therefore endeavour to ſtop the ſupplies? that can only tend to ſtrengthen or encourage the enemy." I know that ſuch an argument is frivolous in itſelf. I know that a change of Miniſters, and alſo of ſyſtem, at leaſt a pledge for it from the higheſt authority, may be procured in a few hours. It need not detain your proceedings ſo long as if you waited for a noble duke who happened to have miſſed his robes, and you could not go on with ſome ceremony in the Houſe without him. No man can juſtly ſay I am recommending confuſion; the thing I want may eaſily be done, if your Lordſhips ſet ſeriouſly about it. You ſhould withhold the ſupplies until you have a pledge for a change of Miniſters and of ſyſtem: a change that would unite the hands and hearts of the people of Ireland; that generous country, my Lords, is very ungenerouſly treated. I do not ſay that you ſhould ſtop the ſupplies until perfect tranquillity be reſtored there? I only ſay you ſhould ſtop the ſupplies until you have a pledge for a change of Miniſters and a change of ſyſtem. That will naturally lead to the puniſhment of ſome guilty men. Until you have that pledge I conceive that the more you vote, the more you add fuel to the fire which is conſuming you, and burdens to

the loads that are already bearing you down. This meaſure, if you adopt it, will ruin your character with the country at large. I hear unanimity often recommended; and it is much to be deſired; but it never can be procured until the rights of the people are reſtored to them. Theſe rights were very much infringed upon by certain bills which have prohibited public meetings in a particular manner. Until they are repealed the people cannot expreſs, or feel properly, the ſtake they have in the country. Voting bills of this nature is the way to produce animoſity inſtead of unanimity; to make men hate inſtead of loving Government; to make the people deſperate; to invite inſtead of deterring the enemy from invaſion. I ſee no probable chance of peace while our affairs are under the direction of the preſent Miniſters. I confeſs, that when I firſt looked on this bill I thought it was quite impoſſible it ſhould ever paſs. I conſidered it as a mere threat, intended to frighten us into ſome other meaſure, for it is the great object of Adminiſtration to create a facility for raiſing money. They complain of the facility with which debts have been heaped upon us by the funding ſyſtem, merely, as I thought, the better to prepare us to add more upon that plan, by frightening us with the preſent bill. It is otherwiſe inconceivable to me how they, who have added two hundred millions to our debt, ſhould have complained of the facility of the funding ſyſtem. Had this bill been introduced at the beginning of the war, it would have told you what you were to expect, and I am ſure you would have revolted at it, but now Miniſters know, indeed they tell you, "That you are in a ſituation from which you cannot recede, and therefore we ſhall bleed you as we pleaſe." Open reſiſtance would have been the effect of ſuch a meaſure as this had it been introduced at the commencement of the war; but that was not the way in which the war was commenced. It was then ſtated that this war was not likely to be of long continuance, nor an expenſive conteſt; and with a fatal readineſs we entered into it. We were at one time told that twenty five millions would be ſufficient, and within half a year half as much more was called for. I only ſtate theſe facts to ſhew you what reliance ought to be placed in the promiſes of the Miniſter. Miniſters affect to be alarmed leſt the French ſhould come upon our coaſt—God avert the calamity! But will this bill prevent them? Miniſters have conſtantly raiſed the hopes of the people, and have as conſtantly diſappointed them. They went to war to prevent the opening of the Scheldt. Have they ſucceeded? They then ſaid a great deal about protecting our allies. Have they

they protected any? None of theſe things are done, although upwards of two hundred millions have been expended; and the Conſtitution of the country in many parts done away. If you would have the vigorous co-operation of the people, reſtore to them the conſtitution, and give to them a Miniſtry in which they can confide; nothing elſe can retrieve you. They will not aſſiſt a Miniſtry that is appointed by court intrigue; they will not confide in thoſe who are falſely called the Repreſentatives of the people; many of whom they know to be nominated by the Members of this Houſe, and therefore it is impoſſible that they ſhould ſpeak the voice of the people; I will go further, my Lords; I ſay it is not enough that they ſhould ſpeak the voice of the people. It ſhould be known, felt, and acknowledged that they do ſo; until theſe things are ſo, and until you have a Miniſtry in which the people can confide, you never can have any proſpect of ſucceſs in any war in which you may be engaged, and above all, no hope for the reſtoration of the liberties of the people.

I confeſs, I do not underſtand with what view or intention this bill is brought forward. I ſhould really think it was to foment diſcord; I cannot call it a tax. I do not heſitate to declare it is worſe in point of principle than any of the plans of Roberſpierre; it certainly does not go the ſame extent, but it is worſe, I ſay, in principle, for Roberſpierre only charged the people for what they had, but this bill makes a charge on us for what we have had, without any regard to what we have. It is telling a man "I will make you pay according to what you have paid; I will rely upon it that you are rich, becauſe you have ſpent your money in ſuch a manner as is moſt likely to have made you poor." Taking this as a tax upon income, every man muſt object to it, becauſe that muſt be a tax, in moſt caſes, upon induſtry. The ſtatement of this income, in caſes of appeal, is made ſubject to the examination of Commiſſioners. What ſecurity is there that what a man ſwears to, in this particular, ſhall be true? It ſhould be remembered, that men have in general a great repugnance to declare what their income is, and there are ſome to whom that declaration would be actual deſtruction. It is ſaying to a man, "If you have any objection to my killing you, I will give you leave to kill yourſelf."

As to the general idea, that this is not a tax that will fall upon the poor, I take that to be an impoſſibility; for you can never invent a tax that will fall upon many perſons, that will produce much money, without its falling ultimately upon the lower claſſes of ſociety. You cannot raiſe ſeven or eight

millions of money upon any part of the community, within the year, without driving the maſs of the people to great diſtreſs. I obſerve that all thoſe who at preſent pay 50l. a year to the Aſſeſſed Taxes are to be aſſeſſed to five times the amount; that is, in all, 300l. a year upon this one duty. How many do your Lordſhips think may fail in this claſs? How many of them do you think may ſwear off for taxing them above a tenth of their income? And here give me leave to remind your Lordſhips of the ſaying of Dean Swift, "that two and two do not make four in the Cuſtom Houſe." Theſe are my objections to the meaſure which is now before you. His Lordſhip concluded with an apology for having detained the Houſe ſo long, and with many thanks for their indulgence.

The Earl of *Liverpool* ſaid, that the noble Lord who had juſt ſat down had introduced topics that were not ſtrictly connected with the queſtion before the Houſe, and ſome of them ſuch as their Lordſhips had not the power to determine; ſuch he took to be the caſe with regard to a Reform in the lower Houſe of Parliament. He did not believe that the Houſe of Commons would think their Lordſhips kept within the province which the Conſtitution allotted to them if they entered on the ſubject of Parliamentary Reform.—With reſpect to the queſtion of the preſent ſyſtem which prevailed in Ireland, with the Government of Ireland their Lordſhips could have no interference, as the Conſtitution of that country was completely independent of this: Ireland, whatever might be the opinion of the noble Lord on the ſituation of that country, had a Parliament of its own, with which we had no authority to interfere, which was the beſt judge of its own circumſtances, and which alone was competent to redreſs its grievances, if any ſuch exiſted. Any obſervation which had fallen on that head was not therefore a proper object of diſcuſſion with their Lordſhips to conſider. Beſides, if the Houſe thought proper to wait for all the reforms and arrangements they had juſt heard propoſed, and deferred the neceſſary means of defence, their delay would go on, till the enemy ſhould be at their gates, and till they would find it too late for exertion.

After the joint addreſs of the two Houſes ſo recently carried to the foot of the Throne, in which a ſolemn pledge was given by their Lordſhips and the Commons to ſupport his Majeſty in a vigorous proſecution of the war, he was ſurprized at the noble Baronet's oppoſition. The two Houſes of Parliament having already pledged themſelves to the ſupport of the war againſt an enemy that has left us

us no alternative but vigorous reſiſtance, the firſt queſtion which the preſent meaſure ſuggeſts was, whether it was eligible to raiſe a part of the ſupplies within the year? It had been objected, by the noble Lord who ſpoke laſt, that the plan was novel; but granting it were novel, it might in the preſent circumſtances of the country be wiſe and prudent. It was not unprecedented however, for the ancient ſubſidy and the public ſupplies for a great number of years, were raiſed within the year, by taking a certain portion of property, either income or capital. The taxes which had been raiſed ſince the Revolution could not have been laid, and have been ſo productive as they are, unleſs this country had improved in wealth, and become a great, rich, and commercial nation. Immediately after the Revolution it would be remembered that the Land Tax was impoſed. It could be demonſtrated from the Acts and public proceedings of thoſe times, as well from the writings and publications on the ſubject, that the impoſt then laid on Land was not meant to be confined to Land, but was to be extended to every ſpecies of property. Powers were at that time given and Commiſſioners were appointed to examine into the fortunes of individuals. Such had been the feeling of Parliament at a time when the principles of Liberty were well underſtood. In point of policy, perhaps, ſuch a meaſure might not be wholly juſtifiable; but ſuch had been the ſentiments of our anceſtors in moments of difficulty far inferior to the preſent. It ſo happened, indeed, that the tax did at length fall upon Land only, though the intention was to extend it to other ſpecies of property. With reſpect to a tax on capital, he thought it a bad one, becauſe it tended to check the ſources of induſtry. A tax upon expenditure, was the only one which he conſidered eligible. At the period to which he had alluded, Commitees of the Houſe of Commons had been appointed to conſider the practicability of taxing capital, but were not able to ſurmount the difficulties with which it was attended. Since the Revolution the mode of raiſing money had been by loans, provided for by indirect taxes on expenditure. The length to which the Funding Syſtem had been carried, however, and the circumſtances of the preſent moment, might render it expedient to limit its application.

A great deal of clamour had been made againſt this meaſure; it appeared to him, however, that it was confined chiefly to the metropolis; as far as he had ſeen, there were very few places out of Middleſex that had come to any reſolutions expreſſing diſapprobation of it. Bath, Southampton, Guildford in Surry, and Warwick were the only ones he recollected; and

and in thoſe towns great pains were taken to excite diſapprobation of the meaſure; but nevertheleſs, the wiſdom and the policy of raiſing a great part of the ſupplies within the year are acknowledged; while all the great manufacturing towns, ſuch as Halifax, Leeds, Mancheſter, Birmingham, Stafford, and the great ſeaports of Liverpool and Briſtol, and all Scotland without exception, had expreſſed no diſſatisfaction whatever. He had ſeen a letter from a merchant in Glaſgow, in which the ſentiment of that part of the country on the ſubject was well expreſſed. It ſtated that the writer was ſurprized at the clamour againſt the meaſure that had been made in the metropolis, as he and the merchants of Glaſgow conſidered the money to be raiſed as a premium of inſurance for the ſafety of their property." As to the extent of the burden, was it any thing like the amount of the burden impoſed in King William's time? At that period four ſhillings in the pound was impoſed on land, and was intended to be extended to other property, while now the demand was limited to a tenth part of income. Taxes had increaſed ſince the Revolution, indeed; but the wealth and reſources of individuals and the public had increaſed in a ſtill greater degree. It had been argued, that the preſent Bill would preſs very heavily on the bulk of the community; the contrary, however, was the fact, for an individual, by paying a certain ſum, according to the proviſions of the Bill, would in reality pay leſs than if he were to contribute gradually from the conſumption or uſe of articles in his particular trade or commerce. If therefore it did not fall too heavily on the merchant and manufacturer, while it was undeniable that at the preſent moment our commerce had increaſed one third more that what it was at the commencement of the war, and while the internal improvement of the country was ſuch as to be totally unprecedented in the hiſtory of the kingdom, he hoped he ſhould not be pronounced too ſanguine in his expectations, in ſtating, that he believed it would not be found to preſs heavily on the trading parts of the community. One great objection was, that a certain degree of inequality was obſervable in the meaſure; and he was perfectly aware of that objection. But he would undertake to ſay, that it was utterly impoſſible, in a plan of ſo complicated a nature, to obviate all the inequalities that might unexpectedly offer themſelves. The greateſt attention had however been beſtowed on that important ſubject, and the modifications which had been introduced had given great ſatisfaction.

It was conſidered as a vexatious and oppreſſive circumſtance, that in caſe relief was required, men would be obliged to

ſwear, not what was the amount of their income, but what it did not exceed; yet, after the Revolution, ſuch were the means by which the amount of the burden impoſed was proportioned to the amount of property. Nor would the money ſo raiſed impoveriſh the country, as if it were to be ſent out of the country, or ſunk in the ſea. It would ſupport the army and navy, and all the branches of manufactures connected with theſe ſervices, and employed in ſail making, ſhip building, and the clothing trade. The effect of the meaſure might be, to cauſe retrenchment in matters of luxury, and to fall upon milliners and coachmakers perhaps, but it would animate and encourage more uſeful manufactures, and ſupport more valuable induſtry. The objects for which we had to contend were of the firſt magnitude, and it became the Houſe to ſpare no exertions to defend the country from hoſtile attacks, and to protect the ſources from which our poſterity flowed. With reſpect to the war, he ſhould ever contend that its origin was juſt and neceſſary; that we were forced into it, and that the French were the aggreſſors. On the proper occaſion he was ready to argue this queſtion, and perhaps proofs might be brought forward, which yet were not generally known. The ſucceſs of this country by ſea had been diſtinguiſhed and unexampled; and if on the Continent it was not ſo fortunate it was owing to thoſe powers who did not ſeem ſufficiently to weigh the danger in which they were placed: but that kind of war in which this country had been peculiarly concerned, and for which it was alone reſponſible, had proved productive of the moſt ſolid advantages; and he would maintain that no naval war had ever been carried on with more zeal and glory to the nation. He was bold enough to challenge every noble Lord upon that head. Whatever the origin of the war might have been, all muſt now agree, however, that the deſigns of the enemy, ſufficiently underſtood from the beginning of the Revolution, were at this time openly and decidedly hoſtile to the proſperity and happy inſtitutions of this country. For theſe we had now to contend; and certainly it was not an oppoſition which any friend to the country could make, which went to impede the operations of Government in the eſſential meaſure of public defence. Having the honour of a ſeat in that Houſe and ſome property to defend, he did think that every man ſhould in ſuch a criſis be ready to make ſome ſacrifices, and give a part of his property, in the language of the merchants of Glaſgow, "as a premium of inſurance for the ſafety of the remainder."

Lord *Auckland* ſaid, that concurring with the noble Earl who

who had ſpoken ſo forcibly and ſo fully in ſupport of the Bill, he wiſhed that ſome other Peer had now been diſpoſed to riſe. But he could not allow the debate to cloſe without adverting to ſome expreſſions of a more general import, which had been uſed by the noble Baron (Lord Holland).

He had indeed hoped that no oppoſition would have been given in the preſent ſtage of the buſineſs; for the Houſe had already decided the only proper queſtion of the day, namely, that it is expedient (according to the title and purport of the Bill) "to grant to His Majeſty an aid and contribution for the proſecution of the war." Under that impreſſion he thought that his noble friend who had moved the ſecond reading, had done all that was neceſſary, when he called to their Lordſhips' recollection the joint addreſs of the two Houſes, of the fifteenth of November: an addreſs unanimouſly voted, not as a matter of parliamentary form, but after great deliberation and ſolemn diſcuſſion.

The noble Baron, however, who did not think himſelf pledged by that addreſs, had ſtated ſome grounds of hoſtility to the bill which ought not to paſs without animadverſion. The noble Baron was pleaſed to aſſert, firſt, that "the nation had been wantonly plunged into the war;" and next, "that the money expended hitherto had produced only diſgrace and diſaſter." Lord Auckland ſaid, that he ſhould think it an abuſe of the indulgence and patience of the Houſe to renew any detailed ſtatements reſpecting the origin of the war. It had been again and again explained and demonſtrated, to the ſatisfaction of Parliament, and of the whole kingdom, and of all Europe, that the war had been forced upon us by the enemy. He would however avail himſelf of the preſent occaſion to mention ſome particulars connected with the commencement of the war, to which he could not properly have adverted with the ſame unreſerve, whilſt the tranſaction was more recent. It was now become matter of hiſtory: but it was a fact capable of the fulleſt official proof, if any doubt ſhould be entertained relative to it, that in January 1793 he had received the King's commands to meet General Dumourier (in conſequence of a propoſal made by that officer) on the frontiers between Holland and Flanders; and was authoriſed and inſtructed to take every ſtep, that could be made conſiſtent with the eſſential intereſts, ſafety and honour, of theſe kingdoms, to avert the war. He was ſetting out accordingly from his houſe at the Hague, when an officer came to him from General Dumourier to ſay, that the Executive Council at Paris (which had pretended to wiſh the negociation and interview)

had

had ſuddenly declared war againſt Great Britain and Holland, and had ordered him to march immediately with his army into the united provinces. Your Lordſhips would recollect that theſe unprovoked hoſtilities were accompanied by the perfidious circumſtance of ſeizing Britiſh property, and all Britiſh veſſels in the ports of France; and by a ſtrict embargo on all ſhipping, in order to keep from us the knowledge of the declaration of war, and to derive farther advantages from ſuch perfidy. If the noble Baron had known theſe particulars, he certainly would not have ſaid that this country had been wantonly plunged into the war.

The noble Baron's next aſſertion was, that the great expence incurred had produced nothing but diſaſter and diſgrace. This ſtrange allegation ſeemed to be made, in order to imply, that the money propoſed to be raiſed by the bill under diſcuſſion, ought not to be entruſted to the managers of the preſent adminiſtration. He preſumed that by diſaſters the noble Baron alluded to the calamities affecting ſo large a part of the continent of Europe. He agreed with the noble Baron as to the nature, and extent, and importance of thoſe calamities. But though he ſaw and deplored the ſubverſion of ſo many countries by the fate of war and by other cauſes; though he acknowledged with grief, and even with indignation, the degraded ſtate of many of our late allies; he could not overlook the advantages which had in effect reſulted to theſe kingdoms from the continental war. Advantages which had amply compenſated to us the expences incurred in that branch of the war, great and heavy as they had been.

It had been evident from the firſt calling forth of the French people in a maſs, by which they became a nation of military freebooters, that until ſome interior revolution and change of ſyſtem ſhould take place among them, it would be idle on the part of theſe kingdoms to expect a ſafe or an honourable peace. Such a change might have been operated either by the ſucceſſes of the allied armies, or by the laſſitude and impatience of the French provinces under ſo cruel a tyranny, or by a failure of pecuniary means to ſupport the revolutionary armaments. There had been ſymptoms of a diſpoſition to return to the principles of ſocial order towards the cloſe of 1795, and again after the elections in 1797: but thoſe ſymptoms had given way to the deſperate effects of Jacobiniſm. With reſpect to the failure of pecuniary means, the probability of ſuch a reſult was not deſtroyed, becauſe it had ſo long been baffled. That probability ſtill ſubſiſted and gained ſtrength every hour, though he, for one, would never riſk any prophecies re-

ſpecting it. At leaſt it muſt be allowed that the duration of the war had exhauſted great reſources reſulting to the enemy from the prevalence of violence and of rapine. And now let noble Lords conſider for a moment what would have been our relative poſition, if the menaces of invaſion, which at preſent may be conſidered as chimerical and ridiculous, provided that we meet them with the ſenſe and ſpirit of men; what would have been our poſition, if thoſe menaces and preparations had taken place, whilſt the reſources of France were ſtill entire, and whilſt her own fleet and other fleets at her diſpoſal were ſtill unbroken and in full force? They might then indeed, with more ſemblance of reaſon and of ſenſe, have aſſembled their troops on the coaſts oppoſite to us, and have threatened theſe iſlands with invaſion, conqueſt, ranſom, and contributions: in compariſon of which (independent of more eſſential conſiderations) every payment required by this bill becomes trifling and inſignificant. He would again acknowledge that the continental war had been diſaſtrous; but let it alſo be acknowledged, that in the mean time Great Britain had found means, by ſuch a ſucceſſion of naval victories, as ſurpaſs all the annals even of Engliſh hiſtory, to deſtroy the fleet, the commerce, and the navigation of the enemy.

Could the noble Baron ſeriouſly talk of our diſgraces by the war, in the preſence of his countrymen juſtly proud of ſuch glorious recollections. And what then had been the reſult? We remain in full poſſeſſion of the empire of the ſeas, and of ineſtimable advantages to our colonies, commerce, and manufactures; and with a balance of trade ſo large, that he was afraid even to ſtate it; although the great and increaſing influx of bullion during the laſt twelve months would afford ample demonſtration of it.

Such then was our ſituation at a moment when our relentleſs enemy, inſtead of meeting us with a ſpirit of conciliation, inſtead of availing herſelf of the too liberal ſacrifices which we were diſpoſed to make for peace, had avowed and declared that we have no terms to expect; and that the war ſhall not cloſe otherwiſe than by our entire ſubjugation. We were driven to the alternative, either to maintain our independence and ſuperiority, or to proſtrate ourſelves at the feet of the mad and mercileſs *Directoire*. Under ſuch a predicament, the neceſſity of a large ſupply was moſt evident. It might indeed be a queſtion, whether to find that ſupply by the ordinary mode of funding, or to raiſe a conſiderable proportion of it within a ſhort and limited period. Let it then be remembered that it was the evident and boaſted object of the enemy

baust our funding syſtem: this alone ſeemed to be a ſufficient reaſon for evincing, by a ſtrong exertion of public ſpirit, that we can find the ſupplies of the year without bearing hard on that ſyſtem. Nothing can be more fallacious than the inference, that becauſe the funding ſyſtem has ſo long been uſed with ſucceſs, it is therefore now wiſe to employ it to the full extent of our wants, inſtead of reſerving it for a ſubſequent year, if it ſhould then be neceſſary to have recourſe to it. There is indiſputably more wealth in the kingdom at preſent than in any former period; ſtill it may not be expedient to add materially to the quantity of funded ſecurities in the market.

His Lordſhip ſaid he would not ſimplify the queſtion, by reducing it to the ſum propoſed to be raiſed by the bill. Is it adviſeable to loſe fifteen millions within two or three years by a contribution from the general property of the country; or ſhall we borrow that ſum on perpetual taxes, taking the 3 per cents, ſuppoſe at 44; depreciating the public credit; exhauſting our future means; and (inſtead of ſuffering a ſhort and temporary inconvenience) loading ourſelves and our poſterity with 1,500,000l. a year perpetual taxes; excluſive of the increaſed expence which muſt conſequently affect the other loans of the year?

Still, however, admitting the expediency of the contribution, a doubt might be raiſed as to the mode of adjuſting it, which had been adopted by the bill before the Houſe. Noble Lords had varied much in the conſtruction given to that mode. In his opinion it was not a tax either on capital income or expenditure; it was "a contribution rated on the viſible criterion of the aſſeſſes taxes, ſubject to various modifications and exemptions." He was aware of the objections to which the meaſure of eſtimating the capacity of the contributor by the amount of his aſſeſſed taxes ſtands fairly liable. In many inſtances it would bear inadequately on thoſe of great property and on rich capitaliſts. And certainly it was to be wiſhed that in a public criſis, when the danger calls for ſome ſacrifice in order to preſerve great and eſſential intereſts, all ſhould contribute in an equal proportion, with the exception only of thoſe, who by their labour or otherwiſe, derive a mere ſufficiency for themſelves and for their families. The prejudices or good ſenſe of the country were not prepared to allow an enquiry into the circumſtances of individuals: the meaſure muſt remain ſubject to great inequalities, notwithſtanding all the [redacted] modifications which had been ſo anxiouſly introduced

introduced into the bill. The next mode, ſhort of a diſcloſure of circumſtances, is the ſort of declaration on oath required by the bill in caſe of appeal: and here he would confeſs, that he ſhould have had no objection, if the neceſſity impoſed on many, by the *quantum* of the requiſition, to declare upon oath that what they pay is not leſs than a tenth part of their incomes, had been extended to all incomes whatever above a certain limit. It was difficult to ſay, why A. B. in conſequence of being taxed more than a tenth of his income, ſhould be driven to a declaration of income, whilſt C. D. becauſe he is taxed perhaps only a twentieth or a fortieth, ſhall ſtand exempt from any declaration. There was one more point on which he could have gone farther towards enforcing an equality of contribution; he could have ſtated, that incomes ariſing from land and houſes, or from the intereſt of capital, ſhould pay in a larger proportion, than incomes dependent on annuities for life, or on poſſeſſions, or on trade.

But notwithſtanding theſe admiſſions, that there might be ſome inequalities in the operation (as there muſt be in every finance meaſure of any magnitude) he would venture to aſſert, that in the reſult there would be very few caſes indeed, in which the hardſhip ought not to be borne with chearfulneſs, when compared with the great intereſts that every individual has at ſtake. The queſtion to be aſked is not whether one individual is liable to pay proportionably more than another, but whether in any given caſe the extraordinary aid required will be more than ought to be given? And with reſpect to opulent perſons, many of whom may be inſufficiently reached by the bill, he muſt loudly ſay, that every man of that deſcription ought in conſcience, honour, and perſonal wiſdom, to come forwards, and ſhould diſdain to avail himſelf of the delicacy and tenderneſs of parliament which had not required any ſtrict examination into incomes or property.

The meaſure was novel; but the public ſituation alſo was novel. It was a temporary defalcation of a ſmall part of our enjoyments for the ſecurity of the remainder. That defalcation could in no caſe go to the demand of more than a tenth: it was incumbent on all that in no caſe it ſhould go to the payment of leſs than a tenth.

The Earl of *Liverpool*, in explanation, ſtated the [illegible] of the exports and imports, as a proof of what he had [illegible] reſpecting the proſperity of the commerce of the [illegible]

The Duke of *Bedford* ſaid, he roſe under ſome degree of difficulty and embarraſſment, as he had underſtood it was intended to move the ſecond reading of the bill. Having gone out of the Houſe for a ſhort time, however, he found that the bill had been read a ſecond time, and the queſtion put for going into a Committee. He did not mean to complain of this, he knew he had no right to do ſo; and as he had come down to ſtate his objection to the bill, he wiſhed it to be underſtood that his oppoſition to the bill did not ariſe from a perſuaſion that it was unneceſſary to go into the Committee, that the meaſure was ſo perfect as to require no modification, but on the contrary, that he was completely hoſtile to its principle. Though he had no right to complain of what had taken place in his abſence, he could not help being ſurpriſed that ſuch a meaſure could be offered without ſome explanation by thoſe who propoſed it, or that the Houſe ſhould allow the bill to be read a ſecond time without any diſcuſſion. The bill too, conſiſting of 50 pages, had but the preceding day been laid before the Houſe, and now their Lordſhips were called upon to come to a deciſion after ſo ſhort a period for reflection. Having had ſo ſhort a period to examine it with attention, he could not pretend to underſtand it completely, and if he committed any miſtakes he hoped for their indulgence. On the bill as it ſtood when it came out of the Committee of the Houſe of Commons, he was prepared to argue, but with the whole of the proviſions as they might ſince have been modified, he was not perfectly acquainted. Conſidering that the mode of raiſing the ſupplies within the year had been laid aſide, he could not have imagined that the Miniſter would bring ſo novel a meaſure forward without any arguments in its ſupport. He was obliged therefore to gueſs at the arguments by which it might be defended, inſtead of anſwering thoſe which had been advanced. He truſted that ſome better reaſon would have been given for the Houſe agreeing to a particular meaſure of finance, than the addreſs which the noble Secretary had read Did the noble Lord imagine that a general pledge of ſupport obliged the Houſe to acquieſce in any plan for raiſing the ſupplies? Muſt their Lordſhips renounce all pretenſion to exerciſe the power of deliberation on the means by which the ſupply was to be raiſed, becauſe they might have recognized the neceſſity of exertion? One Miniſter indeed ſaid, that every man had a different deſcription for the meaſure, and he might have added that almoſt every man varied in the deſcription which he had formed for himſelf.

himſelf. One noble Lord ſaid it was a tax upon expenditure, another ſaid it was a contribution on property. Could any thing be more diſſimilar than the terms of theſe deſcriptions, or convey more oppoſite ideas of the objects to which they apply? The firſt queſtion which occurs is, whether it is expedient to raiſe a part of the ſupplies within the year? Next, whether it was expedient at the preſent moment? And then, whether the bill before the Houſe was the beſt mode by which ſuch a plan could be carried into effect? Perhaps it might, at the commencement of a war, to make the people reflect upon the value of the objects for which they embarked in war, and the expence at which they muſt be purchaſed. But was it expedient now, at a time when the public funds were ſo reduced, when by the laws which prohibited individuals to lend to individuals beyond a certain rate of intereſt, Government had a monopoly of money, and when others had no means of procuring it, was this a time to call upon men for contributions which they could not raiſe? When land muſt be ſold at a loſs, and mortgaging was out of the queſtion; when thoſe who had money in the funds could not ſell out without enormous loſs, was this a time to make demands which individuals had no means to anſwer? Whatever deſcription, amidſt ſo many oppoſite ones, might be applied to the bill, if the ſum which it impoſed could eaſily be got, its amount, in proportion to the whole of a man's income, might not be ſo ſeverely felt. If, for inſtance, he himſelf, or any individual, were aſſeſſed at 1000l. and could eaſily borrow that ſum at 5l. per cent. he ſhould be obliged to retrench in his expenditure no more at once than 50l. a year. If, however, he could not borrow the money, he ſhould be obliged at once to diminiſh the expenditure, and make retrenchment to the full amount of the 1000l. But nothing could be more inadequate than the aſſeſſed taxes as a criterion of income through expenditure. The fact was, that whatever deſcription might be applied to the bill, Government was determined to take ſo much money out of the pockets of the people; and provided the money was obtained, they were not ſolicitous by what means. The effect of the meaſure, however, would be to occaſion a general reduction of expenditure, and conſequently a great defalcation of the public revenue. Suppoſe that a perſon now contributes to the aſſeſſed taxes a 60th part of his income, the quintuple aſſeſſment becomes a 10th part of the whole. Was not there an obvious danger that this ſudden and heavy demand would occaſion a retrench-

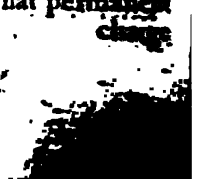
retrenchment fatal to conſumption and to the taxes dependant upon it? It was not milliners or coach-makers alone, of whom the noble Lord ſpoke with ſo little regret, but perhaps 100,000 perſons in the metropolis, ſupported by ſuch manufactures, that would ſuffer. What would be the conſequence to the revenue by the ſudden retrenchment which this meaſure rendered neceſſary? The old taxes were about ſeventeen millions; if then a tenth part of the income of the country is required by this bill, the reduction of a tenth part of this income will on theſe ſeventeen millions create a defalcation of 1,740,000l. But it was ſaid that Government received the money, and it would be employed in ſupporting other branches of uſeful manufactures. But would not ſuch a ſudden increaſe occaſion a very great reduction of expenditure; and was it not ſeen that the old taxes were moſt affected by the new burdens that were impoſed. Again, was this a proper time to call upon the people for ſo great an additional ſum, when it was proved by the evidence of the collectors of the revenue, that the preſent taxes could not be obtained without the greateſt difficulty. At no period had this country ever paid more in one year than twenty millions; but when the whole of the burdens of the new taxes and of the preſent ſum were included, the ſum to be raiſed in one year would be found to be thirty millions. Did their Lordſhips conſider what muſt be the conſequences of raiſing one-third more upon the people of this country, than they ever yet paid in one year? Were they aware of the retrenchments that would be neceſſary, and the decay of revenue that would enſue? When they conſidered theſe things they ought to pauſe. They might be led to believe that it was impoſſible at once to draw ſo large a ſum from the people, without permanent injury to the public. The unpopularity of the meaſure was treated with much indifference. It was ſaid to be confined to the metropolis. Suppoſing, however, it were chiefly confined to the metropolis, ought not the opinion of thoſe who pay one-fourth of the whole to have conſiderable weight with their Lordſhips? But many other places beſides the metropolis, the city of York, &c. had expreſſed their diſapprobation of the principle of the meaſure. The manufacturing towns were not ſo immediately affected by the meaſure, and as for Scotland he believed that no great ſhare of the burthen would now fall upon that country. The noble Earl (Liverpool) ſpoke of the approbation of the meaſure expreſſed in a letter from Glaſgow. When his Lordſhip was at the pains

to

to point out what was ſerious and what ironical in that letter, the Houſe would have been obliged to him had he pointed out what was ironical and what was ſerious in his own ſpeech. Surely it was impoſſible that he could intend many of the obſervations contained in his ſpeech to be ſeriouſly underſtood. With regard to ſtopping the ſupplies, it was clear that his noble friend (Lord Holland) meant that he was not willing to agree any farther to ſupplies, till ſome pledge was given that they would be employed more to the advantage of the country than they had hitherto been (Lord Grenville cried *hear! hear!*) He was glad to find that the noble Secretary now *heard*. Had the noble Earl heard a little better before, he would not have ſaid ſo much about the ruin that would enſue from refuſing ſupplies, upon the ſuppoſition that his noble friend had ſaid what he never did ſay.

Admitting, however, for the ſake of argument, (and no otherwiſe could he admit) that it was expedient to raiſe this ſum within the year, was the preſent bill ſuch as to carry ſuch a plan into effect with leaſt injuſtice and oppreſſion? The bill, however, was obviouſly unjuſt, and no ſituation, he conceived, ought to induce that Houſe to ſanction injuſtice. Income was of various kinds, and yet expenditure was all ſubjected to the ſame ſtandard of contribution. The caſes of injuſtice were extremely numerous. The people of induſtry were taxed with the ſame ſeverity as income from capital. Was it juſt to drive men, not merely to retrench luxuries, but to abridge what habit had rendered neceſſaries, to pay this impoſt? The rich might be obliged to give up the former, but the middling claſſes would as certainly be obliged to give up the latter.

One principal ground on which the meaſure was defended, was the ultimate ſaving it would occaſion to poſterity. He had heard a perſon in another place argue, that to raiſe fifteen millions in this way inſtead of funding, would be an ultimate ſaving of thirty millions. If ſuch an aſſertion had been made by a ſchool-boy, he would have been ſent back to his arithmetic to learn better, and nobody could have liſtened to the argument for a moment. If it could be proved, on the contrary, that nothing could be gained by the meaſure, as he conceived it could, one great argument in its favour would be removed. Suppoſe then that the ſum raiſed by this bill would be ſixteen millions in little more than two years, his ſhare of it would in that period be 10,000l. This 10,000l. was one 16-hundredth part of the whole. What permanent



charge would this ſixteen millions occaſion? 1,500,000l. it was ſaid, though he believed it would be leſs. A loan might be obtained, from the beſt information he had received, at about 45, or ſay 44, at 9 per cent. this made a permanent charge of 1,380,000l. Of this his annual proportion at 1000l. would be 84ol. The queſtion then is, whether it would be better to charge his income with this ſum of 840l. for 45 years, or to buy it off, and by purchaſing in the Long Annuities there would be a gain of ſix pounds? So that the permanent burden to be incurred from raiſing this ſixteen millions by loan and funding, would be leſs than that impoſed upon the individuals who contribute to the preſent plan. In this manner, unleſs this calculation was proved to be erroneous, and he might be miſtaken in that point, it was clear that nothing could be gained by this meaſure.

But it was to intimidate the enemy. How could any man conceive that a meaſure ſo unpopular, that would be carried into effect with ſo much vexation and oppreſſion, could produce that unanimity by which the enemy could be intimidated? It was ſaid to be calculated to relieve the ſtockholder, but he could not ſee what title the ſtockholder had to claim ſuch relief. The country had already contributed ſufficiently to the relief of the ſtockholder, and it was fair that he ſhould take his ſhare in the public burden. If he could hope that any thing he had to offer could produce any effect in the Committee, he ſhould reſerve what he had to ſay on the proviſions of the bill. As this was not the caſe, he ſhould now make a few obſervations on this head. With reſpect to the declaration of income, all writers on political affairs and public liberty admitted that diſcloſure was both impolitic and oppreſſive. Even the framers of the bill themſelves admitted this. It would not be of advantage to the rich, it could only be uſed by thoſe to whom the effect of diſcloſure would be moſt prejudicial. It afforded a choice between ruin and ſubmiſſion: ruin to credit by diſcloſure, and ruin by contribution beyond ability. It was inſulting to ſay that a ſingle horſe was kept for pleaſure; a horſe was indiſpenſable to traders in the country, yet they were now to be ſubjected to the triple aſſeſſment, notwithſtanding the great expence ſuch perſons had ſuſtained by the proviſional cavalry act. The injuſtice of making men pay for paſt expenditure was too glaringly unjuſt to ſtand in need of any further illuſtration.

Their Lordſhips were now about to give their ſanction to a meaſure which abandoned the whole ſyſtem of finance, and

eſtabliſhed one entirely new. They were not ab
of the conſequences it would produce. Unpopu
gree it was admitted to be; that it would not be a
ſaving he thought he had ſhewn. Such a meaſ
have intimidated the enemy, if it had not been
Parliament that had acquieſced in all the meaſures
niſter; but when they ſaw it carried againſt the v
people by a compliant majority, what concluſion c
draw, but that the funding ſyſtem was exhauſted?
was convinced was not the caſe. The difficulty
great loans was the difficulty of providing the int
how could thoſe inſiſt upon this when they were rea
poſe ſo large a ſum upon the country in one yea
meaſure would be as oppreſſive in its operation, a
unjuſt in its principle. To reject the meaſure woul
to refuſe ſupplies, it would only oblige the Miniſter t
to ſome mode of raiſing money leſs objectionable in
ture, and leſs oppreſſive to the public. His Grace d
that he had endeavoured to argue the ſubject of this e
dinary bill upon its own grounds, independent of any
feelings whatever. It was not, in fact, by any means a
queſtion, nor ought it to be treated as ſuch.

Lord *Hay* (Earl of Kinnoul) though he could add no
to the noble defence of the bill entered into by noble Ear
the noble Baron (Lords Liverpool and Auckland) who
already ſpoken, he wiſhed to offer a few obſervations upon
ſubject. He profeſſed himſelf happy at hearing what had fa
from a noble Duke (Bedford) in the concluſion of his ſpee
namely, that he did not wiſh to make the preſent a party qu
tion. But much as he hoped, that nothing of a party ſpi
ſhould be introduced in it, he feared the contrary was the ca
eſpecially when he recollected certain paſſages of the eloque
ſpeech of another nobleman (Lord Holland) wherein he i
ſiſted on the diffidence and diſtruſt with which the conduct a
the preſent Adminiſtration ſhould be viewed, and which ſhoul
be carried to the length of refuſing them the ſupplies. Sorry
he was that party zeal ſhould thus be involved with the princi-
ple of the bill, which it was his wiſh ſhould be diſcuſſed ſolely
on its own bottom, to ſtand or fall on its merits or demerits.
What was it that is required by the noble Lord (Holland) pre-
vious to his permitting the ſupplies to be granted? Nothing
leſs than a radical Reform in Parliamentary Repreſentation,
and a fundamental change of ſyſtem. But was the noble Lord
and the Houſe prepared to give this pledge for reform and
change of ſyſtem, without giving a queſtion ſo momentous

even a moment's conſideration? A queſtion in which the wiſeſt men in the nation diſcovered the greateſt danger and difficulties. Or was it in the preſent ſtate of the country that it was proper to come forward with ſuch a pledge? Or was it at a criſis urgent and dangerous as the preſent was, when we attended to the relative ſituation of this country and of France, that ſuch ſpeculative opinions were to be agitated and indulged in? As to the meaſure before their Lordſhips, he was free to confeſs that its operation, like that of all taxes, muſt fall heavy on the country; but it muſt be generally agreed that, when we attend to the preſent diſpoſitions and declarations of France reſpecting this nation, it is wiſe, and politic, and neceſſary to make a great and unuſual exertion; to call forth that exertion was the object of the preſent bill, and he ſaw no other meaſue by which ſuch exertion could be more efficaciouſly produced. He would not then enter at large into any diſcuſſion reſpecting the war; he would ſimply perſiſt in pronouncing that it was juſt and neceſſary in its origin, and that its further proſecution was unavoidable. This had been acknowledged by the unanimous addreſs of both Houſes of Parliament to the Throne, by which all parties had pledged themſelves to abide. This unanimous Addreſs had the moſt powerful effect on the enemy, and the hoſtile ſpirit of that enemy was ſtill more clearly than ever manifeſted in what had been declared that night to the Houſe by a noble and diſtinguiſhed Lord (Auckland). The ſame ſpirit as ſtrongly diſplayed itſelf in the progreſs of the late negociation, and while that ſpirit continued to actuate their conduct, could we think of peace, unleſs at the ſame time we could bring ourſelves tamely to ſubmit to bow the neck to France? unleſs we were ready to deliver up the country to the mercy of the French Directory, and proſtrate it at their feet? When ſuch was the alternative to which we were driven, he was ſurpriſed to hear of any oppoſition in the Houſe, eſpecially as the noble Lords, who were in the habit of oppoſing Miniſters, had pledged themſelves to concur in a vigorous proſecution of the war, ſhould the enemy perſiſt in refuſing to accept of moderate and equitable terms of peace. Such terms they had rejected, yet ſtill thoſe noble Lords perſevered in their oppoſition. He would not, his Lordſhip ſaid, impute improper motives to any men, or pretend to read their hearts, neither would he allow himſelf to ſuppoſe, that any whom he had the honour of addreſſing were influenced by the arrogant opinion that they alone were ſufficient to guide the helm of State. But he muſt remind the Houſe of the declaration of the French Government, that it was abſolutely neceſſary, that one of the two

Governments muſt fall, for that both could not ſtand. If one therefore muſt fall, he thanked God, there was yet ſpirit, energy, and reſources in the country to enable us to maintain the expences. The enemy had compared this country to Carthage, but he truſted, we ſhould never, like the Carthaginians, mit to a ſervile peace. It were better to periſh, than to ſubſubmit to diſhonour. Ought not the threats of the enemy, however, to rouſe the ſpirit of this country, and call forth their reſources, which he truſted would, under the Providence of God lower their haughty tone, aſſuage their malice, and confound their devices?

The ſimple queſtion was, whether the national reſources were to be drawn in the manner enacted by the bill before the Houſe. A noble Duke had ſaid, that we might ſtill reſort to the Funding Syſtem, in order to raiſe the ſupplies. Whether this might not be done was at the preſent moment a matter of very delicate diſcuſſion—not that he meant to inſinuate that this ſyſtem was exhauſted, but to contend that prudence and ſound policy admoniſhed us not to have recourſe to it under the preſent circumſtances of the country. As to the beſt criterion of income, he could not ſee that a more perfect one than that of expenditure could be taken; the moſt objectionable operation of the bill had been duly attended to, and obviated in the other Houſe of Parliament, by the modifications that had been introduced into it. He was glad to ſee that the operation of it had been made to fall ſo lightly on the lower claſſes of the community, as it greatly tended to make it ſatisfactory to the public mind. He owned he thought the beſt means of a man's ability to pay the tax, was the extent of his paſt expenditure. The bill was ſaid to be unpopular; but all tax-bills muſt, from their nature, be unpopular, and it was much to the honour of the right honourable Gentleman who propoſed it, that he was not deterred by dread of unpopularity from performing any great and important duty, on the performance of which he was ſure the country would judge impartially, and favourably decide. His Lordſhip ſaid, he muſt oppoſe himſelf to that part of the ſpeech of the noble Duke which reſpected landed property. So far from its being materially injured, he muſt obſerve, that the price and ſale of lands, compared with what it was during the American war, was remarkably high. In ſhort, every view of our reſources, our credit, and our commerce, was ſo flattering, that he was convinced, aweful as our ſituation was, if the country would but put forth its vigour, it might bid defiance to the deſperate efforts of the enemy. What the French called our tyranny over the Seas,

Seas, ſhould, in his opinion, be held as our chief pride and conſolation; it was the juſt dominion, which our induſtry and courage had acquired, and it ſhould particularly raiſe our hopes and our ſpirits, when we look to the comparative ſituation of our commerce with that of the enemy. This compariſon ſhould animate us to make the great exertion that is now deemed ſo neceſſary, and by which alone we can purchaſe ſecurity to ourſelves and our poſterity, and after theſe ſacrifices and ſufferings, the bleſſings of a ſafe and honourable peace. The bill ſhould therefore have his moſt cordial ſupport.

Lord *Thurlow* ſaid, that it was by no means his intention to follow the noble Lord who ſpoke laſt, and to canvaſs the arguments he had adduced reſpecting the origin of the war, its ſubſequent progreſs, or the ſucceſſes or miſcarriages with which the conduct of it had been attended. Theſe, ſurely, were matters that had already been fully diſcuſſed; and if further diſcuſſion were neceſſary, he would leave it to other noble Lords. Neither could it now be matter of diſcuſſion or of doubt whether in the preſent perilous poſture of affairs great and extraordinary exertions were or were not to be made; that it was neceſſary to urge all our united ſtrength and endeavours was a propoſition to which he believed the Houſe and the country unanimouſly acceded. Did the noble Lord who ſpoke laſt, more accurately attend to the uſual mode of parliamentary proceedings, or had the noble Earl, who ſpoke immediately after the noble Baron (Lord Liverpool and Lord Holland) done ſo, he would not have contended that the Addreſs of both Houſes of Parliament that had been carried to the Throne was the ſtrongeſt proof that the juſtice and neceſſity of the war was acknowledged, and that it ſhould be further proſecuted with all the ſpirit and energy which the reſources of the country enabled it to exert. Though on theſe aſſertions the Addreſs alluded to might ſeem to ſecure the acquieſcence of the Houſe, yet in the after ſtages of any buſineſs regarding the conduct and progreſs of the war, it was perfectly competent for any Member of Parliament to declare and ſcrutinize every ſubſequent meaſure of that nature with full as much freedom as if no ſuch addreſs had previouſly been agreed to. The noble Lord had the leſs need to reſort to ſuch an argument to prove the neceſſity of continuing the war; as much more urgent and ſtronger proofs were contained in the papers on their Lordſhips table, reſpecting the rupture of the late negociation. Theſe papers proved the conduct of France on that occaſion to be not only groſsly inſulting, but ridiculous and abſurd in the extreme. They ſeemed to ſhrink from the propoſal or examination

nation of any terms whatſoever, leſt the Britiſh Negociator ſhould conſent to accept their propoſal. Their language and their conduct in this important tranſaction, above all, proves the neceſſity of a further proſecution of the war, and of our adopting to that effect the moſt vigorous means of defence.

As to the principle and general operation of the bill now under their Lordſhips' conſideration, he was not averſe to avow that, as far as it was an endeavour to raiſe within the year a conſiderable portion of the ſupplies, it was in his mind a wiſe and politic meaſure, provided it could be put in practice without grinding the people too ſeverely. The operation of the bill had been ſtrongly objected to by ſome noble Lords, as tending in many inſtances to be extremely partial. He could not deny but that in many inſtances it might operate very unequally; but it ſhould not be forgotten by their Lordſhips, that in a large and comprehenſive ſcheme of taxation, it was impoſſible to aſcertain with mathematical preciſion what portion each individual ſhould pay, ſo as to make it bear with perfect equality upon all. Every ſcheme of taxation ſhould moſt undoubtedly proceed on the principle of an equal aſſeſſment on property, in payment of that protection which Government afforded to that property: the great queſtions, therefore, were, whether the bill did not in itſelf contain principles of inequality? Or whether the beſt criterion had been adopted in order to diſcover and appreciate the amount of property, ſo as to avoid its producing inequality of burthens? When he conſidered this part of the ſubject, it by no means occurred to him, neither did he conceive that it would occur to their Lordſhips, that income was a fair meaſure of property, eſpecially the income of profeſſional men, and of perſons embarked in trade, for the income of ſuch perſons muſt always be exceedingly variable; they may be often obliged to change this year the mode of living they purſued the laſt year: as at one time their trade and profits might be flouriſhing and high, and at another time ſink almoſt to nothing. Their income could not, therefore, be, in any reſpect, a fair criterion of property. Even if it could be conſidered as ſuch, ſtill the aſſeſſed taxes ſhould not be ſelected as a proper meaſure of expenditure, eſpecially with regard to perſons in buſineſs, who from the nature of their calling, paid a conſiderable ſum to the aſſeſſed taxes, merely for the inſtruments of their trade, and in order to keep up the appearance in life which was ſo neceſſary to ſecure the eſteem and conſideration of the world. He agreed perfectly with

with the noble Duke, that trade and profeſſions were more liable to fluctuation of income and neceſſary change of expenditure, than either the one or the other of men of aſcertained fortunes. But this was not the objection which principally weighed upon his mind, or which he wiſhed more eſpecially to preſs on the attention of their Lordſhips. Admitting, for the ſake of argument, that expenditure was the criterion of income, and that the aſſeſſed taxes were a fair meaſure of expenditure, ſtill he was at a loſs to account upon what principle it was that the expenditure of the laſt year ſhould be conſidered as the excluſive criterion upon which a fair and adequate judgment was to be formed of the expenditure of future years. If expenditure was to be viewed as the general criterion, then the expenditure of every year ſhould be the criterion of its income. That was his opinion on the ſubject, and at that late hour of the night, he would only preſume to put and repeat the queſtion, upon what principle it was that expenditure was to be the meaſure of income, and if ſo, why the operation of the bill was not to be applied to the expenditure of the future, as well as the paſt?

Lord *Grenville* ſaid, he was ſorry to be obliged, contrary to his expectations, to riſe and make a few obſervations in addition to thoſe with which he had prefaced his motion, and in anſwer to the objections which had been thrown out againſt the bill by the noble Lords who oppoſed the meaſure. And firſt, he obſerved that the noble and learned Lord had entirely miſtaken him when he ſuppoſed that he had aſſerted that the addreſs to the King on the meeting of Parliament was a pledge for this particular mode of ſupply; he had in fact ſaid no ſuch thing, nor did he think it, but the addreſs to which he alluded as bearing in it a pledge of that kind, was that which was voted ſome time after the meeting of Parliament. The circumſtances of the negociation made the baſis of that addreſs, and on maturely weighing and examining them, the Houſe of Lords and the Houſe of Commons did ſolemnly pledge themſelves to act upon the full ſpirit and terms of that addreſs. It was the unanimous aſſertion of Parliament, and therefore he had not ſhewn any ignorance of parliamentary proceedings. In opening his motion for the ſecond reading of the bill, he thought that he could not take better or more ſubſtantial grounds than that addreſs; and in ſtating it he had only paid the tribute of reſpect that was due to Parliament. Having ſuch unqueſtionable authority for his warrant, the queſtion was, whether any more was neceſ-

ſary

ſary to the ſupport of the meaſure? If it were, he had already ſtated it; for it was not true, as the noble Duke had ſaid, that he had grounded his motion ſimply on the addreſs, for he had, on the contrary, diſtinctly ſtated, and he would now repeat it, that the Commons acting on that principle, had for raiſing a ſupply, laid a contribution, not as had been ſaid, on the lower orders, but in a very light degree on the middle claſſes, and in a gradually riſing proportion on the higher orders, reſting at laſt with much the greater weight on the firſt claſſes of ſociety, thoſe whom he then addreſſed. Standing, as the meaſure did, upon ſuch grounds as thoſe, it had not been at all incumbent upon him to ſay a word more in defence of it, till ſome objections were ſtated againſt the deciſion of the Commons, whoſe duty it peculiarly was to attend to buſineſs of finance, and whoſe means of judging of the expediency of a tax, and of the detail of a tax bill, were much greater and more complete than their Lordſhips could poſſibly have before them. In diſcuſſing the bill, it was ſomewhat extraordinary that the noble Duke and the learned Lord (Thurlow) were at odds, the former diſputing that which the latter agreed did not admit of a doubt; namely, that ſome meaſure of this kind was abſolutely neceſſary to meet the bold hoſtility, the inſidious deſigns, and the preſumptuous pretenſions of the enemy. This was not the ſtatement of an individual, who could be ſaid to be intereſted in the fate of the queſtion; but the noble and learned Lord's authority, oppoſed to that of the noble Duke and of the noble Lord who opened the oppoſition of the night. It was therefore to be taken for granted that great exertion ought to be made either in the funding way or in this mode; and he hoped the noble and learned Lord's words would be remembered. It ſo happened that funding was a part of this meaſure, which compriſed both modes; one great advantage of which was, that it held out to the enemy the futility of his only hope, and ſhewed him that this country had within it not only the means, but the ſpirit and determination to uſe them; that they could not only have recourſe, if requiſite, to the funding ſyſtem, but that they could alſo have recourſe to a ſyſtem which had not been applied to in any period of our hiſtory, or in the beſt times; and he recommended it to thoſe noble Lords who oppoſed the bill, to conſider, if there were any among them ſo unprejudiced as to reflect upon it coolly, that there was nothing which could be more favourable to this country, or more likely to check the preſumption of the French, than that

that they ſhould ſee that the preſſure from which they derived their hopes of ruining this country, was not felt; and that the country, after near two months deliberate inveſtigation, had adopted the plan, and that therefore it could not be conſidered as a meaſure of precipitation.

The noble Duke had made a calculation that included his own caſe, and had ſaid that it would be a meaſure of better policy to raiſe the ſum wanted by a permanent annuity; but the noble Duke's calculations in that reſpect were erroneous, and ſurely their Lordſhips muſt be aware that Parliament in doing ſo, would throw the burthen as much upon the poor as upon the rich. This mode of taxing the poor to alleviate the burthens of the opulent, might perhaps ſuit the feelings and convenience of the noble Duke, but Parliament in their wiſdom would ſpeak a better language, and ſay that they would rather burthen perſons of the ſame claſs of the noble Duke, than let any part of it light upon the indigent. As to the objection that had been made to the meaſure, on the ſuppoſition that it would create a defalcation in the revenue, it was not more applicable to this than to any other mode of taxation, for he would venture to aſſert that it was impoſſible to increaſe the taxes in any way, without producing ſome effect upon the reveuue. And he put to their Lordſhips this queſtion, to which he wiſhed for an anſwer: "whether, if this plan did ſucceed, the country would not ſtand in a prouder ſituation than if ſo much money were raiſed by loan, at the price that muſt now be given for it?"

The noble and learned Lord had concurred in the opinion, that the ſum ought to be raiſed within the year, but had diſapproved of the mode of raiſing it, as the criterion which had been taken, would make the diſtribution of the burthen unequal; but certainly the noble and learned Lord knew as well as any one the impoſſibility of attaining perfect theoretic equality. No ſyſtem of taxation ever did approximate equality. But, ſaid the noble Duke, the principles of taxation are violated: taxes ſhould only be applied upon voluntary expenditure, and a man ſhould have the option of uſing the articles taxed or not, juſt as he choſe. Surely it was not ſo. Was the land-tax a voluntary tax? Was the houſe-tax a voluntary tax? Were many other articles of abſolute neceſſity in life to be ranked under the head of voluntary aſſeſſment? It was a principle no where admitted, and by no means acted upon in the ſyſtem of Engliſh finance. With regard to the inequality complained of, it muſt moſt certainly be admitted that perhaps

it was not exactly and univerſally equal in its operation. The land-tax, for example, was never ſaid or thought by any body to bear equally upon all; but yet it had never been objected to or thrown out upon that account. Would the noble Duke ſay that the land-tax bill ought not to paſs becauſe it did not bear equally upon every body? He challenged any noble Lord to point out to him a ſingle tax that did bear equally. There was not one; no, not ſo much as one: for there was no article whatſoever that was equal in neceſſity, or equally uſed by all: and ſhould that be made an objection now, which never was held an objection before; or did their Lordſhips hope to get over a difficulty now that never had been got over before? Equality in taxation was to the full as viſionary as any other kind of equality. He allowed it was true, as had been ſtated, that the aſſeſſed taxes were no certain criterion of income, nor income of property. If then neither a tax founded on income or aſſeſſments would do, what would their Lordſhips ſay of a direct tax upon property? How was that property to be aſcertained? Suppoſe it were poſſible to get an accurate account of property, did their Lordſhips reflect upon the various ways in which it might be placed, and the inceſſant fluctuations that would baffle every attempt to apply the laws of taxation to it. How then could it beſt be got at? By expenditure only; and if this was a tax on expenditure, with certain ſalutary modifications and checks, it could not be maintained to be an objection, that it cannot eaſily be compriſed in a ſimple logical definition.

The noble and learned Lord had aſked why the criterion was taken according to the expenditure in 1797, and not in 1798; to this he would anſwer, becauſe in 1797 every man laid his plan of expenditure without any view to taxation, and it was therefore the proper teſt of ability; whereas in 1798, the expenditure would be regulated not according to the ability of each perſon, but to his diſpoſition to contribute to the exigencies of the ſtate. As to the objection that the tax was not voluntary, he would aſk their Lordſhips whether they had ever heard ſuch a principle maintained, or ever ſuggeſted, as that no tax ſhould be laid that was not voluntary. Indeed ſuch a principle would be ſo much at variance with practice that it could not ſubſiſt, for no caſe could be ſuppoſed, or did exiſt, in which a tax could be voluntary. And as to the objections which had been been made on the ſubject of calling for a diſcloſure of property, it was one which would apply at leaſt in as great a degree to any of the modes propoſed by the noble Lords. Every objection which had been ſtarted applied as ſtrongly to

the

: funding ſyſtem as to this: their Lordſhips would ſee that rowing this money would tend to create a further lowering the funds, and would to all intents and purpoſes be forcing on the holders of ſtock a heavy loſs by the ſtrong hand of npulſion. Three objections had been made to this, every e of which applied to every other plan, but to the funding, ore than to this; and two of them applied to the funding n in a greater degree than to this. The objection which had en made on account of the dealer of ſmall capital, vaniſhed, cauſe ſuch a dealer would not come within the proviſions of e act. The ſmall farmer too, under 60l. rent, was entirely empted, and the large farmer was to pay no more than twice e amount he now paid, and the intermediate farmers paid ly in proportion.

The noble Duke and the noble Lord, he ſaid, had claſhed oft violently in their opinions, the former had declared it to his opinion that the ſubject ſhould not be treated as a party eſtion; while the latter had inſiſted that it ſhould be conſi-red as a mode of puſhing Miniſters from office, by ſtopping e ſupplies, and had, in order to fix criminality on Miniſters, ited certain declarations ſuppoſed to be made by them reſpect-g the object of the war. While he congratulated the Houſe on the acceſſion to his ſeat of a young nobleman who pro-iſed ſo fairly to be an ornament to it, and that ſoon, he uld not help ſaying that he ſhould rather have expected to ive heard a ſtatement of thoſe declarations from ſome noble ord who had been in the Houſe at the time they were ſuppoſed have been made. He did not much wonder that the idea of liniſters having plunged the country into war, aſſerted ſo fre-iently as it had been, and reiterated daily in the public ints, ſhould have made a deep impreſſion upon the noble ord, endowed as he ſeemed to be with all the warmth of youthful imagination; but that had again and again been ſcuſſed and decided upon by their Lordſhips: how far that harge was true was now put beyond the reach of conteſt by hat the noble Baron (Lord Auckland) had that day ſaid, and y the American declarations. If any man ſtill entertained a oubt upon the ſubject, let him read a pamphlet written by Mr. Harper, an American, wherein he will find how the French ad fallen upon this and upon every other country. He knew no ubject which more fully ſhewed the principles of France than er conduct to America. In the profeſſions of France to Ame-ica, in the partiality of America to France, and in the return ade for that partiality, it might be ſeen that France uniform-y acted on the ſame principle there as in Europe. In fact, hat not a ſingle day paſſed over which did not open ſome freſh

proof of the long lurking miſchievous deſigns of France; but in the book of Mr. Harper a fact is ſtated, which, if all the reſt of the conduct of France could be done away, would be concluſive, viz. that long before the war, meaſures were taken by France to excite America to hoſtility againſt England. And his Lordſhip declared, that there was not a day in which the courſe of his buſineſs did not open to him ſome new proof of the wicked deſigns of France. It was not more than twenty-four hours ago he had ſtumbled upon ſome letters (poſſibly they might yet be produced) which contained irreſiſtible proof, from perſons of official capacity, to the above effect; ſome from a noble Lord near him, then on the continent, (Lord Auckland) were among the number. But he aſſured the noble Lord that he was moſt egregiouſly miſtaken if he ſuppoſed Miniſters had ever ſtated that the object of the war was the opening of the Scheldt, or the ſupport of their allies merely; on the contrary it was, that the enemy had, by various attacks on our allies, induced the neceſſity of our taking up arms, and would perhaps have driven us to the neceſſity of declaring war, if he had not anticipated the point by attacking us, and interfering in the internal policy of this country.

The noble Baron (Holland) he obſerved, had adviſed the Houſe to ſuſpend the progreſs of the bill; and the noble Duke fell in with an explanation, adviſing to ſuſpend it until a pledge was given to the Houſe and the country of a radical reform; that is to ſay, a reform of Parliament, and of ſuppoſed abuſes in this country; and a reform of Parliament, a dereliction of the ſyſtem of coercion, and a grant of their juſt rights to the people of Ireland; on a propoſal of no leſs magnitude than that with the enemy at our gates, we were to ſuſpend all ſupplies, and ſtop all means of reſiſtance, until a reform, or a pledge of reform, was granted. If indeed the Houſe withheld ſupplies till then, reform would come accompanied by the arms of the enemy, who has ſaid plainly that he relies upon our diviſions in England, and intends to come, in order to produce a reform, that is to ſay, a revolution in this country. The noble and youthful Lord, his Lordſhip ſaid, had a warm imagination, but he wiſhed to know what pledge he meant, who was it that could take upon him to pledge the Parliament of England to abandon their principles, and give up the country a prey to France? But if any men were found ſo deſperate as to offer a pledge for this Parliament, who in that Houſe could venture to pledge the Parliament of Ireland to ſubvert the Government of that country, to break it off from England, and to deſtroy individual ſecurity of life and property in that country. Beſides

all

all this, he intreated their Lordſhips to conſider what extravagant impropriety it would be in them to agree with either the noble Duke or the noble Lord. The Houſe of Commons, the conſtitutional guardians of the people's purſe, has ſaid to the King, "We will give you a ſupply;" but the Lords ſay, "No; you ſhall not get it till you give a pledge to overthrow the Government." He exhorted the noble Lords to conſider the queſtion maturely, and he aſked them, whether all who wiſhed for reform, were agreed as to the mode of it? He believed not: he would not injure the noble Lord ſo far as to ſuppoſe that he for one meant the ſame kind of reform propoſed by the Correſponding Society, although he held the ſame language as that Society held: perhaps it did not occur to the noble Lord, that it was neceſſary to determine what was meant by radical reform, before he pledged himſelf for it.

He ſaid, he truſted that their Lordſhips and the Parliament had a pledge among themſelve of a very oppoſite nature, namely, that they would maintain the Conſtitution unimpaired and inviolate: he truſted that the Sovereign was reſolved to fulfill that oath which he had ſworn to keep ſacred, viz. to maintain the Conſtitution inviolate in Church and State, and that the people at large were not leſs reſolved than either, and that they would never forget one leading truth—that, to change the ſyſtem of Repreſentation would be nothing ſhort of Revolution. If Parliament could ſo far betray their conſtituents and the country, as to agree to a transfer of the rights of election from thoſe who now poſſeſs them to the People, did any man think it would ſtop there, or at all ſhort of pulling down the Conſtitution, which has been eſtabliſhed for ages, to ſet up the crude, viſionary theories of modern Reformers in its ſtead? Would they not be told, by the Correſponding Society, as the Reformers were told in France—"You have acted ariſtocratically and done nothing—you call this Reform, but nothing is reform that falls ſhort of univerſal ſuffrage." The Partizans of which ſaid univerſal ſuffrage, were infinitely more numerous than thoſe of moderate reform, and ſo far, therefore, the firſt reformers, as in France, would be led to the ſcaffold, and ſucceeded by others who carried every thing to the extremeſt point, if unfortunately the noble Lord's ſuggeſtion ſhould be adopted from their Lordſhips pledging themſelves to a radical reform, he hoped they would paſs the bill, and grant the ſupplies, if for no other reaſon, at leaſt as a means of ſtopping the progreſs of a radical reform.

Lord *Thurlow* in explanation ſaid, that he had explicitly declared his ſentiments, that from the noble Secretary of State's manner

manner of mentioning what he had ſaid, he appeared to imagine he had caught him, but he was miſtaken, he was ready to repeat, that great and vigorous exertions were neceſſary to meet the important criſis of the preſent day, and he would be proud to ſupport every proper and wiſe meaſure of defence; but he continued to think, that though heavy taxes muſt be laid on in this exigency, it was by no means clear, that the preſent meaſure was either wiſe, prudent, or practicable. A plan unequal, and that in its eſſence and character departed from the eſſential qualities of a juſt meaſure of taxation, was not the way of procuring an adequate defence. He had heard no ſufficient anſwer to his objection, that it was unfair to take the meaſure of expenditure in 1797 for our ability to contribute in 1798—and he could not admit the argument of the noble Lord, that becauſe men might alter their eſtabliſhments in ſpite or in evaſion, the tax muſt be ſo taken. Thoſe who formed their eſtabliſhments after the year 1797, would of courſe form them in the view of this aſſeſſment, and there was not only inequality on the face of it, but the bill contained principles productive of inequality. Another argument, that of the decreaſe of the other taxes, had not been anſwered. It had been ſaid, that the expenditure of ſeven millions to be raiſed by the tax, would ſerve to keep up the permanent revenue. This was a moſt deluſive idea. According to this, if thirty millions were to be raiſed inſtead of ſeven, the revenue would be a gainer in its effects on conſumption; but the fact was known to be otherwiſe. Was it all to be expended in the country? Was it all to be expended in that courſe which fortified and promoted induſtry? He muſt continue to think, therefore, that is was an unadviſed meaſure, and would prove grinding to the People in its operation.

Lord *Holland* in reply, animadverted on the arguments of the noble Secretary of State. At ſo late an hour, he ſaid, he would not detain their Lordſhips, but he muſt take notice of ſome expreſſions of the noble Secretary, which had been rather perſonally addreſſed to him. In regard to his declaration about the preſent exigency of our affairs, and the neceſſity of vigorous exertions, no perſon felt more ſincerely, nor had expreſſed more warmly his conviction, than he had done, the neceſſity of ſuch exertions. It was his feeling on this ſubject that had given riſe to the obſervations that he had ventured to make on a meaſure which, ſo far from being a meaſure of ſtrength, was a meaſure of weakneſs; ſo far from holding forth the promiſe of vigour, was as deluſive in point of real reſource, as it was grinding in its operation. He had ſaid that he would give his chearful

hearful aſſent to a well digeſted plan of taxation that ſhould e voluntary, the only genuine ſource of ſupply; and that he ropoſed to ſuſpend this feeble, as well as unjuſt meaſure, in rder that they might have time to deviſe a more equal and a nore effectual means of raiſing the ſum neceſſary to the occaions of the year, as well as of making the ſupply effectual to ts purpoſe when raiſed. All the latter part of the noble Lord's peech had been directed particularly againſt what he had adranced with reſpect to a pledge, and was indeed an attack made ıpon him for that expreſſion. It would have been well if the ıoble Lord had been pleaſed to ſtate correctly the expreſſion o which he had been given ſo loud and ſo lofty an anſwer. He hardly thought it poſſible that words ſo ſimple could could ıave been ſo miſinterpreted or miſunderſtood. In the pledge hat he was deſirous of obtaining, he had uſed no ambiguous, ınd no undefined terms. He had ſtated correctly what he wanted—namely, the diſmiſſion of his Majeſty's preſent Miniſters, as a preliminary to the appointment of men in whom the nation could have juſt confidence for the reſtoration of their rights, and for a ſyſtem of adminiſtration founded upon Parliamentary reform. This expreſſion was ſufficiently clear and intelligible, one would think, to every noble Lord; it was not new language in this country; yet out of this the noble Lord had made a vehement appeal to their Lordſhips on the fundamental change that was to be made on the vital ſyſtem of the Britiſh Government. And, as if this were not enough, he had called in the alarm alſo of meddling with the Parliament of Ireland! In the moment of the diſcontents of that kingdom, was the Parliament of Ireland to be called upon to unſay all that they had ſaid, and to concede Parliamentary Reform, after declaring that it would be fatal to the Governmet of that country. Now what was the fact with reſpect to the Parliament of Ireland on this ſubject? All their Lordſhips knew that after having, with diſdain and contempt, kicked over their bar the petitions of the people praying for Parliamentary Reform, the petitioners had gone to the foot of the Throne with their repreſentations, not to his Majeſty's Miniſters; and the conſequence of their petitions was, an inſtruction was ſent out to grant the Reform which was prayed for. Accordingly the ſelf-ſame Parliament that had rejected the petitions with ſo much ſcorn, this jealous Parliament, did reſolve that a Reform in the Repreſentation of the People would be a wiſe and ſalutary meaſure. This Reform, which the noble Secretary now ſaid they thought was Revolution [The Lord Chancellor here called to order]. Lord Holland ſaid, he was ſenſible that the

diſcuſſion

diſcuſſion of Parliamentary Reform, much leſs any alluſion to Ireland, was not ſtrictly in order that night; but the noble Lord had made it neceſſary for him to ſay ſo much. The noble Secretary had drawn forth a dreadful charge againſt him, that he wanted to change the fundamental baſis of the Britiſh Conſtitution, as if he had reviled it, and ſaid it was not a good and a happy Conſtitution for a rational people to live under. He certainly had not ſaid one word againſt the Conſtitution. He preſumed the noble Secretary of State ſpoke ſo highly of the Conſtitution from the impulſe of a generous maxim, "*de mortuis nil niſi bonum*;" he would never ſpeak ill of the dead. The ſort of argument that the noble Lord had uſed, reminded him of ſome humorous verſes by one of the beſt poets (Prior):

"When Harlequin extoll'd his horſe,
"Fit for the road, the race, the courſe,
"One fault he had—a fault indeed!
"And what was that—*the horſe was dead!*"

So of the genuine conſtitution of England: it had every excellent quality that could endear it to a rational or a free people; but alas! it was no longer in exiſtence. What he wanted, and he had expreſſed himſelf in clear language, was to revive that conſtitution in its purity, and the means he propoſed was not by any innovating courſe, but by reſtoring to the people a juſt repreſentation in Parliament. In doing this, he had no heſitation in ſaying that the ſpecies of reform which had been accurately deſcribed in another place, met with his perfect concurrence.

The Duke of *Bedford* congratulated the noble Secretary of State on his full poſſeſſion of his ancient talents for miſrepreſentation. When his young and noble friend had ſeen as much of them as he had done, he would not be aſtoniſhed at the noble Secretary of State's ſucceſs in the art. The Duke ſaid the noble Secretary was therefore obliged to his young friend, as he had afforded him an opportunity of exerciſing his favourite talent, that of inveighing againſt the French government. But while the noble Secretary beſtowed his warmeſt invectives upon the French, he did not forget to inſinuate a connection between them and the Correſponding Society, and in the warmth of his declamation, to extend the inſinuations againſt himſelf and friends. "My noble Friend (Holland) acknowledged as I do, that great exertions are neceſſary; but he, as well as I, wiſh to put the money in hands that will uſe it with greater wiſdom for the good of the country, and that we have both diſtinctly avowed, and ſhall continue to maintain.

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He could not avoid remarking how Miniſters cheered the Houſe with their invectives againſt the French Government at the very moment when they alledged the invective of the French Government againſt ours as a proof of their deep hoſtility, and of their determined indiſpoſition to peace.

The Duke then replied to the anſwer which had been given to his own reaſoning. He had admitted the neceſſity of great exertions, and ſo had his noble Friend; and, becauſe they were ſo inclined, they wiſhed to put the ſupplies into vigorous hands. He had objected to the preſent plan, becauſe it would be of advantage to no perſon; and he had expreſely contended that more ought to be exacted from the higheſt ranks. The proportion to be required from the richer orders was not in proportion to that which was taken from thoſe between thirty and fifty pounds a year, With reguard to his calculation, on compairing the coſt of the tax with the purchaſe of an adequate annuity, he had expreſsly gruarded himſelf, by ſaying his computations might be erroneon. Yet the noble Secretary had charged him with pleading his own cauſe, becauſe he had ſaid, that raiſing the ſupply by a fund was preferable to this. How could the noble Lord juſtify this inſinuation? The proportions would be equal the one way or the other; and if the Aſſeſſment was fairly made, as he contended it ought to be on the higher orders, without any particular alluſion, he might be permitted to ſay, that his ſhare of the burthen would be found among the higeſt.

Lord *Grenville* aſſured the noble Duke that he had miſtaken his argument. He had not ſuch an idea in his mind, as to charge the noble Duke with meaning to ſtate his own caſe. He did not think him capable of condeſcending to ſuch conduct. He had put it in argument how it would operate upon men of his Grace's fortune, and he meant only to ſhew how to bring in the Supply within the year neceſſarily fell heavier in proportion on the higher orders, than a tax of a permanent nature.

The Houſe then divided,

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The Bill was committed for the next day, when all its clauſes will be gone through.

The Duke of *Bedford* then ſaid, that as the Houſe had determined to raiſe this ſum by this means, the next ſtep in his mind was to conſider into whoſe hands the Supply had been given. He thought, that conſiſtent with national ſafety, the

defence of the country ought not to be truſted to his l preſent Miniſters. He thought a day ought not to l in moving for an Addreſs to the King to diſmiſs them Councils for ever; but the thin attendance of Lords day, convinced him that he could not immediately loc attendance equal to the importance of the diſcuſſi would therefore move that their Lordſhips be ſumm that day fortnight, to conſider of an Addreſs for the re his Majeſty's Miniſters.

Lord *Grenville* ſaid, that he could not dictate to t Duke, what day to chuſe for a motion; but on that liament would not be ſitting. He muſt therefore give gative to the motion.

The Duke of *Bedford* ſaid, that in an exigency of ſ portance, Parliament, in his mind, would neglect the if they agreed to adjourn. He muſt therefore perſiſt in h tion It was put and negatived.

The noble Peers who divided againſt the Requiſitio were:

The Duke of Bedford	Lord Holland
Earl of Peterborough	Lord King
Earl of Oxford	Lord Ponſonby.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

WEDNESDAY, *Jan.* 10.

The Aſſeſſed Taxes bill went through a Committee of whole Houſe, and was reported immediately.

Adjourned.

PROTEST

AGAINST THE BILL OF REQUISITION.

Houſe of Lords, Die Mercr. Jan. 10.

The queſtion was put that this bill be committed.

It was carried in the affirmative.

DISSENTIENT,

Becauſe, We conceive that in the preſent circumſtances no g[illegible] powers by Parliament, can alone be ſufficient to extricate the country [illegible] alarming and critical ſituation.

When the exigencies of the ſtate are ſuch as to demand large ſupplies from the people, our duty is not confined to the bare conſideration of the neceſſity of the caſe, or the mode of levying the money. We are not from the preſſure of circumſtances, and the approach of danger, haſtily to concur in laying additional burthens on our fellow-ſubjects, without inſuring to the public a wiſe application of the money ſo raiſed, and without due precautions for directing the efforts of the people to their only legitimate object, the benefit of the community. A neglect of this the moſt important of all parliamentary duties, muſt produce, and in our opinions it has already produced conſequences the moſt fatal to the dignity of the nation, the ſtability of the government, and the intereſts of the people. In the unconditional compliance with the demands of the executive government, again propoſed as the remedy, we perceive the real and fatal ſource of the evil. Year after year his Majeſty's Miniſters have grounded their application to Parliament upon the urgency of the occaſion, and the extraordinary exigencies of the ſtate. To ſatisfy their demands, to enable them to encounter the dangers, and remove the difficulties in which we were involved, every article of luxury or convenience have been taxed, the reſources of the country has been exhauſted, and ſums unparalleled in hiſtory have been entruſted to their diſpoſal; yet, year after year the occaſion has become more urgent, the exigencies more preſſing, and the dangers more immediate. The ſecurity of the nation has been ſhaken in the ſame proportion as the proſperity of the country has been impaired, external danger has kept pace with internal diſtreſs, and the exertions which have impoveriſhed the people, and ſhaken our credit, have purchaſed nothing but the loſs of national honour, the defection of allies, and the failure of every great object of the war.

If the whole force of Great Britain and Ireland, aided by grants, laviſhed beyond the example of the moſt improvident times, aſſiſted by the moſt powerful Monarchs of Europe, has proved inſufficient in the hands of Miniſters to ſecure the bleſſings of peace, or even to avert the preſent awful circumſtances of the country, it ſeems inconſiſtent with reaſon to expect that the painful efforts of an empire, whoſe means are exhauſted by taxation, whoſe ſpirits are damped by failure, and whoſe affections are in part alienated by oppreſſion, can, without a ſingle ally, under the direction of the ſame men, reſiſt with effect a powerful and exaſperated enemy, elated with ſucceſs, ſtrengthened by conqueſt, and ſupported by the united powers of Holland and of Spain. In this ſituation of affairs, to perſevere in the ſyſtem which has produced it, to confide in the Miniſters who, with the aid of ſo many millions, have been unable to avert it, evinces, in our opinion, a total diſregard of the common maxims of prudence, a wanton rejection of the leſſons of experience, and a determined neglect of the moſt important of our parliamentary duties. Under the perſuaſion, therefore, that the dangers with which we are now threatened, are the reſult of force directed to objects at once impracticable, and foreign to the intereſts of this country; that they are the neceſſary conſequences of a miſapplication of the public money, and the natural fruits of the incapacity and profuſion of thoſe to whom it has been improvidently entruſted, we deemed it our duty not to ſanction any grant to the executive government, until a pledge was given to the Houſe, by the removal of his Majeſty's Miniſters, of a complete alteration in his councils. We held it neither juſt to impoſe, nor reaſonable to require any additional ſacrifices from our fellow ſubjects, until ſome proſpect was held out to the people of a reform of that Houſe which had

had granted, and a cenſure of thoſe Miniſters who have laviſhed ſums ſo enormous, without any benefit reſulting to the community. We thought that while his Majeſty's affairs were conducted by thoſe who originally engaged in this calamitous conteſt, and who can neither carry on war or negociation with honour, advantage, or ſucceſs, no grant of money by Parliament, no ſacrifices on the part of the people could afford a reaſonable hope that the bleſſings of peace would be ſpeedily reſtored or permanently ſecured. We imagined, that until ſome earneſt was given of a radical alteration of the ſyſtem of terror and coercion in Ireland, of the repeal of the two bills, the one intitled, "An act for the ſafety and preſervation of his Majeſty's perſon and government againſt ſeditious practices and attempts," and the other intitled "An act for the more effectually preventing ſeditious meetings and aſſemblies," of œconomy in public expenditure, and diminution of the enormous patronage and influence of the Crown, we were not warranted in expecting that chearful co-operation of the people, which being at once the indication and reſult of a reciprocal confidence between the government and the governed, can only be reſtored by the reſtoration of the ancient and happy practice of a conſtitution undisfigured by coercive laws, of a Parliament ſpeaking the ſenſe of the people, and a Miniſtry dependant on the voice of the Parliament.

Becauſe it appears to us that any attempt to raiſe the ſupplies within the year, in the preſent exhauſted ſtate of the country, muſt be attended with the greateſt difficulty and danger.

Becauſe were we to allow that the principle of raiſing the ſupplies by contribution inſtead of loan, was juſt, wiſe, and expedient, yet under the preſent Miniſters it would appear to us attended with the utmoſt danger, as the real expences of the year have generally exceeded by nearly one-half their calculation; and thus any regulations for the equal diſtribution of the burthen which were adopted upon the firſt calculation, might be rendered ineffectual by ſubſequent and more extenſive demands.

Becauſe if the bill is intended as a tax upon expenditure, its retroſpective operation is arbitrary and cruel in the extreme, and altogether repugnant to the uſages of our anceſtors, the faith of civilized governments, and the common dictates of humanity and juſtice. If it is intended as a tax upon income, in our opinion the criterion propoſed is objectionable and inadequate; and above all, as income is of various deſcriptions, ſometimes ariſing from permanent and diſpoſable capital, ſometimes from precarious or temporary poſſeſſions, and ſometimes from labour, talents, or induſtry, we deem any attempt to proportion the burthen to the income, in itſelf unjuſt, unequal, and impolitic. If it is intended as a tax upon property, neither in the original criterion, viz. the Aſſeſſed Taxes of 1795, nor in the propoſed relief, do we recognize any juſt principles of taxation, or perceive any fair or adequate method ſuggeſted for the impartial diſtribution of the burthen.

Becauſe the relief propoſed in the bill to thoſe who may, by the increaſe of their aſſeſſed taxes, be liable to pay more than the tenth of their income, requires a diſcloſure of their pecuniary circumſtances, which is contrary to the cuſtoms and prejudices of Engliſhmen, and repugnant to the principles of the conſtitution; and which to perſons engaged in commerce or trade, muſt be attended with yet greater inconveniences than the payment of more than the tenth of their income. Furthermore, this regulation appears to us an indirect breach of the faith ſo often and ſo ſacredly pledged to the ſtockholder,

ſtockholder, for ſhould the whole of the income of any individual claiming this relief conſiſt in a dividend upon ſtock, a tenth of that income is immediately ſacrificed, and the dividend, in violation of the faith of the Parliament and the nation, diminiſhed one-tenth by the intervention of Government.

Becauſe the operation of this bill is not confined to a definite period of time, but by the moſt wanton violation of juſtice, remains in force till a certain ſum is produced; thus extracting from the honeſt the deficiencies which may have been occaſioned by accidental circumſtances, by the deſigns or the diſtreſs of individuals, by the favour or the neglect of the collectors.

HOLLAND,
OXFORD.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

THURSDAY, *Jan.* 11.

The new Aſſeſſed Tax bill was read a third time, and paſſed.

The *Lord Chancellor* gave notice that he would the next day move, that there be laid before the Houſe an account of the amount of the Aſſeſſed Taxes paid by Peers, in order to ſhew to what extent their Lordſhips ſhould contribute under the new Aſſeſſed Tax bill.

Lord *Carrington* alſo gave notice, that he ſhould the next day move, that an account of ſuch voluntary contributions as might be made by their Lordſhips, be laid before the Houſe.

Lord *Grenville* brought down to the Houſe the following meſſage from his Majeſty;

"G. R.

"His Majeſty thinks proper to acquaint the Houſe of Lords, that his Majeſty has received various advices of preparations made, and meaſures taken in France, apparently in purſuance of a deſign openly and repeatedly profeſſed of attempting the invaſion of theſe kingdoms.

"His Majeſty is firmly perſuaded, that by the zeal, courage, and exertions of his ſubjects, ſtauggling for whatever is moſt dear to them, ſuch an enterprize, if attempted, will terminate in the confuſion and ruin of thoſe who may be engaged in it. But his Majeſty, in his anxious concern for the ſafety and welfare of his faithful people, feels it incumbent on him to omit no ſuitable precaution which may contribute to their defence.

"His Majeſty, therefore, in purſuance of the act paſſed for providing for the augmentation of the militia, has thought it right to make this communication

munication to the Houſe of Lords, to the end that his Majeſty may cauſe the ſaid militia, or ſuch part thereof as he ſhall think neceſſary, to be drawn out and embodied, and to march as occaſion ſhall require."

The meſſage being read,

Lord *Grenville* moved, That an humble Addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty thanking him for his gracious meſſage, and promiſing the determination of the Houſe to adopt ſuch efficacious meaſures as the exigencies of the times required.

This motion was put and agreed to *nem. diſſ.*

Adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

THURSDAY, *Jan.* 11.

Mr. *Wilberforce Bird* preſented a petition from 4000 watchmakers of Coventry, ſtating the diſtreſs they ſuffered from the operation of the tax impoſed laſt ſeſſion upon watches and clocks, and praying for a repeal of that bill.—Ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. *Wilberforce Bird* then gave notice that ſhortly after the receſs he ſhould move for leave to bring in a bill to repeal the duty on clocks, watches, &c. &c.

Mr. *Mainwaring* preſented a petition ſigned by 8000 watchmakers of London, Weſtminſter, and the borough of Southwark, praying a repeal of the above duty.

Mr. *Mainwaring* afterwards gave notice, that on the 9th of February, immediately after the receſs, he ſhould move for a Committee, to whom all petitions from the watch-makers might be referred, and that upon a report of the Committee he ſhould ground a motion for leave to bring in a bill for the repeal of the ſaid duty.

The *Speaker* obſerved, that as a ſimilar notice had been given by another member, both motions could not be made.

Mr. *Wilberforce Bird*, after a ſhort converſation, ceded to Mr. Mainwaring.

Mr. *B. Edwards* preſented a petition from Peter Moore, Eſq. complaining of an undue election for the borough of Tewkeſbury; alſo a petition from ſome of the electors, preferring the ſame complaint.—Ordered to be taken into conſideration on the 23d of February next.

Mr. Secretary *Dundas* brought down a meſſage from his Majeſty, ſimilar in effect to that preſented in the Houſe of Lords.

Mr.

Mr. Secretary *Dundas* then moved, that an humble addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, thanking him for his moſt gracious communication, which motion was put and agreed to *nem. con.*

Adjourned.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

FRIDAY, *Jan.* 12.

The royal aſſent was given by commiſſion to the Aſſeſſed Taxes bill, the bill for allowing a certain number of the Supplementary Militia to enliſt into other corps, &c.

The commiſſioners were, the Lord Chancellor, the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the Duke of Portland.

The *Lord Chancellor* ſaid, that he had on the preceding day given notice of his intention to move for an account of the aſſeſſed taxes paid by peers, with a view to aſcertain what proportion they would pay of the increaſed aſſeſſment, but upon looking to the bill he found that the firſt meeting of the commiſſioners under the act was not to be held till the 1ſt of February, and the firſt day of appeal would be the 10th, and the ſecond day of appeal the 17th of the ſame month; ſo it was impoſſible that any information could be obtained previous to the day to which their Lordſhips would probably be moved to adjourn. For the preſent, therefore, he ſhould poſtpone his motion, which he was ſo far from relinquiſhing, that he had left a copy of it in the Clerk's hands, and ſhould bring it forward after the receſs, when it might be followed by the deſired information.

Lord *Carrington* did not make his motion relative to laying before the Houſe an account of the ſums their Lordſhips might pay by voluntary contributions.

The Houſe then adjourned to the 13th of February.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

FRIDAY, *Jan.* 12.

The Speaker acquainted the Houſe that the royal aſſent had been given by commiſſion to the following bills: the new Aſſeſſed Taxes and the Army Augmentation bills.

Mr. *Sylveſter Douglas* informed the Houſe that his Majeſty had been waited on, and that his Majeſty was graciouſly pleaſed to appoint that day for receiving their addreſs.

A petition

A petition was preſented from the watch-makers of the town and county of Leiceſter, praying for a repeal of the tax on clocks, watches, &c.

Ordered to lie on the the table.

Mr. *Roſe* preſented an account of the ſums advanced by way of loan to his Imperial Majeſty, purſuant to two acts of Parliament.

Mr. *Roſe* preſented alſo an account of the proceedings of the Lords of the Treaſury, by their orders, reſpecting the receipt and expenditure of certain offices ſince the laſt ſeſſion of Parliament.

Adjourned to Thurſday the 8th day of February.

END OF VOL. I.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX:

CONTAINING

TREATIES, STATE PAPERS, PARLIAMENTARY REPORTS, AUTHENTIC DOCUMENTS, &c.

DECLARATION.

HIS Majeſty's benevolent endeavours to reſtore to his people the bleſſings of ſecure and honourable peace, again repeated without ſucceſs, have again demonſtrated, beyond the poſſibility of doubt, the determined and perſevering hoſtility of the Government of France, in whoſe unprovoked aggreſſion the war originated, and by whoſe boundleſs and deſtructive ambition it is ſtill prolonged. And while by the courſe of theſe tranſactions, continued proofs have been afforded to all his Majeſty's faithful ſubjects, of his anxious and unremitting ſolicitude for their welfare, they cannot, at the ſame time, have failed to recognize, in the uniform conduct of the enemy, the ſpirit by which the councils of France are ſtill actuated, and the objects to which they are directed.

His Majeſty could not but feel how much the means of peace had been obſtructed by the many additional difficulties which his enemies had ſo repeatedly thrown in the way of every negotiation. Nevertheleſs, on the very firſt appearance of circumſtances in ſome degree more favourable to the intereſts of humanity, the ſame ardent deſire for the eaſe and happineſs of his ſubjects, induced his Majeſty to renew his overtures for terminating the calamities of war: Thus availing himſelf of every opening which could in any manner lead to ſecure and honourable peace, and conſulting equally the wiſhes of his own heart and the principles by which his conduct has invariably been guided.

New obſtacles were immediately interpoſed by thoſe who ſtill directed the councils of France, and who, amidſt the general deſire for peace, which they could not at that time openly diſclaim, ſtill retained the power of fruſtrating the wiſhes of their own country, of counteracting his Majeſty's benevolent intentions, and of obſtructing that reſult, which was ſo neceſſary for the happineſs of both nations. Difficulties of form were ſuddenly

ouſly created; modes of negociation were inſiſted upon, the moſt inconſiſtent with their own conduct in every other inſtance; the ſame ſpirit appeared in every ſtep which was taken by them; and while the moſt unwarranted inſinuations were thrown out, and the moſt unfounded reproaches brought forward, the eſtabliſhed cuſtoms and uſages, which have long prevailed in Europe, were purpoſely departed from, even in the ſimpleſt acts which were to be done on their part for the renewal of the negociations. All theſe things his Majeſty determined to diſregard; not as being inſenſible of their purport and tendency, nor unmindful of the importance of theſe points, in the public intercourſe of great and independent nations, but reſolving to defeat the object of theſe artifices, and to ſuffer no ſubordinate or inferior conſideration to impede, on his part, the diſcuſſion of the weighty and extenſive intereſts on which the termination of the war muſt neceſſarily depend.

He directed his Miniſter to repair to France, furniſhed with the moſt ample powers, and inſtructed to communicate at once an explicit and detailed propoſal and plan of peace, reduced into the ſhape of a regular treaty, juſt and moderate in it's principles, embracing all the intereſts concerned, and extending to every ſubject connected with the reſtoration of public tranquillity. The communication of this paper, delivered in the very firſt conference, was accompanied by ſuch explanations as fully ſtated and detailed the utmoſt extent of his Majeſty's views, and at the ſame time gave ample room for the examination of every diſputed point, for mutual arrangement and conceſſion, and for reciprocal facilities ariſing out of the progreſs of fair diſcuſſion.

To this proceeding, open and liberal beyond example, the conduct of his Majeſty's enemies oppoſes the moſt ſtriking contraſt. From them no counter-project has ever yet been obtained: no ſtatement of the extent or nature of the conditions on which they would conclude any peace with theſe kingdoms. Their pretenſions have always been brought forward either as detached or as preliminary points, diſtinct from the main object of negotiation, and accompanied, in every inſtance, with an expreſs reſerve of farther and unexplained demands.

The points which, in purſuance of this ſyſtem, the plenipotentiaries of the enemy propoſed for ſeparate diſcuſſion in their firſt conference with his Majeſty's Miniſter were at once frivolous and offenſive; none of them productive of any ſolid advantages to France, but all calculated to raiſe new obſtacles in the way of peace. And to theſe demands was ſoon after added another, in it's form unprecedented, in it's ſubſtance extravagant, and ſuch as could originate only in the moſt determined and inveterate hoſtility. The principle of mutual compenſation, before expreſsly admitted by common conſent as the juſt and equitable baſis of negotiation, was now diſclaimed; every idea of moderation

moderation or reaſon, every appearance of juſtice was diſregarded; and a conceſſion was required from his Majeſty's Plenipotentiary and indiſpenſable condition of negociation, which muſt at once have ſuperſeded all the objects, and precluded all the means of treating. France, after incorporating with her own dominions ſo large a portion of her conqueſts, and affecting to have deprived herſelf, by her own internal regulations, of the power of alienating theſe valuable additions of territory, did not ſcruple to demand from his Majeſty the abſolute and unconditional ſurrender of all that the energy of his people, and the valour of his Fleets and Armies have conquered in the preſent war, either from France, or from her Allies. She required that the power of Great Britain ſhould be confined within it's former limits, at the very moment when her own dominion was extended to a degree almoſt unparalleled in Hiſtory. She inſiſted, that in proportion to the increaſe of danger, the means of reſiſtance ſhould be diminiſhed; and that his Majeſty ſhould give up, without compenſation, and into the hands of his enemies, the neceſſary defences of his poſſeſſions, and the future ſafeguards of his Empire. Nor was even this demand brought forward as conſtituting the terms of peace, but the price of negociation; as the condition on which alone his Majeſty was to be allowed to learn what further unexplained demands were ſtill reſerved, and to what greater ſacrifices theſe unprecedented conceſſions of honour and ſafety were to lead.

Whatever were the impreſſions which ſuch a proceeding created, they did not induce the King abruptly to preclude the means of Negotiation. In rejecting without a moment's heſitation a demand, which could have been made for no other reaſon than becauſe it was inadmiſſible. His Majeſty, from the fixed reſolution to avail himſelf of every chance of bringing the negociation to a favourable iſſue, directed that an opening ſhould ſtill be left for treating on reaſonable and equal grounds, ſuch as might become the dignity of his crown, and the rank and ſtation in Europe in which it has pleaſed the divine providence to place the Britiſh Nation.'

This temperate and conciliatory conduct was ſtrongly expreſſive of the benevolence of his Majeſty's intentions; and it appeared for ſome time to have prepared the way for that reſult which has been the uniform object of all his meaſures. Two months elapſed after his Majeſty had unequivocally and definitively refuſed to comply with the unreaſonable and extravagant preliminary which had been demanded by his enemies. During all that time the negotiation was continued open, the conferences were regularly held, and the demand thus explicitly rejected by one party was never once renewed by the other. It was not only abandoned, it was openly diſclaimed; aſſurances were given in direct contradiction to it. Promiſes were continually repeated, that

that his majeſty's explicit and detailed propoſals ſhould at length be anſwered by that which could alone evince a real diſpoſition to negotiate with ſincerity, by the delivery of a counter-project, of a nature tending to facilitate the concluſion of peace; and the long delays of the French government in executing theſe promiſes were excuſed and accounted for by an unequivocal declaration, that France was concerting with her Allies for thoſe ſacrifices on their part, which might afford the means of proceeding in the negotiation. Week after week paſſed over in the repetition of theſe ſolemn engagements on the part of his Majeſty's enemies. His deſire for peace induced him to wait for their completion, with an anxiety proportioned to the importance of the object; nor was it much to expect that his miniſter ſhould at length be informed what was the extent and nature of the conditions on which his enemies were diſpoſed to terminate the war.

It was in this ſtage of the buſineſs that, on the 11th of September, the appointment of new Plenipotentiaries was announced on the part of France, under a formal promiſe that their arrival ſhould facilitate and expedite the work of peace.

To renew, in a ſhape ſtill more offenſive than before, the inadmiſſible demand ſo long before brought forward, and ſo long abandoned, was the firſt act of theſe new meſſengers of peace. And ſuch was now the undiſguiſed impatience of the King's enemies to terminate all treaty, and to exclude all proſpect of accommodation, that even the continuance of the King's Plenipotentiary at the appointed place of negotiation was made by them to depend on his immediate compliance with a condition which his court had, two months before, explicitly refuſed, and concerning which no farther diſcuſſion had ſince occurred. His reply was ſuch as the occaſion required: and he immediately received a poſitive and written order to depart from France.

The ſubſequent conduct of his Majeſty's enemies has aggravated even this proceeding, and added freſh inſult to this unexampled outrage. The inſurmountable obſtacles which they threw in the way of peace were accompanied with an oſtentatious profeſſion of the moſt pacific diſpoſitions. In cutting off the means of negotiation they ſtill pretend to retain the ſtrongeſt deſire to negotiate: In ordering the King's miniſter to quit their country, they profeſſed the hope of his immediate return to it: And in renewing their former inadmiſſible and rejected demand, they declared their confident expectation of a ſpeedy and favourable anſwer. Yet before any anſwer could arrive, they publiſhed a declaration announcing to their country the departure of the King's miniſter, and attempting, as in every former inſtance, to aſcribe to the conduct of Great Britain the diſappointment of the general wiſh for peace, and the renewal of all the calamities of war. The ſame attempt has been prolonged in

In ſubſequent communications, equally inſidious and illuſory, by which they have obviouſly intended to furniſh the colour and empty pretence of a wiſh for peace, while they have ſtill ſtudiouſly and obſtinately perſiſted in evading every ſtep which could lead to the ſucceſs of any negotiation; have continued to inſiſt on the ſame inadmiſſible and extravagant preliminary, and have uniformly with-held all explanation either on the particulars of the propoſals of peace ſo long ſince delivered by his Majeſty's Miniſter, or on any other terms on which they were themſelves ready to conclude: And this in the vain hope, that it could be poſſible by any artifice to diſguiſe the truth of theſe tranſactions, or that any exerciſe of power, however deſpotic, could prevent ſuch facts from being known, felt, and underſtood, even in France itſelf.

To France, to Europe, and to the World, it muſt be manifeſt, that the French Government (while they perſiſt in their preſent ſentiments) leave his Majeſty without an alternative, unleſs he were prepared to ſurrender and ſacrifice to the undiſguiſed ambition of his enemies the honour of his crown and the ſafety of his dominions. It muſt be manifeſt, that, inſtead of ſhewing, on their part any inclination to meet his Majeſty's pacific overtures on any moderate terms, they have never brought themſelves to ſtate any terms (however exorbitant) on which they were ready to conclude peace. They have aſked as a preliminary (and in the form the moſt arrogant and offenſive) conceſſions which the comparative ſituation of the two countries would have rendered extravagant in any ſtage of negotiation; which were directly contrary to their own repeated profeſſions; and which, nevertheleſs, they peremptorily required to be complied with in every outſet: reſerving an unlimited power of afterwards accumulating, from time to time, freſh demands, encreaſing in proportion to every new conceſſion.

On the other hand, the terms propoſed by his Majeſty have been ſtated in the moſt clear, open, and unequivocal manner. The diſcuſſion of all the points to which they relate, or of any others, which the enemy might bring forward as the terms of peace, has been, on his Majeſty's part, repeatedly called for, as often promiſed by the French plenipotentiaries, but to this day has never yet been obtained. The rupture of the negotiation is not therefore to be aſcribed to any pretenſions (however inadmiſſible) urged *as the price of peace*; not to any ultimate difference *on terms*, however exorbitant; but to the evident and fixed determination of the enemy to prolong the conteſt, and to purſue, at all hazards, their hoſtile deſigns againſt the proſperity and ſafety of theſe kingdoms.

While this determination continues to prevail, his Majeſty's earneſt wiſhes and endeavours to reſtore peace to his ſubjects muſt be fruitleſs. But his ſentiments remain unaltered. He looks with

with anxious expectation to the moment when the government of France may ſhew a diſpoſition and ſpirit in any degree correſponding to his own. And he renews, even now, and before all Europe, the ſolemn declaration, that, in ſpite of repeated provocations, and at the very moment when his claims have been ſtrengthened and confirmed by that freſh ſucceſs which, by the bleſſing of providence, has recently attended his arms, he is yet ready (if the calamities of the war can now be cloſed) to conclude peace on the ſame moderate and equitable principles and terms which he has before propoſed: The rejection of ſuch terms muſt now, more than ever, demonſtrate the implacable animoſity and inſatiable ambition of thoſe with whom he has to contend, and to them alone muſt the future conſequences of the prolongation of the war be aſcribed.

If ſuch unhappily is the ſpirit by which they are ſtill actuated, his Majeſty can neither heſitate as to the principles of his own conduct, nor doubt the ſentiments and determination of his people. He will not be wanting to them, and he is confident they will not be wanting to themſelves. He has an anxious, but a ſacred and indiſpenſable duty to fulfil: He will diſcharge it with reſolution, conſtancy and firmneſs. Deeply as he muſt regret the continuance of a war, ſo deſtructive in its progreſs, and ſo burthenſome even in it's ſucceſs, he knows the character of the brave people whoſe intereſts and honour are entruſted to him. Theſe it is the firſt object of his life to maintain: and he is convinced, that neither the reſources nor the ſpirit of his kingdoms will be found inadequate to this arduous conteſt, or unequal to to the importance and value of the objects which are at ſtake. He truſts, that the favour of providence, by which they have always hitherto been ſupported againſt all their enemies, will be ſtill extended to them; and that, under this protection, his faithful ſubjects, by a reſolute and vigorous application of the means which they poſſeſs, will be enabled to vindicate the independence of their country, and to reſiſt with juſt indignation the aſſumed ſuperiority of an enemy, againſt whom they have fought with the courage, and ſucceſs, and glory of their anceſtors, and who aims at nothing leſs than to deſtroy at once whatever has contributed to the proſperity and greatneſs of the Britiſh Empire: All the channels of it's induſtry, and all the ſources of it's power; it's ſecurity from abroad, it's tranquility at home, and, above all, that conſtitution, on which alone depends the undiſturbed enjoyment of it's religion, laws, and liberties.

Weſtminſter, October 28, 1797.

LIST

LIST OF PAPERS

Presented by His MAJESTY's Command.

No. 1. OFFICIAL Note from Lord Grenville to the Miniſter for Foreign Affairs of the French Republick, dated Weſtminſter, 1ſt June 1797.

No. 2. Official Note from the Miniſter for Foreign Affairs to Lord Grenville, dated Paris, 16 Prairial, 5th Year of the French Republic.

No. 3. Official Note from Lord Grenville to the Miniſter for Foreign Affairs, dated Weſtminſter, 8th June 1797.

No. 4. Official Note from the Miniſter for Foreign Affairs to Lord Grenville, dated Paris, 23 Prairial, 5th Year.

No. 5. Paſſport.

No. 6. Official Note from Lord Grenville to the Miniſter for Foreign Affairs, dated Weſtminſter, 17th June 1797.

No. 7. Official Note from the Miniſter for Foreign Affairs to Lord Grenville, dated Paris, 2 Meſſidor.

No. 8. Official Note from Lord Grenville to the Miniſter for Foreign Affairs, dated Weſtminſter, 26th June 1797.

No. 9. Official Note from the Miniſter for Foreign Affairs to Lord Grenville, dated Paris, 11 Meſſidor, 5th Year.

No. 10. Extract of a Diſpatch from Lord Malmeſbury to Lord Grenville, dated Liſle, 6th July, Thurſday, Eight P. M. 1797.

No. 11. Copy of the full Powers of the French Plenipotentiaries.

No. 12. Extract of a Diſpatch from Lord Malmeſbury to Lord Grenville, dated Liſle, Tueſday, 11th July 1797.

No. 13. Copy of the Project delivered by Lord Malmesbury to the French Plenipotentiaries, 8th July 1797.

No. 14. Note from Lord Malmesbury to the French Plenipotentiaries, dated Lisle, the 8th July 1797.

No. 15. Note from the French Plenipotentiaries to Lord Malmesbury, dated Lisle, 21 Messidor, 5th Year.

No. 16. Note from the French Plenipotentiaries to Lord Malmesbury, dated Lisle, 22 Messidor, 5th Year.

No. 17. Extract of a Dispatch from Lord Grenville to Lord Malmesbury, dated Downing Street, 13th July 1797.

No. 18. Extract of a Dispatch from Lord Malmesbury to Lord Grenville, dated Lisle, 16th July 1797.

No. 19. Extract of a Dispatch from Lord Malmesbury to Lord Grenville, dated Lisle, 16th July 1797.

No. 20. Note from the French Plenipotentiaries to Lord Malmesbury, dated Lisle, 27 Messidor, 5th Year.

No. 21. Note from Lord Malmesbury to the French Plenipotentiaries, dated Lisle, 15th July 1797.

No. 22. Note from the French Plenipotentiaries to Lord Malmesbury, dated Lisle, 27 Messidor, 5th Year.

No. 23. Copy of a Dispatch from Lord Grenville to Lord Malmesbury, dated Downing Street, 20th July 1797.

No. 24. Copy of a Dispatch from Lord Grenville to Lord Malmesbury, dated Downing Street, 20th July, 1797.

No. 25. Extract of a Dispatch from Lord Malmesbury to Lord Grenville, dated Lisle, 25th July 1797.

No. 26. Note from Lord Malmesbury to the French Plenipotentiaries, dated Lisle, 24th July 1797.

No. 27. Extract of a Dispatch from Lord Malmesbury to Lord Grenville, dated Lisle, Sunday, 6th August 1797.

No. 28. Note from the French Plenipotentiaries to Lord Malmesbury, dated Lisle, 17 Thermidor, 5th Year.

No. 29. Extract of a Dispatch from Lord Malmesbury to Lord Grenville, dated Lisle, 14th August 1797.

No. 30.

No. 30. Extract of a Diſpatch from Lord Grenville to Lord Malmeſbury, dated Downing Street, 19th Auguſt 1797.

No. 31. Extract from the Meſſage of the French Directory to the Council of Five Hundred of the 9th Auguſt 1797.

No. 32. Copy of a Diſpatch from Lord Malmeſbury to Lord Grenville, dated Liſle, 22d Auguſt 1797.

No. 33. Extract of a Diſpatch from Lord Malmeſbury to Lord Grenville, dated Liſle, 22d Auguſt 1797.

No. 34. Extract of a Diſpatch from Lord Malmeſbury to Lord Grenville, dated Liſle, 29th Auguſt 1797.

No. 35. Extract of a Diſpatch from Lord Malmeſbury to Lord Grenville, dated Liſle, 5th September 1797.

No. 36. Extract of a Diſpatch from Lord Malmeſbury to Lord Grenville, dated Liſle, 9th September 1797.

No. 37. Extract of a Diſpatch from Lord Grenville to Lord Malmeſbury, dated Downing-Street, September 11th 1797.

No. 38. Copy of a Diſpatch from Lord Malmeſbury to Lord Grenville, dated Liſle, 11th September 1797.

No. 39, Note from the French Plenipotentiaries to Lord Malmeſbury, dated Liſle, 25 Fructidor, 5th Year.

No. 40. Note from Lord Malmeſbury to the French Plenipotentiaries, dated Liſle, 12th September 1797.

No. 41. Extract of a Diſpatch from Lord Malmeſbury to Lord Grenville, dated Liſle, 17th September 1797.

No. 42. Copy of a Diſpatch from Lord Malmeſbury to Lord Grenville, dated Liſle, 17th September 1797.

No. 43. Note from the French Plenipotentiaries to Lord Malmeſbury, dated Liſle, the 29 Fructidor, 5th Year.

No. 44. Note from Lord Malmeſbury to the French Plenipotentiaries, dated Liſle, 16th September, 1797.

No. 45. Note from the French Plenipotentiaries to Lord Malmeſbury, dated Liſle, 30 Fructidor, 5th Year.

No. 46. Note from Lord Malmeſbury to the French Plenipotentiaries, dated Liſle, 16th September, 1797.

No. 47. Note from the French Plenipotentiaries to Lord Malmeſbury, dated Liſle, 30 Fructidor, 5th Year.

No. 48. Note from Lord Malmeſbury to the French Plenipotentiaries, dated Liſle, Sunday, 17th September 1797.

No. 49. Note from the French Plenipotentiaries to Lord Malmeſbury, dated Liſle, 1ſt Complementary Day, 5th Year.

No. 50. Diſpatch from Lord Grenville to Lord Malmeſbury, dated Downing Street, 22d September 1797.

No. 51. Note from Lord Malmeſbury to the French Plenipotentiaries, dated London, 22d September 1797.

No. 52. Note from the French Plenipotentiaries to Lord Malmeſbury, dated Liſle, 4th Vendemiaire, 5th Year.

No. 53. Note from the French Plenipotentiaries to Lord Malmeſbury, dated Liſle, 10th Vendemiaire, 6th Year.

No. 54. Note from Lord Malmeſbury to the French Plenipotentiaries, dated London, 5th October 1797.

CORRE-

CORRESPONDENCE, &c.

Papers presented by His MAJESTY's Command.

(No. 1.) Official Note.—Lord Grenville to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the French Republick.

THE Signature of the Preliminaries of a Peace, the definitive Concluſion of which is to put an End to the Continental War, appears to afford to the Two Governments of Great Britain and France a natural Opportunity and new Facilities for the Renewal of pacifick Negociations between them: A Part of the Obſtacles, which might have retarded this ſalutary Work, no longer exiſting; and the Intereſts to be treated of being, after this Event, neither ſo extenſive nor ſo complicated as they were before.

The Court of London, always deſirous of employing ſuch Means as are beſt calculated to contribute to this Object, ſo intereſting to the Happineſs of the Two Nations, is unwilling to omit renewing to the French Government the Aſſurance of the Continuance of its Diſpoſitions on this Subject. And the Underſigned is authorized to propoſe to the Miniſter for Foreign Affairs to enter without Delay, and in ſuch Manner as ſhall be judged the moſt expedient, upon the Diſcuſſion of the Views and Pretenſions of each Party for the Regulation of the Preliminaries of a Peace, which may be definitively arranged at a future Congreſs.

As ſoon as the Form of this Negociation ſhall have been agreed upon, the Britiſh Government will be ready to concur in it by taking on its Part ſuch Meaſures as are the moſt proper for accelerating the Re-eſtabliſhment of the public Tranquility.

(Signed) GRENVILLE.

Weſtminſter,
June 1, 1797.

(No. 2.) Official Note.—The Miniſter for Foreign Affairs to Lord Grenville.

THE Underſigned Miniſter for Foreign Affairs of the French Republick, loſt no Time in laying before the Executive Directory the Note which was tranſmitted to him on the 1ſt of June (O. S.) by Lord Grenville, in the Name of His Britannick Majeſty. He is directed to anſwer it.

The

The Executive Directory ſees with Satisfaction the Deſire which the Cabinet of Saint James's expreſſes to put an End, at length, to the Calamities of War.—It will receive with Eagerneſs the Overtures and Propoſals which ſhall be made to It by the Court of England.

The Executive Directory deſires, notwithſtanding, that the Negociations ſhould be ſet on Foot at once for a Definitive Treaty. This Proceeding appears to the Directory preferable to a Congreſs, of which the Reſult muſt be remote, and which does not correſpond with the ardent Deſire that it has to re-eſtabliſh, as quickly as poſſible, Peace between the Two Powers.

(Signed) CH. DELACROIX.

Paris, 16 Prairial, 5th Year of the French Republick, one and indiviſible.

(June 4, 1797.)

(No. 3.) Official Note.—Lord Grenville to the Miniſter for Foreign Affairs.

The Court of London has received, with the greateſt Satisfaction, the Aſſurances of the Diſpoſitions of the Executive Directory to entertain with Eagerneſs the pacifick Overtures of Great Britain, as well as of It's Deſire to re-eſtabliſh, as ſoon as poſſible, Peace between the Two Powers.

Anxious to contribute to it in every Thing which can depend upon itſelf, the Britiſh Government will not delay to ſend to Paris, or to ſuch other Place, upon the Continent, as may be agreed upon, a Miniſter, to treat and conclude with the Plenipotentiary, who ſhall be appointed by the Executive Directory.

The Underſigned is directed to deſire to know the Wiſh of the Directory, as to the Place of the Negotiation, in order that a ſpeedy Determination may be taken here upon that Subject; and to requeſt the Miniſter for Foreign Affairs to ſend him, without Delay, the neceſſary Paſſports, to enable the King's Plenipotentiary to repair immediately to his Deſtination. The Queſtion of ſigning Preliminary or Definitive Articles, will neceſſarily depend upon the Progreſs and Turn of the Negotiations, to which, on the Part of Great Britain, will be brought the moſt ſincere Deſire for the ſpeedy Re-eſtabliſhment of Peace.

Weſtminſter, June 8th, 1797. (Signed) GRENVILLE.

(No. 4.) Official Note.—The Miniſter for Foreign Affairs to Lord Grenville.

The Executive Directory of the French Republick has ſeen with Satisfaction, by the Official Note of Lord Grenville, dated June 8th (O. S.), that the Court of London ſhews itſelf diſpoſed to ſet on Foot, without Delay, the Negotiation, for which

It

t has lately made an Overture. Filled with the ſame Eagerneſs, convinced that the Intentions of the Britiſh Government re ſuch as It deſcribes them, the Directory has directed the Jnderſigned, Miniſter for Foreign Affairs, to tranſmit to Lord Grenville the neceſſary Paſſports for a Miniſter furniſhed with ull Powers for the Purpoſe of negotiating a definitive and ſeparate Treaty of Peace with the French Republick.

The Executive Directory has fixed upon the Commune of Liſle as the Place of Meeting for the reſpective Plenipotentiaries.

Paris, 23 Prairial, 5th Year of the French Republick. (Signed) CH. DELACROIX.

(June 11, 1797.)

No. 5.) Form of Paſſport.

Liberty, Equality. Fraternity, Union.

In the Name of the French Republick.

To all Officers, Civil and Military, charged to maintain Public Order in the different Departments of France, and to make the French Name reſpected Abroad.

Allow to paſs freely

Furniſhed with the full Powers of His Britannick Majeſty for the Purpoſe of negociating, concluding, and ſigning a Definitive and Separate Treaty of Peace with the French Republick, Native of, &c. &c.

Going to Lille, Department of the North, the Place appointed for the Negotiation,

without giving or ſuffering any Hindrance to be given to him.

This paſſport ſhall be in force for Decades only.

Given at Paris the 23 *Prairial*, 5*th* Year of the Republick, One and Indiviſible.

The Miniſter Foreign Affairs,
(Signed) CH. DELACROIX.

By the Miniſter,
(Signed) T. GUIRADET.

No. 6.) Official Note.—Lord Grenville to the Miniſter for Foreign Affairs,

The Underſigned has received from the Miniſter for Foreign Affairs of the French Republick his Official Note, with the Paſſport which accompanied it.

The Court of London willingly accepts the Propoſal of the French Government with reſpect to the Place of Negotiation, and conſents that Liſle ſhall be appointed as the Place of Meeting for the reſpective Plenipotentiaries:—It being always underſtood,

derſtood, that the King's Plenipotentiary ſhall have Liberty to diſpatch his Couriers directly from Liſle to Dover, by Way of Calais; and that the Engliſh Veſſels, appointed for keeping up this Communication, ſhall be allowed freely to go into, and come out of, the Port of Calais, and to paſs in perfect Safety between that City and Dover.

With reſpect to the Paſſport, the Underſigned finds himſelf under the Neceſſity of remarking that the Terms in which this Inſtrument is drawn up, differ from the uſual Form, by the particular Deſcription, which is inſerted in them, of the Nature and Extent of the Powers, and of the Miſſion of the King's Plenipotentiary.

This new Form appears liable to produce, in many Inſtances, conſiderable Inconvenience; and, according to the Terms uſed in this particular Inſtance, it would have the Diſadvantage of not anſwering exactly to the Powers and the Miſſion of the Miniſter in queſtion.

His full Powers, drawn up in the uſual Form, will include every Caſe; and without preſcribing to him any particular Mode of Negociation, will give him the moſt unlimited Authority to conclude any Articles or Treaties, whether Preliminary or Definitive, as might beſt conduce to the ſpeedy Re-eſtabliſhment of Peace, which is the ſole Object of his Miſſion.

But the Court of London does not by any Means make a Point of concluding a Preliminary Treaty, and would prefer only that Mode, whatever it may be, which ſhall be found the beſt calculated to accelerate the Concluſion of Peace.

The King's Plenipotentiary then will be equally ready, and authorized to begin the Negociation without Delay, upon either footing; upon the footing of a Preliminary Treaty—or ſhould ſuch continue to be the Wiſh of the Directory, upon that of a Definitive Treaty.

As to what regards the Queſtion of a ſeparate Treaty—there would be no Objection to ſettling, by a Treaty of this Kind, whatever relates to the reſpective Intereſts of France and of Great Britain, as has been uſually the Practice in ſimilar Caſes: But the King can not allow any Doubt to ſubſiſt as to His Intention of providing for what is due to the Intereſts of His Ally Her Moſt Faithful Majeſty. And in Purſuance of the ſame Principles, His Majeſty will not refuſe to enter into ſuch Explanations with reſpect to the Intereſts of Spain and Holland as may appear neceſſary for the Re-eſtabliſhment of Peace.

After this frank and preciſe Explanation, the Britiſh Government is perſuaded that the Directory will not delay to tranſmit to them a Paſſport for the Britiſh Plenipotentiary and his Suite, in the uſual Form, and ſuch as was ſent in the Month of October laſt for the Miſſion with which Lord Malmeſbury was then charged.

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In this expectation, and for the ſake of avoiding all delay, his Majeſty has already made choice of the ſame miniſter to repreſent him on this important occaſion. And the underſigned is charged to enquire on what Day the French Plenipotentiary will be at Liſle, in order that Lord Malmeſbury may arrive there at the ſame time.

(Signed) GRENVILLE.

Weſtminſter,
June 17, 1797.

(No. 7.) Official Note.---The Miniſter for Foreign Affairs to Lord Grenville.

TRANSLATION.

THE underſigned Miniſter for Foreign Affairs has laid before the Directory, immediately upon its receipt, the official note addreſſed to him by Lord Grenville, dated June 17, 1797 (O. S.) He loſes no time in replying to it, according to the orders which he has received.

The Directory, partaking moſt ſincerely in the pacifick ſentiments which his Britannick Majeſty announces, and wiſhing to bring the negotiations as quickly as poſſible to a happy iſſue, perſiſts in requiring that the reſpective Plenipotentiaries ſhall begin immediately upon their meeting to treat of a definitive treaty. The Directory accepts, with ſatisfaction, the conſent of his Britannick Majeſty upon this ſubject, expreſſed in the note of Lord Grenville.

The Directory conſents that his Britannick Majeſty ſhall make, by his Plenipotentiary, ſuch propoſals or ſtipulations as he ſhall think proper for her moſt Faithful Majeſty, as in return the Plenipotentiaries of the Republic will do for their allies his Catholic Majeſty and the Batavian Republick.

The Directory conſents that the negotiation ſhall be opened with Lord Malmeſbury. Another choice would, however, have appeared to the Directory to augur more favourably for the ſpeedy concluſion of peace.

The Directory requires that it ſhall be eſtabliſhed as a principle, that each Engliſh packet boat, which ſhall have brought over either the Plenipotentiary or a Courier, ſhall return without delay, and ſhall not be allowed to make any ſtay. The Directory will give orders that a French packet boat ſhall be furniſhed, without delay, to each of the Couriers whom the Plenipotentiary of his Britannick Majeſty ſhall diſpatch. The Directory deſires, at the ſame time, that the Couriers ſhould not be ſent too frequently; the frequent ſending of them having been one of the principal cauſes of the rupture of the former negotiation.

After the above explanation, it becomes unneceſſary to tranſmit to Lord Grenville a new paſſport; the reſtrictions which he apprehended were to be found in that which has been addreſſed to him, being entirely done away.

The French Plenipotentiaries will have arrived at time at which Lord Malmesbury can himself be there.

(Signed) CH. DEL.

Paris, 2 Messidor.
(June 20, 1797.)

(No. 8.) Official Note.—Lord Grenville to th for Foreign Affairs.

TRANSLATION.

The undersigned has laid before the King the off of the French government, which he received th the present month.

As to the two first articles of this note both pa agreed. On this point therefore there is nothing to to the explanations already given; in consequence explanations Lord Malmesbury will, without delay, pr Lisle to enter into a negotiation with the French Ple tiaries for the completion of a definitive treaty. The re the Directory upon the choise which his Majesty has t fit to make of his Plenipotentiary, being certainly of not to require any answer.

The British Government agrees to the arrangeme posed for the packet boats; provided that a French pack shall be furnished regularly, and without the least del each courier which the British Plenipotentiary shall n necessary to dispatch: The exercise of his incontestable ri this respect being to be governed by his own discretion with a view to bringing the negotiation with which charged to a speedy and successful end.

With regard to the rupture of the last negotiation, the cumstances and the motives of it are known to all Europe; it is not at the moment of entering into a new pacific cussion that the British government conceives it can be of use to recall them to recollection.

Lord Malmesbury will set out from London on the 30th this month to proceed to Calais; from whence he will anno his departure according to the notification he may receive the Day on which the French ministers may reach Lisle.

(Signed) GRENVILLE.

Westminster, June 26, 1797.

(No. 9.) Official Note.—The Minister for Foreign Affa to Lord Grenville.

TRANSLATION.

The undersigned Minister for foreign affairs, has the laying before the Executive Directory the official n addressed to him by Lord Grenville, dated the 28th June (the 8th of the present month Messidor.

In answer to this note, he has the honor to declare to Lord Grenville, that the Plenipotentiaries charged by the Directory with the Negociation, are already assembled at Lisle, and that the conferences may be set on foot as soon as the Plenipotentiary of his Britannick Majesty shall have arrived there. Provision has been made that there shall never be a want of packet boats for the couriers which he shall think proper to send to London.

The undersigned at the same time apprizes Lord Grenville, that a copy of this note will be delivered to Lord Malmesbury on his arrival at Calais, in order that there may be nothing to hinder his immediate departure for Lisle.

(Signed) CH. DELACROIX.

Paris, 11 Messidor,
5th Year.
(June 29, 1797.)

No. 10.) Extract of a dispatch from Lord Malmesbury, to Lord Grenville, dated Lisle, July 6th, Thursday, 8 P. M. 1797.

My Lord,

HAVING had this morning my first conference with the French Plenipotentiaries, and having mutually exchanged our full powers, I think it my duty to dispatch a Messenger, in order that his Majesty may have the earliest information of this circumstance. My dispatch however must be confined to this alone, as nothing whatever has yet passed relative to the negociation itself.

(No. 11.) Copy of the full powers of the French Plenipotentiaries.

TRANSLATION.

Equality. *Liberty.*

Extract from the registers of the deliberations of the Executive Directory.

Paris the 30th Prairial, 5th year of the French Republic, one and indivisible.

THE Executive Directory, after having heard the report of the Minister for Foreign Affairs, decrees as follows:

The citizens Letourneur, heretofore member of the Executive Directory, Pleville le Pelley, and Maret, are authorized to negotiate with the Minister Plenipotentiary of his Britannick Majesty, the treaty of Peace to be concluded between the French republick and Great Britain. The Directory gives them the necessary full powers for agreeing upon and signing the articles of the treaty to be made. They shall conform themselves to the instructions which have been, or shall be given to them by the Executive Directory, to whom they shall render an account of the progress and the issue of the negotiations.

They are equally authorised, and under the same conditions, to stipulate for the allies of the Republic, his Catholic Majesty and the Batavian Republick.

The Citizen Colchen, appointed Secretary General to the French Legation is authorized to aſſiſt at the conference, to afford the information which ſhall be required of him, and to take a note of what ſhall be agreed upon and ſettled.

The preſent decree ſhall not be printed for the preſent.

A true copy.

The Preſident of the Executive Directory,
CARNOT.

By the Executive Directory,
the Secretary General,
LAGARDE.

(No. 12.) Extracts of a diſpatch from Lord Malmeſbury to Lord Grenville, dated Liſle, July 11, 1797.

I HAD the honour in my laſt, by Brooks, of the 6th inſtant, to inform your lordſhip of my arrival here, of the manner in which I had been received, and of my having, in the uſual form, exchanged my full powers with the French Plenipotentiaries.

On Friday the 7th at noon we held our ſecond conference.

I opened this ſecond conference with the French Plenipotentiaries, by ſaying, that I myſelf had no obſervations to make on their full powers, which appeared to be conformable to thoſe uſually given by the Directory to their Plenipotentiaries, and of courſe muſt be conſidered as ſufficient for the purpoſes expreſſed in them; that I, however, had tranſmitted them by a meſſenger to my court, and reſerved to myſelf the right of communicating any objections or remarks which I might receive by the return of my meſſenger, relative to them.

M. le Tourneur, to whom, as preſident of the Commiſſion, I addreſſed myſelf, replied, that they had taken preciſely the ſame ſteps as myſelf; that *they* conſidered the full powers I had given in, as in due form, and ſufficient; but that they alſo reſerved to themſelves the ſame right, in regard to inſtructions they might receive from the Directory on this ſubject, as I had claimed in regard to my court.

To this, of courſe, I aſſented.

On Saturday the 8th inſtant I gave in the *Projet* preciſely as I had received it from your lordſhip; a copy of which (A), as it is tranſlated into French, I think it my duty to incloſe.

One of the French Plenipotentiaries propoſed that ſome time ſhould be given them to take the propoſals I had made into conſideration, and begged of me merely for the ſake of accuracy, and to help their memory, that I would be good enough either to let M. Colchen put down on paper, or myſelf ſend them a note containing the words with which I wiſhed the Articles left in blank to be filled up. I readily acquieſced in the latter mode, and immediately on my return ſent them the incloſed note (B).

On

On Sunday evening I received the incloſed note (C) from the French Plenipotentiaries, and in conſequence of it went to the propoſed conference yeſterday.

One of the French Plenipotentiaries informed me on the ſubject of the Projet I had given them, and the note with which I had accompanied it, that as theſe papers contain many points on which their inſtructions did not enable them to anſwer, they had, after having given them a very ſerious attention, ſent them, with ſuch obſervations as they had thought it their duty to make on them, to the Directory, and that the moment they received an anſwer, they would communicate it to me. But that in the meanwhile, not to delay the progreſs of the negotiation, they wiſhed that ſeveral points which he termed inſulated, but which, though not referred to in our Projet, were, he ſaid, inſeparably connected with the general ſubject of peace, might be diſcuſſed and got rid of now if I had no objection, and that it was with this view they had requeſted me to meet them. On my not expreſſing any diſapprobation to this mode of proceeding, *one of the French Plenipotentiaries* began, by ſaying, that in the preamble of the treaty the title of King of France was uſed; that this title they contended could no longer be inſiſted on, the abolition of it was in a manner eſſential to the full acknowledgement of the French Republick, and that as it was merely titular as far as related to his Majeſty, but quite otherwiſe in the ſenſe in which it applied to them, he hoped it would not be conſidered as an important conceſſion.

I informed him, that on all former occaſions a ſeparate article had been agreed to, which appeared to me to anſwer every purpoſe they required, and which it was my intention, as the treaty advanced, to have propoſed, as proper to make part of this. The article (the firſt of the ſeparate ones in the treaty of 1783) was then read; but they objected to it, as not fully meeting their views. It was to the title itſelf, as well as to any right which might be ſuppoſed to ariſe from it, that they objected. I could ſcarce allow myſelf to treat this mode of reaſoning ſeriouſly. I endeavoured to make them feel that it was cavilling for a mere word; that it was creating difficulties where none exiſted; and that if all the French monarchs in the courſe of three centuries had allowed this to ſtand in the preamble of all treaties and tranſactions between the two countries, I could not conceive, after its having been uſed for ſo long a period without any claim or pretenſion being ſet forth in conſequence of it, how it could now affect either the dignity, ſecurity, or importance of the Republic---that in fact ſuch titles have ever been conſidered as indefeaſable, and as memorials and records of former greatneſs, and not as pretenſions to preſent power---and I quoted the titles of the Kings of Sardinia and Naples, &c. as examples exactly in point. I argued however in vain. They treated it very

very gravely, and made ſo ſtrong a ſtand upon it, that I could not avoid taking it for reference, which I thought it better to do, than feeling as I did at the moment, to puſh the converſation farther.

The ſecond inſulated point was a very material one indeed, and which, although it has been adverted to as a propoſal that might poſſibly be brought forward, I confeſs came upon me unexpectedly. It was to aſk either a reſtitution of the ſhips taken and deſtroyed at Toulon, or an equivalent for them. They grounded this claim on the preliminary declaration made by Lord Hood on his taking poſſeſſion of Toulon; and on the eighth article of the declaration of the Committee of the ſections to him. They ſaid, peace they hoped was about to be reeſtabliſhed; that his Majeſty, in acknowledging the Republic, admitted that a ſovereignty exiſted in the French Government; and of courſe that the ſhips, held only as a depoſit by England till this legal authority was admitted, ought now to be reſtored. I replied that this claim was ſo perfectly unlooked for, that it was impoſſible for me to have been provided for it in my inſtructions, and that I could therefore only convey my own private ſentiments on it, which were, that they could not have deviſed a ſtep more likely to defeat the great end of our miſſion. *One of the French Plenipotentiaries* ſaid, that he ſincerely hoped not; that without a reſtitution of the ſhips an equivalent might be found to effect the purpoſe deſired, ſince their great object was, that ſomething ſhould appear to prove that this juſt demand had not been overlooked by them, and was not left unſatisfied by us. I told him fairly, I did not ſee where this equivalent was to be found, or how it could be appreciated; and that conſidering the great advantages France had already obtained by the War, and thoſe ſhe was likely to obtain from the act of condeſcenſion I had already intimated his Majeſty was diſpoſed to make in order to reſtore peace, I was much ſurprized, and deeply concerned at what I heard. I truſted, therefore, that this very inadmiſſible propoſal would be withdrawn. They ſaid it was not in their power; and one of them, from a written paper before him, which he ſaid were his inſtructions, read to me words to the effect I have already ſtated.

Their third queſtion was as to any mortgage we might have upon the Low Countries, in conſequence of money lent to the Emperor by Great Britain---They wiſhed to know if any ſuch exiſted, ſince as they had taken the Low Countries charged with all their incumbrances, they were to declare that they ſhould not conſider themſelves bound to anſwer any mortgage given for money lent to the Emperor, for the purpoſe of carrying on war againſt them.

I told them, that without replying to this queſtion, ſuppoſing the caſe to exiſt, the exception they required ſhould have been

ſtated

ſtated in their Treaty with the Emperor, and could not at all be mixed up in ours; that if they had taken the Low Countries as they ſtood charged with all their incumbrances, there could be no doubt what theſe words meant, and that if no exception was ſtated in the firſt inſtance, none could be made with a retro-active effect.

The French Plenipotentiaries, however, were as tenacious on this point as on the other two; and as I found to every argument I uſed that they conſtantly oppoſed their inſtructions, I had nothing to do but to deſire that they would give me a written paper ſtating their three claims, in order that I might immediately tranſmit it to your lordſhip, and on this being promiſed, our conference broke up.

Between four and five P. M. yeſterday, I received the encloſed Note (D), and I have loſt no time ſince it is in my poſſeſſion in preparing to ſend away a meſſenger, as independent of the diſagreeable ſubjects brought forward in this laſt conference, and which it is material ſhould be communicated without delay, I am anxious his Majeſty ſhould be informed of what has paſſed in general up to this day, as it may perhaps furniſh ſome ideas as to the poſſible event of the negotiation.

(No. 13. A.) Projet delivered by Lord Malmſbury to the French Plenipotentiaries in their conference, July 8th, 1797.

TRANSLATION.

Project of a Treaty of Peace.

Be it known to all thoſe whom it ſhall or may in any manner concern. The moſt Serene and moſt Potent Prince George the Third, by the Grace of God, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, Duke of Brunſwic and Lunenburgh, Arch Treaſurer and Elector of the Holy Roman Empire, and the Executive Directory of the French Republic, being equally deſirous to put an end to the war, which has for ſome time paſt ſubſiſted between the dominions of the two parties, have named and conſtituted for their plenipotentiaries, charged with the concluding and ſigning of the Definitive Treaty of peace; viz. the King of Great Britain, the Lord Baron of Malmeſbury, a Peer of the Kingdom of Great Britain, Knight of the moſt Honourable Order of the Bath, Privy Councillor to his Britanick Majeſty, and the Executive Directory of the French Republic,

who, after having exchanged their reſpective full powers, have agreed upon the following articles:

I. As ſoon as this Treaty ſhall be ſigned and ratified, there ſhall be an univerſal and perpetual peace as well by ſea as by land, and a ſincere and conſtant friendſhip between the two contracting parties, and their dominions, and territories, and people

ple, without exception of either places or perſons; ſo that the high contracting parties ſhall give the greateſt attention to the maintaining between themſelves, and their ſaid dominions, territories and people, this reciprocal friendſhip and intercourſe, without permitting here-after, on either part, any kind of hoſtilities to be committed either by ſea or by land, for any cauſe or under any pretence whatſoever. There ſhall be a general oblivion and amneſty of every thing which may have been done or committed by either party towards the other before or ſince the commencement of the war; and they ſhall carefully avoid for the future every thing which might prejudice the union happily re-eſtabliſhed.

Immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of this Treaty, orders ſhall be ſent to the Armies and Squadrons of both parties to ſtop all hoſtilities; and for the execution of this article, ſea paſſes ſhall be given on each ſide to the ſhips diſpatched to carry the news of peace to the poſſeſſions of the two parties.

II. The Treaties of Peace of Nimeguen of 1678 and 1679, of Ryſwick of 1697, and of Utrecht of 1713; that of Baden of 1714; that of the Triple Alliance of the Hague of 1717; that of the Quadruple Alliance of London of 1718; the Treaty of Peace of Vienna of 1736; The Definitive Treaty of Aix la Chapelle of 1748; the Definitive Treaty of Paris of 1763; and that of Verſailles of 1783, ſerve as a baſis and foundation to the peace, and to the preſent Treaty. And for this purpoſe they are all renewed and confirmed in the beſt form, ſo that they are to be exactly obſerved for the future in their full tenour, and religiouſly executed by both parties in all the points which ſhall not be derogated from by the preſent Treaty of Peace.

III. All the priſoners taken on either ſide, as well by land as by ſea, and the hoſtages carried away or given during the war, ſhall be reſtored, without ranſom, in ſix weeks at lateſt, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent Treaty.—Each party reſpectively diſcharging the advances which ſhall have been made for the ſubſiſtence and maintenance of their priſoners in the country where they ſhall have been detained, according to the receipts, atteſted accounts, and other authentic vouchers, which ſhall be furniſhed on each ſide; and ſecurity ſhall be reciprocally given for the payment of the debts which the priſoners may have contracted in the countries where they may have been detained, until their entire releaſe.

IV. With reſpect to the rights of fiſhery on the coaſts of the Iſland of Newfoundland, and of the Iſlands adjacent, and in the Gulph of Saint Laurence, the two parties ſhall return to the ſame ſituation in which they ſtood reſpectively, according to the Treaties and Engagements ſubſiſting at the period of the commencement of the war. And with this view, his Majeſty conſents to reſtore to France, in full right, the iſlands of Saint Pierre and Miquelon.

V.

V. The ſame principle of the ſtate of poſſeſſion before the war, is adopted by mutual conſent, with reſpect to all other poſſeſſions and rights on both ſides, in every part of the world; ſave only the exceptions which are ſtipulated by the ſubſequent articles of this Treaty. And to this intent, all poſſeſſions or territories which have or may have been conquered by one of the parties from the other (and not ſpecially excepted in this Treaty), ſhall be reſtored to the party to whom they belonged at the commencement of the preſent war.

VI. From this principal of mutual reſtitution, the two parties have agreed to except
which ſhall remain to his Britannick Majeſty in full Sovereignty.

VII. In all the caſes of reſtitution provided by the preſent Treaty, the fortreſſes ſhall be reſtored in the ſame condition in which they now are, and no injury ſhall be done to any works that have been conſtructed ſince the conqueſt of them.

VIII. It is alſo agreed, that in every caſe of reſtitution or ceſſion provided by any of the articles of this treaty, the term of three years from the date of the notification of the treaty, in the reſpective territory or place reſtored or ceded, ſhall be allowed to perſons of whatever deſcription, reſiding or being in the ſaid territory or place, poſſeſſed of property therein under any title exiſting before the war, or which has ſince devolved to them by the laws then exiſting; during which term of three years they ſhall remain and reſide unmoleſted in the exerciſe of their religion, and in the enjoyment of their poſſeſſions and effects, upon the conditions and titles under which they ſo acquired the ſame, without being liable in any manner, or under any pretence, to be proſecuted or ſued for their paſt conduct, except as to the diſcharge of juſt debts to individuals; and that all thoſe who, within the time of months after the notifications of this Treaty, ſhall declare to the government, then eſtabliſhed, their intention to withdraw themſelves, or their effects, and to remove to ſome other place, ſhall have and obtain within one month after ſuch declaration full liberty to depart and remove their effects, or to ſell and diſpoſe of the ſame, whether moveable or immoveable, at any time within the ſaid period of three years, without any reſtraint or hindrance, except on account of debts at any time contracted, or of any criminal proſecution for acts done ſubſequent to the notification of this Treaty.

IX. As it is neceſſary to appoint a certain period for the reſtitutions herein-before ſtipulated, it is agreed, that the ſame ſhall take place in Europe within (one month), in Africa and America within (three months), and in Aſia within (ſix months), after the ratification of the preſent treaty.

X. For preventing the revival of the law ſuits which have been ended in the territories to be reſtored by virtue of this treaty, it is agreed, that the judgments in private cauſes pronounced in

the laſt reſort, and which have acquired the force of matters determined, ſhall be confirmed and executed according to their form and tenour.

XI. The decision of the prizes and ſeizures of ſhips and their cargoes taken at ſea or ſeized in the ports of either country, prior to the hoſtilities, ſhall be referred to the reſpective Courts of Juſtice; ſo that the legality of the ſaid prizes and ſeizures ſhall be decided according to the law of nations, and to treaties, in the Courts of Juſtice of the nation which ſhall have made the capture, or ordered the ſeizures. And in order to prevent all cauſes of complaint and diſpute which may ariſe on account of prizes which may be made at ſea after the ſigning of this treaty, it is reciprocally agreed that the veſſels and effects which may be taken in the Britiſh Channel and in the North Seas, after the ſpace of twelve days, to be computed from the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty, ſhall be reſtored on each ſide: That the term ſhall be one month from the Britiſh Channel and the North Seas, as far as the Canary Iſlands, incluſively, whether in the Ocean, or in the Mediterranean: Two months from the ſaid Canary Iſlands as far as the equinoctial line or equator: Three months from the equator to any part to the weſtward of the Cape of Good Hope, and the eaſtward of Cape Horn: And, laſtly, five months in all other parts of the world, without any exception or any more particular deſcription of time or place.

XII. The allies of the two parties, that is to ſay, Her Moſt Faithful Majeſty as ally of His Britannick Majeſty, and His Catholick Majeſty and the Batavian Republick as allies of the French Republick, ſhall be invited by the two contracting parties to accede to this peace on the terms and conditions ſpecified in the three following articles; the execution of which the ſaid two contracting parties reciprocally guarantee to each other, being thereto reſpectively authorized by their above mentioned allies: And the two contracting parties further agree, that if their allies reſpectively ſhall not have ſo acceded within the ſpace of two months after the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty, the party ſo refuſing to accede, ſhall not receive from its ally any aid or ſuccour of any nature during the further continuance of the war.

XIII. His Britannick Majeſty engages to conclude a definitive peace with his Catholick Majeſty on the footing of the ſtate of poſſeſſion before the war, with the exception of

which ſhall remain in full ſovereignty to His Britannick Majeſty.

XIV. His Britannick Majeſty in like manner engages to conclude a definitive peace with the Batavian Republic on the ſame footing of the ſtate of poſſeſſion before the war, with the exception of

which ſhall remain to His Britannick Majeſty in full ſovereignty.

reignty, and of which
ſhall be ceded to His Majeſty in exchange for

In conſideration of theſe reſtitutions, to be hereby made by His Britannick Majeſty, all property belonging to the Prince of Orange, in the month of December 1794, and which has been ſeized and confiſcated ſince that period, ſhall be reſtored to him, or a full equivalent in money given him for the ſame. And the French Republick further engages to procure for him, at the general peace, an adequate compenſation for the loſs of his offices and dignities in the United Provinces; and the perſons who have been impriſoned or baniſhed, or whoſe property has been ſequeſtered or confiſcated in the ſaid Republick, on account of their attachment to the intereſts of the Houſe of Orange, or to the former government of the United Provinces, ſhall be releaſed, and ſhall be at liberty to return to their country, and to reſide therein, and to enjoy their property there, conforming themſelves to the Laws and Conſtitution there eſtabliſhed.

XV. The French Republic engages to conclude a definitive peace with her moſt Faithful Majeſty on the ſame footing; of the ſtate of poſſeſſion before the war, and without any further demand or burthenſome condition being made on either ſide.

XVI. All the ſtipulations contained in this treaty, reſpecting the time and manner of making the reſtitutions therein mentioned, and all the privileges thereby reſerved to the inhabitants or proprietors in the iſlands or territories reſtored or ceded, ſhall apply in like manner to the reſtitutions to be made by virtue of any of the three laſt articles, viz. the XIIIth, XIVth, and XVth, except in thoſe inſtances where the ſame may be derogated from by the mutual conſent of the parties concerned.

XVII. All former treaties of peace between the reſpective parties, to whom the ſaid three articles relate, and which ſubſiſted and were in force at the commencement of hoſtilities between them reſpectively, ſhall be renewed, except in ſuch inſtances only where the ſame may be derogated from by mutual conſent; and the articles of this treaty for the reſtoration of priſoners, the ceſſation of hoſtilities, and the deciſion relative to prizes and ſeizures, ſhall equally apply to the reſpective parties to whom the ſaid three articles relate, and ſhall be held to be in full force between them, as ſoon as they ſhall reſpectively and in due form have acceded to this treaty.

XVIII. All ſequeſtrations impoſed by any of the parties named in this treaty, on the rights, properties, or debts, of individuals belonging to any other of the ſaid parties, ſhall be taken off, and the property of whatever kind ſhall be reſtored in the fulleſt manner to the lawful owner; or juſt compenſation be made for it: And all complaints of injury done to private property, contrary to the uſual practice and rules of war, and

all claims of private rights or property which belonged to individuals at the periods of the commencement of hoſtilities reſpectively, between the ſaid parties, viz. Great Britain and Portugal on the one ſide, and France, Spain, and Holland, on the other; and which ought, according to the uſual practice and laws of nations, to revive at the period of peace, ſhall be received, heard, and decided, in the reſpective courts of juſtice of the different parties; and full juſtice therein ſhall be done by each of the ſaid parties to the ſubjects and people of the other, in the ſame manner as to their own ſubjects or people.

And if any complaint ſhould ariſe reſpecting the execution of this article, which complaints ſhall not be ſettled by mutual agreement between the reſpective Governments within twelve months after the ſame ſhall have been preferred to them, the ſame ſhall be determined by ſworn commiſſioners to be appointed on each ſide, with power to call in an arbitrator of any indifferent nation; and the deciſion of the ſaid commiſſioners ſhall be binding, and without appeal.

XIX. His Britannick Majeſty and the French Republick promiſe to obſerve ſincerely, and *bond fide*, all the articles contained and eſtabliſhed in the preſent treaty; and they will not ſuffer the ſame to be infringed, directly or indirectly, by their reſpective ſubjects; and the ſaid contracting parties guarantee to each other, generally and reciprocally, all the ſtipulations of the preſent treaty.

XX. The ſolemn ratifications of the preſent treaty, prepared in good and due form, ſhall be exchanged in between the contracting parties, in the ſpace of a month, or ſooner if poſſible, to be computed from the day of the ſignature of the preſent treaty.

In witneſs whereof, &c. &c.

(No. 14. B.) Note from Lord Malmeſbury to the French Plenipotentiaries.

TRANSLATION.

The Miniſter Plenipotentiary of his Britannick Majeſty has the honor of preſenting to the Miniſters Plenipotentiary of the French Republic, in conſequence of the wiſh expreſſed by them in the conference of this morning, the following note: Which he requeſts them at the ſame time to conſider, not ſo much in the light of an official paper as of a verbal and confidential communication, and as a proof of his readineſs to facilitate the progreſs of the negotiation, by giving them, on the very outſet, all the explanations in his power on the projet of the treaty which he has deliverd to them.

If as the Miniſters Plenipotentiary of the French Republic have aſſured him, it is contrary to their moſt poſitive inſtructions to

to enter into any diſcuſſion relative to the ceſſion of thoſe poſſeſſions which belonged to France before the war, it is uſeleſs to dwell on the VIth article: Since the compenſations which his Britannick Majeſty might have demanded by that article, in return for the reſtitutions which he is diſpoſed to make for the re-eſtabliſhment of peace, muſt, in conſequence of this declaration, be ſought for in the ceſſions to be made by his Catholic Majeſty, and the Batavian Republick.

Lord Malmeſbury therefore propoſes to inſert in the thirteenth article, after the words *Status ante Bellum*, the following Words: "With the exception of the iſland of Trinidad, which ſhall "remain in full poſſeſſion to his Britannick Majeſty."

Lord Malmeſbury imagines that it is unneceſſary for him to repeat the reaſons which induce him to inſiſt upon the retaining of this conqueſt, unleſs compenſation ſhould be made for it by ſome other ceſſion which ſhall balance the augmentation of power accruing to France, from the acquiſition of the Spaniſh part of St. Domingo.

With regard to the fourteenth article, Lord Malmeſbury propoſes, that after the words *Status ante Bellum*, ſhould be added, "With the exception of the town, fort, and eſtabliſh-"ment of the cape of Good Hope, and of the poſſeſſions which "belonged to the Dutch before the war in the iſland of Ceylon, "and of the town and fort of Cochin, which ſhall be ceded to "his Britannick Majeſty in exchange for the town of Nega-"patnam and its dependencies."

Lord Malmeſbury repeats to the Miniſters Plenipotentiary of the French Republick the aſſurance of his readineſs to concur with them, in every thing which ſhall depend on him, to bring the negotiation to a happy iſſue; and requeſts of them, at the ſame time, to accept the aſſurances of his high conſideration.

(Signed) MALMESBURY.

Lille, July 8, 1797.

(No. 15. C.) Note from the French Plenipotentiaries to Lord Malmeſbury.

TRANSLATION.

THE Miniſters Plenipotentiary of the French Republic have received the note which the Miniſter Plenipotentiary of His Britannick Majeſty did them the honour of addreſſing to them yeſterday. They will give to it, as well as to the project of a treaty to which it relates, the moſt ſerious attention. In the mean time, though they are not yet enabled to communicate to Lord Malmeſbury the remarks to which theſe two papers appear to them liable, they think it their duty to propoſe to him a confe-rence to-morrow, at one o'clock, if that hour is agreeable to him, in order to treat with him on diſtinct points, the diſcuſſion

of

of which may be entered upon ſeparately, and which may be proceeded in without delay.

They requeſt Lord Malmeſbury to accept the aſſurances of their high conſideration.

(Signed) LE TOURNEUR.
PLEVILLE LE PELLEY.
HUGHES B. MARET.

Lille, 21 Meſſidor,
5th year of the Republic.
(July 9th. 1797.)

COLCHEN, Sec. Gen. of the Legation.

(No. 16. D.) Note from the French Plenipotentiaries to Lord Malmeſbury, dated Liſle.

TRANSLATION.

THE Miniſters Plenipotentiary of the French Republick loſe no time in complying with the wiſh expreſſed to them by the Miniſter Plenipotentiary of His Britannick Majeſty, by tranſmitting to him a note on the three points which were the ſubject of their conference of this day.

1. They have poſitive orders to require the renunciation of the title of King of France borne by his Britannick Majeſty.

Lord Malmeſbury is requeſted to obſerve that the queſtion is not only of a renunciation of the rights which might be pretended to be derived from this title, but further and formally of the title itſelf. The eſtabliſhment of the French Republick, and the acknowledgment of this form of government by the King of England, will not allow of his retaining a title which would imply the exiſtence in France of an order of things which is at an end.

2. The Miniſters Plenipotentiary of the Republick are ordered to demand the reſtitution of the veſſels taken or deſtroyed at Toulon.

Great Britain has publickly and formally declared that theſe veſſels were taken in truſt for the King of France. This truſt is ſacred. It incontestably belongs to the Republick, which exerciſes the rights and the ſovereignty that Great Britain attributed to Louis XVII. at the period of the capture of Toulon. His Britannick Majeſty cannot, therefore, in acknowledging the French Republick, deny its right to the reſtitution required, or refuſe either to make the reſtitution, or to offer an equivalent for it.

3. The Miniſters Plenipotentiary have orders to demand, and do demand, the renunciation, on the part of his Britannick Majeſty, of the mortgage on Belgium.

That country was mortgaged for the loans made by the Emperor in England. It has become an integral part of the French Republick.

Republick, and cannot remain burthened with ſuch a mortgage.

The Miniſters Plenipotentiary of the French Republick requeſt Lord Malmeſbury to accept the aſſurance of their high conſideration.

(Signed) LE TOURNEUR.
PLEVILLE LE PELLEY.
HUGHES B. MARET.

Lille, 22 Meſſidor,
5th year of the Republick.
(July 10, 1797.)

COLCHEN, Sec. Gen. of the Legation.

(No. 17.) Extract of a diſpatch from Lord Grenville to Lord Malmeſbury, dated Downing ſtreet, July 13, 1797.

WITH reſpect to the demands contained in the note tranſmitted to your lordſhip by the French Miniſters, they have been naturally received here with great ſurprize. On the ſubject of the Netherlands as connected with the Auſtrian loans, it is conceived that any explanation between his Majeſty and the French government is wholly unneceſſary. The loans raiſed in England for the ſervice of the Emperor of Germany, and guaranteed by Act of Parliament here, reſt, as your Lordſhip will perceive, by the annexed copy of the convention on that ſubject, upon the ſecurity of all the revenues of all the hereditary dominions of his Imperial Majeſty. They do not ſeem in any manner to come under the deſcription contained in the ſixth article of the preliminaries between Auſtria and France, reſpecting mortgages upon the ſoil of the Netherlands, on which ground alone France could have any pretence to interfere in the buſineſs. Nor is this ſubject one which appears to be in any manner a fit point of diſcuſſion between his Majeſty and the Republick! the King neither forms nor has any intention of forming any demand on the French government for the payment of any part either of the intereſt or capital of thoſe loans. It is to the Emperor alone that his Majeſty looks for the performance of his Imperial Majeſty's engagements to him, and it is upon the Auſtrian government, and upon its revenues, that individuals concerned in thoſe loans have claims of private right, and means of perſonal demand ſecured to them by the Convention.

On the other two points I have nothing to add to the obſervations which your lordſhip has already made upon them: And we can therefore only wait with impatience for the anſwer to the Projet delivered by your lordſhip, which will enable us to form a judgement on the intentions of the government with whom we are treating.

Right Honourable Lord Malmeſbury.

(No. 18.)

(No. 18.) Extract of a dispatch from Lord Malmesbury to Lord Grenville, dated Lisle, 16th July 1797.

It was at the express invitation of the French Plenipotentiaries that I met them on Thursday the 13th instant; *one of them* stated their motive for wishing to confer with me, not to be in consequence of any answer they had received from Paris on the subject of the *Projet*, which he observed could not be expected so soon, but to resume the discussion on the article which he had objected to on my first reading the *Projet*, and on which they conceived it was possible and even expedient to argue before we entered on the more important branches of the negotiation. It was article II. that he referred to. He objected to the renewal of the treaties therein mentioned from various reasons; first, that many and even most of them were irrelevant to that we were now negotiating; secondly, that they were in contradiction to the new order of things established in France, as they seem to imply an acknowledgement that a portion of the regal authority is still existing; thirdly, that they might be supposed to apply to conventions and stipulations, in direct contradiction to their present form of government, and he quoted the convention of Pilnitz in particular. I was about to reply to him, and I trust in a way that would have done away his apprehensions on this point, when *another of them* interposed by saying, that their sincere and only desire was that the treaty we were now entering upon might be so framed, as to secure permanently the object for which it was intended; that no article likely to produce this end might be omitted, nor any doubtful one inserted; but that the whole, as well with regard to the past as to the future, might be so clearly and distinctly expressed, that no room for cavil might be left. This he assured me, in the name of his Colleagues, was all that was meant by their objection to renew so many treaties in which such various interests were blended, and so many points discussed foreign to the present moment. Their renewing them in a lump, and without examining carefully to what we were pledged by them, might involve us in difficulties much better to be avoided. I replied that I admitted most certainly all he said, and that it was with this view and on this principle solely that the renewal of these treaties was proposed by his Majesty; and that if he recollected (as he undoubtedly did) the different wars which were terminated by these treaties, and the many important regulations stipulated by them, he would admit that the allowing them to remain in their full force was simply an acknowledgement of the tenure by which almost all the sovereigns of Europe, and particularly the French Republick, held their dominions up to this day. That these treaties were become the law of nations, and that infinite confusion would result from their not being renewed.

He

He replied, that our object was evidently the ſame, that we only differed as to the manner. I thought the renewing theſe treaties *in toto* would the beſt contribute to it; while they were inclined to think, that extracting from them every thing which immediately related to the intereſts of the two countries, and stating it in one article, was more likely to attain this deſirable object. *The French Miniſter* again repeated, that their first wiſh was, that the treaty we were now making, ſhould be clear, diſtinct, ſolid, and lasting, and ſuch a one as could not, at any future period, be broken through without a manifest violation of good faith. And I again repeated, that nothing could be ſo conſonant to my orders, or the intentions of my Royal Master.

One of the French Plenipotentiaries was diſpoſed to dwell on his objections, which were, that theſe treaties were ſigned when France was a monarchy, and that any retroſpect to thoſe times implied a ſort of cenſure on their preſent form of government; but this was arguing on ſuch weak ground, and ſo incapable of being ſeriouſly maintained, that I, to avoid ſuperfluous contradiction, was very willing to let it paſs unnoticed. After a good deal of very conciliatory, and even amicable diſcuſſion, in which, however, neither party gave much way to the other, it was propoſed by them that we ſhould return home, to meet again as ſoon as convenient after an attentive and deliberate peruſal of theſe treaties, in order to state reſpectively our ideas on this ſubject. I obſerved, that although I was perfectly prepared to do it at the moment, and felt almost bold enough to affirm, that no meaſure could be deviſed which would ſo completely meet our intentions as an unreſerved renewal of the treaties they heſitated about, yet I was very willing to acquieſce in their propoſal, with this ſimple obſervation, that if any delay aroſe from it, ſuch delay was imputable to them, and not to me. My words were, "Je ne me rends pas reſponſable des longueurs "dans leſquelles cette diſcuſſion pourrait nous entrainer." *The French Miniſter's* anſwer was, "Si des longueurs ſervent à "determiner des objets qui pourraient donner lieu à des "querelles à l'avenir, ce ſera du tems bien employé." It was not my wiſh to contest this aſſertion, and our conference ended with it.

(No. 19.) Extract of a diſpatch from Lord Malmeſbury to Lord Grenville, dated Liſle, July 16, 1797.

My Lord,

YESTERDAY at the moment I was preparing to attend the conference, in which we were to enter into fuller diſcuſſions on the litigated ſubject of the renewal of the treaties mentioned in the ſecond article of the Projet, I received from the French Legation the encloſed paper (A). In about an hour I returned

the enclosed answer (B), to which I received the enclosed reply (C); and I am this moment come from the conference which has taken place in consequence of it.

I began by saying, that I had solicited this interview from the same motive which would actuate every part of my conduct; that I wished to make my reports not only correct but conciliatory as far as depended on me, and I now was come in order, if possible, to obtain from them such comments and explanations on the note they sent to me yesterday, as would enable me, when I transmitted it to my court, to secure the negotiation from being interrupted, perhaps abruptly terminated, by the perusal of it. If I understood it right, it meant that the Directory requires as *a sine qua non Preliminary*, that every thing the King has conquered from all and each of his enemies should be restored, and that till this restoration was consented to, the negotiation was not even to begin. I said, if I was correct in this statement, and the plain sense of the declaration would bear no other interpretation, I must add that it would not only not certainly prevent the treaty from beginning, but would leave no room for treating at all, since it deprived his Majesty of every means of negotiation; for I could not suppose that it was in their thoughts to intimate that the principle of the treaty, as far as it related to his Majesty, was to be one of all cession and no compensation, and yet that was precisely the position in which his Majesty was placed by their note.

One of the French Plenipotentiaries, who had let me proceed rather reluctantly, here stopt me, and said, that he and his colleagues were exceedingly happy that I had expressed a wish to see them before I dispatched my messenger; that they wished to assure me, that they had thought it dealing fairly and honourably to state what they had received from the Directory in the very words in which it came to them; that they should be sorry if the declaration they had been directed to make me, should be of a nature to interrupt, much less to break off, the negotiation; that it was the sincere wish of the Directory that the negotiation should proceed and end successfully; and that, far from shutting the door to further discussions, they were perfectly ready to hear any proposals we had to make, and only wished that these proposals should be, if possible, such as were compatible with their most sacred engagements. I repeated what I had said, that no door was left open if his Majesty was *in fact* to restore every thing; and that a peace on these conditions would not be heard of by the country. I observed, that immediately on leaving them, I should dispatch a messenger; but what that messenger carried would most materially affect the progress and issue of the negotiation; I therefore desired to know whether in consequence of what I had heard from them, I might con-

the ſtrict and literal meaning of the declaration not to be a decided negative (which it certainly ſeemed to imply) on all compenſation whatever to be made to his Majeſty, but that propoſals tending to this effect would ſtill be liſtened to. *One of them* anſwered, "certainly, and if they ſhould be found ſuch "as it will be impoſſible for us to admit, we will on our ſide "bring forward others for your court to deliberate on." Under this aſſurance, which at leaſt, to a certain degree, qualifies the declaration of yeſterday, I broke up the conference.

(No. 20. A.) Note from the French Plenipotentiaries to Lord Malmeſbury.

TRANSLATION.

THE Miniſters Plenipotentiary of the French Republick have tranſmitted to their Government the Project of the Treaty, and the note relating thereto, which were delivered to them the 20th of this month, by the Miniſter Plenipotentiary of his Britannick Majeſty.

They have juſt received freſh communications and orders, which require that they ſhould make the following declaration to Lord Malmeſbury.

There exiſts in the public and ſecret Treaties, by which the French Republick is bound to its Allies, Spain and the Batavian Republick, articles by which the three powers reſpectively guarantee the territories poſſeſſed by each of them before the war.

The French Government, unable to detach itſelf from the engagements which it has contracted by theſe Treaties, eſtabliſhes as an indiſpenſable preliminary of the negociation for the peace with England, the conſent of his Britannick Majeſty to the reſtitution of all the poſſeſſions which he occupies, not only from the French Republick, but further and formally of thoſe of Spain and the Batavian Republick.

In conſequence, the underſigned Miniſters Plenipotentiary requeſt Lord Malmeſbury to explain himſelf with regard to this reſtitution, and to conſent to it, if he is ſufficiently authorized to do ſo; if not, and in the contrary caſe, to ſend a meſſenger to his Court, in order to procure the neceſſary powers.

The object of the conference which was to have taken place to day being neceſſarily delayed by the purport of the above-mentioned Declaration, the Miniſters Plenipotentiary of the Republic have to expreſs to Lord Malmeſbury the regret that they feel in loſing this opportunity of converſing together, which they had themſelves ſolicited :---But in caſe Lord Malmeſbury ſhould have any communication to make to them, they beg him to believe that they will always be happy to receive him, and to liſten to him, whenever he may think proper.

They requeſt him, at the ſame time, to accept anew the aſſurances of their high conſideration.

(Signed) LE TOURNEUR.
PLEVILLE LE PELLEY.
HUGHES B. MARET.

Lille, 27 Meſſidor,
5th year of the Republick.
(July 15, 1797.)

COLCHEN, Sec. Gen. of the Legation.

(No. 21. B.) Note from Lord Malmeſbury to the French Plenipotentiaries.

TRANSLATION.

THE Miniſter Plenipotentiary of his Britannick Majeſty has given the moſt ſerious attention to the note dated this morning, which he has received from the Miniſters Plenipotentiary of the French Republick.

He has no heſitation in declaring to them, that his inſtructions by no means authorize to admit, as a preliminary principle, that which their declaration ſeems intended to eſtabliſh: Nevertheleſs, being perſuaded that it is his firſt duty not to give up the hopes of conciliation until he ſhall have exhauſted every means of obtaining it, and being anxious to avoid, in the report which he ſhall have to make to his Court, the poſſibility of miſunderſtanding on a ſubject of ſuch importance, he propoſes to them a conference for to-morrow, at the hour moſt convenient to them, after which it is his intention to diſpatch a meſſenger to his Court.

He requeſts the Miniſters Plenipotentiary of the French Republick to accept the aſſurances of his high conſideration.

(Signed) MALMESBURY.

Liſle, 15th July 1797.

(No. 22. C.) Note from the French Plenipotentiaries to Lord Malmeſbury.

TRANSLATION.

THE Miniſters Plenipotentiary of the French Republick loſe no time in acceding to the deſire expreſſed by the Miniſter Plenipotentiary of his Britannick Majeſty, of conferring with them on the ſubject of the note which they addreſſed to him this day.

They have in conſequence the honour of propoſing to him to meet to-morrow morning at eleven o'clock, at the uſual place of conference.

They

They request him to accept the assurances of their high consideration.

(Signed) LE TOURNEUR.
PLEVILLE LE PELLEY.
HUGHES B. MARET.

Lille, 27 Messidor,
5th year of the Republic,
one and indivisible.
(July 15. 1797.)

COLCHEN, Sec. Gen. of the Legation.

(No. 23.) Copy of a Dispatch from Lord Grenville to Lord Malmesbury, dated Downing-Street, July 20, 1797.

My Lord,

Your Lordship's Dispatches by the messenger Dressins, were received here on the 17th instant, at night, and I lost no time in receiving his Majesty's commands on the very important subject of your letter, No. 9.

I am much concerned to be under the necessity of remarking, that the claim brought forward in the note transmitted to your Lordship by the French Plenipotentiaries, is in itself so extravagant, and so little to be reconciled either from the former professions of those Ministers, or with their conduct in the previous stages of the negociation, that it affords the strongest presumption of a determination to preclude all means of accommodation. If such is really the determination of the Directory, nothing can remain for this country, but to persevere in opposing, with an energy and spirit proportioned to the exigency, a system which must tend to perpetuate a state of war and civil tumult in every part of Europe.

The natural step upon the present occasion would therefore have been to direct your Lordship to terminate at once a negociation, which, on the footing now proposed by the enemy, affords neither the hope nor the means of any favourable conclusion. Nothing being left for Treaty, where, as a preliminary step, one party is required to concede every thing, and all compensation from the other is absolutely and at once precluded. His Majesty's servants have, however, observed, that in the conclusion of your Lordship's conference with the French Plenipotentiaries on the subject of the note in question, the President of that Mission informed your Lordship, that it was not intended to resist all compensation for the immense extent of restitution demanded from his Majesty, and for the other obvious circumstances of disadvantage to this country in the situation of Europe, as resulting from the war; and even added, that he and his colleagues would eventually bring forward proposals on this

this head for the deliberation of the King's Government. It appeared poſſible that ſome advantage might perhaps ariſe to the great object of peace, from grounding on this declaration a further proceeding, ſuch as might afford to the Directory (if they were ſo diſpoſed) the means of replacing the negociation on a more practicable footing. With the view therefore of leaving nothing untried which can contribute to reſtore peace on any ſuitable terms, his Majeſty has been pleaſed to direct that your Lordſhip ſhould for that purpoſe aſk another conference with the French Plenipotentiaries. In this conference your Lordſhip will remark in ſuch terms as the occaſion muſt naturally ſuggeſt to you upon the indefenſible ſpirit and tendency of the demand now made by France. You will obſerve that France, treating in conjunction with her Allies, and, in their name, cannot with any pretence of juſtneſs and fairneſs, oppoſe her Treaties with them as an obſtacle in the way of any reaſonable propoſal of peace in which they are to be included. In a ſeparate negociation, to which they were not parties, ſuch a plea might, perhaps, have been urged; but in that caſe France would have been bound to offer, from her own means, that compenſation which ſhe did not think herſelf at liberty to engage to obtain from her Allies. And ſuch was, in fact, as your Lordſhip muſt remember, the principle on which his Majeſty offered to treat laſt year, when he was really bound, by engagements to Auſtria, ſimilar to thoſe which are now alledged by France. But it never can be allowed that France, Spain, and Holland, negociating jointly for a peace with Great Britain, can ſet up, as a bar to our juſt demands, the Treaties between themſelves, from which they are at once able to releaſe each other whenever they think fit.

You will further remark, that even if, contrary to all reaſon, ſuch a principle could for a moment have been admitted on our part, ſtill even that principle, inadmiſſible as it is, could only apply to public Treaties, known to thoſe who agreed to be governed by them, and not to ſecret articles, unknown even to the French Plenipotentiaries, or concealed by one of them from the knowledge of the others.

You will add in explicit, though not offenſive terms, that the whole of this pretence now ſet up by France is inconteſtably frivolous and illuſory; being grounded on a ſuppoſition of a ſtate of things directly contrary to that which is known really to exiſt. It being perfectly notorious that both Spain and Holland, ſo far from wiſhing to continue the war, were compelled by France to engage in it, greatly againſt their own wiſhes; and to undertake, without the means of ſupporting it, a conteſt in which they had nothing to gain, and every thing to loſe. It never therefore can be allowed to be a queſtion of any poſſible doubt,

doubt, but that the Directory, if they really wiſh it, muſt already have obtained, or could at any moment obtain, the conſent of thoſe powers to ſuch terms of peace as have been propoſed by his Majeſty. If, however, France, from any motive of intereſt or engagement, is in truth deſirous to procure for them the reſtitution of the poſſeſſions which they were unable to defend, and have no means to reconquer, the project delivered by your Lordſhip affording an opening for this; thoſe articles have been ſo drawn as to leave it to France to provide a compenſation to his Majeſty, either out of her own colonies, or out of thoſe of her Allies, reſpectively conquered by his Majeſty's arms. The choice between theſe alternatives may be left to the Directory; but to refuſe both, is in other words, to refuſe all compenſation. This is nevertheleſs expreſsly declared not to be the intention of thoſe with whom you treat. It is therefore neceſſary that your Lordſhip ſhould demand from them a ſtatement of the propoſals which, as they informed you, they have to make, in order to do away this apparent contradiction, which the King's ſervants are wholly unable to reconcile by any ſuggeſtion of theirs, even if it were fitting and reaſonable for them to bring forward any new propoſals immediately after the detailed project which was delivered on the part of this country at the outſet of the negociation.

Since that project is not acceded to, we have evidently, and on every ground, a right to expect a counter project, equally full and explicit on the part of the enemy. You will therefore ſtate to the French Miniſters diſtinctly, that the only hope of bringing this buſineſs to a favourable concluſion, is by their ſtating at once plainly, and without reſerve, the whole of what they have to aſk, inſtead of bringing forward ſeparate points one after the other, not only contrary to the avowed principle of the negociation propoſed by themſelves, but, as it appears, even contrary to the expectation of the Miniſters themſelves who are employed on the part of France. There can be no pretence for refuſing a compliance with this demand, if the Plenipotentiaries of France are diſpoſed to forward the object of peace: And the obtaining ſuch a ſtatement from them is, as I have before ſtated to your Lordſhip, a point of ſo much importance, in any courſe which this negociation may take, that it is the King's pleaſure that your Lordſhip ſhould uſe every poſſible endeavour to prevent their eluding ſo juſt a demand.

After what has paſſed, it is, I fear, very doubtful whether ſuch a counter project would be framed on principles ſuch as could be admitted here; but it would at all events place the buſineſs on its real iſſue, and bring diſtinctly into queſtion the ſeveral

veral points on which the concluſion of peace, or the prolongation of war, will really depend.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRENVILLE.

Right Honourable Lord Malmeſbury.

(No. 24.) Copy of a diſpatch from Lord Grenville to Lord Malmeſbury, dated Downing Street, July 20, 1797.

My Lord,

THERE are two ſeparate points on which it is neceſſary for me to ſay a few words to your Lordſhip, in addition to the inſtructions in my other diſpatch, on the general ſubject of the negociation.

The firſt relates to the aſſertion of one of the French Miniſters, that the Portugueze Ships and troops were at Toulon. The fact is very immaterial as to any concluſion that could be drawn from it, to affect the ſituation or the juſt claims of the Court of Liſbon; becauſe your Lordſhip well knows, that it is a principle univerſally recognized in the publick law of Europe, that when one of the parties, in a defenſive alliance, furniſhes to his Ally the ſtipulated ſuccours, thoſe ſuccours remain entirely at the diſpoſal of the requiring party to be employed wherever he ſhall judge proper, ſubject only to the limitations of the Treaty which before exiſted; and if the amount of thoſe ſuccours is not encreaſed beyond that engaged for, nor the means of uſing them extended by new facilities, the party furniſhing the ſtipulated aſſiſtance is not underſtood to violate the laws of neutrality.

But the fact, in this caſe, would not bear out the aſſertion, even if the argument to be drawn from it were more concluſive. The troops of her moſt faithful Majeſty having been, as I apprehend, no otherwiſe employed than in the two campaigns carried on by land, upon the Southern part of the frontiers of France and Spain.

The other point relates to what was ſaid to your Lordſhip about the Treaty of Pilnitz. It would certainly not require much argument to prove that the renewal of ſeveral Treaties enumerated by name and date, and the lateſt of which was concluded in 1783, does not imply a renewal of another Treaty ſuppoſed to be concluded in 1791. But what is more material to the preſent caſe is, that your Lordſhip ſhould take this opportunity to explain, in the moſt diſtinct and unequivocal terms, that if any ſecret Treaty was in fact concluded at the interview at Pilnitz, between the late Emperor and the King of Pruſſia, (which is, to ſay the leaſt, very doubtful in point of fact,) this at leaſt is certain, that his Majeſty was no party

party to ſuch Treaty; and not only was not then included in it, but has never ſince adhered to it, nor even been apprized of its contents. The publick declaration which was made at that interview, ſhews on the face of it that his Majeſty was no party to it; and it is, indeed, notorious that it applied to circumſtances which were done away long before the war broke out between Auſtria and France, and that the ſubſequent negotiations for the maintenance of peace between thoſe powers turned on points wholly diſtinct from thoſe ſuppoſed to be referred to in the pretended Treaty of Pilnitz.

This explanation, however little connected with the preſent negotiation, ſeems to be called for by the alluſion made to you upon the ſubject; and, indeed, on a point on which ſo much miſrepreſentation has prevailed, it is uſeful not to omit the opportunity of ſtating the facts as they really are.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRENVILLE.

Right Honourable Lord Malmeſbury.

(No. 25.) Extract of a diſpatch from Lord Malmeſbury to Lord Grenville, dated Liſle, 25th July 1797.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge your lordſhip's diſpatches, No. 19 and 20, of the 20th inſt. which were delivered to me on Saturday the 22d inſt. by the meſſenger Major.

It was impoſſible that the claim brought forward in the note incloſed in my No. 9, could have produced on your lordſhip's mind any impreſſion different from that which you deſcribe, and I am happy to find that the conduct I obſerved, when it was firſt delivered to me, was ſuch as put it in my power to execute with great conſiſtency the ſpirited inſtructions your lordſhip now ſends me.

Immediately on the arrival of the meſſenger, I propoſed an interview with the French Plenipotentiaries, and we met on Sunday the 23d, at one P. M.

I could not obey his Majeſty's orders in a manner more likely to command attention, and to impreſs thoſe who heard me with a juſt ſenſe of the mixture of firmneſs and moderation with which his Majeſty was pleaſed to conduct this important negotiation, than by employing not only the ſubſtance, but as far as was practicable in converſation, the very words of your lordſhip's diſpatch, No. 19; and if I ſhould attempt to relate minutely what I myſelf ſaid in this conference, it would in fact be little more than a repetition of them.

I began by obſerving, that I was certain the French Plenipotentiaries muſt be fully prepared for what I now had it in command to ſay: I reminded them that I had taken upon me to

affirm when we were laſt aſſembled, and immediately before I diſpatched my meſſenger, that the requiring ſuch a preliminary as that propoſed in the note, was putting an end at once to all negotiation, and that I was ſure peace on ſuch terms would not be heard of; that the orders I was then about to communicate to them would prove that I had not made this aſſertion lightly, or in conſequence of any haſty opinion of my own, at the ſame time that it would alſo appear that my Royal Maſter was as anxiouſly and as ſincerely inclined to liſten to all reaſonable and admiſſible conditions, as he was determined to repel and reject all ſuch as were of an oppoſite deſcription. I then, my lord, took up my arguments on the preciſe grounds ſet forth in your lordſhip's No. 19. I neither omitted any thing, nor inſerted any thing of my own, which could at all alter its ſpirit; and I only varied from the letter inaſmuch as was neceſſary to make it applicable to a conference.

My firſt object was to ſtate, in as forcible a way as poſſible, the utter inadmiſſibility of the pretenſion ſet forth in the note, the frivolous and illuſory reaſons alledged for bringing it forward, and I obſerved that, if it was perſevered in, it muſt lead to this neceſſary concluſion, that there did exiſt when it was framed an intention on the part of the Directory to break off the negotiation in the outſet. My ſecond object in point of reaſoning, though a very primary one in point of importance, was either to prevent the negotiation breaking off at all, or if this was not to be prevented, to endeavour to be ſo clear and explicit in my language, and to draw the line ſo diſtinctly between ſuch ſacrifices as his Majeſty might be inclined to make in order to reſtore ſo great a bleſſing as peace, and thoſe to which the dignity of his crown and intereſt of his ſubjects would never allow him to attend, as to make it impoſſible that by any future cavil or ſubterfuge the interruption of the treaty, if unfortunately it ſhould be interrupted, could be imputed to any other cauſe than the exorbitant demands of the French Government; and the better to inſure this purpoſe, I explained to them that his Majeſty having already in a detailed Projet ſtated freely and fully his conditions, and theſe conditions having been at once rejected by a ſweeping claim on the part of the French Government, it was not fitting or reaſonable, neither could it be expected that any new propoſals ſhould originate with his Majeſty: And that on every ground the King had a right to expect a *Contre-Projet* from them, ſtating at once plainly and without reſerve the whole of what they had to aſk, inſtead of bringing forward ſeparate points, one after another, directly contrary to the principle on which we had agreed to begin the negotiation, and which, from their being inſulated, could only tend to protract and impede its progreſs.

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On the firſt point, on the inadmiſſibility of the preliminary conditions as propoſed by the French Government, *one of the French Plenipotentiaries* ſaid, it was impoſſible for them to do more than to take it for reference, that the inſtructions they had received when the Directory ſent them the note, were preciſe and poſitive, and that they had received none ſince. He therefore had on that point ſimply to requeſt of me, that I would ſtate in writing the ſeveral grounds on which his Majeſty rejected this propoſition, in order that the report tranſmitted by them to the Directory might be correct; and he aſſured me, that if I did not think it proper to put in writing all the arguments I had uſed to them in the conference, they would have no ſcruple of employing thoſe I omitted in ſuch a way as was the beſt calculated to give them weight, and to uſe *the French Miniſter's* own expreſſion, to place the negotiation once more on its legs.

In regard to the ſecond point, he had no heſitation in agreeing with me, that the beſt method, and indeed the only one, which could accelerate the whole of the buſineſs, was for them to give in a *Contre-Projet*, neither did he attempt to diſprove our perfect right to expect one from them before we made any new propoſals. But he ſaid, that it was not neceſſary for him to obſerve that as long as they were bound by their inſtructions not to give way on the propoſition I had now ſo decidedly rejected, that it was impoſſible for them to move a ſtep without new orders from the Directory; that they would aſk for theſe orders immediately, and loſe no time in acquainting me when they were received.

I obſerved, that in our laſt conference he had intimated to me they were empowered to come to ſome explanation with me on the ſubject of compenſation to be made to his Majeſty for the great ceſſions he was diſpoſed to make; that, at the time, I conceived theſe explanations were of a nature to qualify the wide claim ſtated in the note, and that if I had abſtained from preſſing him further at the moment, it was from perceiving a reluctance on their part to bring them forward: That, however, if they really had ſuch propoſals to make me, and if they were of a nature to meet in ſubſtance and effect the baſis laid down in the Projet I had given, I ſhould be well diſpoſed to liſten to them.

One of the French Miniſters, after ſome heſitation and a ſort of ſilent reference to one of his Colleagues, ſaid he thought as matters now ſtood, it would be much better to wait their anſwer from Paris :---That it was a very important period, a criſis in the negotiation, the reſult of which probably would be concluſive as to its fate, and that it ſeemed to be of more conſequence to make this reſult as conformable to what he hoped I

was convinced were as much their wishes as mine, than to waste our time in discussions which were useless, not to say more, till this was ascertained.

I confined myself in my reply to saying, I had no objection whatever to giving to the French Plenipotentiaries a paper, stating the strong motives on which his Majesty rejected the proposition made in their note of the 15th; and that as I, on my part, had considered it a duty to make my reports as conciliatory as was consistent with truth and correctness, so I heard with great pleasure the assurances he gave me of their intending to observe the same line of conduct.

Thus as we seemed perfectly agreed as to the propriety of their producing a *Contre-Projet*, I had nothing to say on that point, except to express my most sincere wish that it would soon appear, and when it did appear, be such a one as would lead to a speedy and satisfactory conclusion of the negotiation.

Right Honourable Lord Grenville.

(No. 26.) Note from Lord Malmesbury to the French Plenipotentiaries.

TRANSLATION.

The Minister Plenipotentiary of his Britannick Majesty has transmitted to his Court the note which was delivered to him the 15th of this Month, by the Ministers Plenipotentiary of the French Republick; and having received the orders of the King his Master, on this subject, he hastens to repeat to them, in writing, conformably to the desire which they have expressed to him, the following reflections, which he had already stated to them verbally, in consequence of his most positive instructions.

He observes, in the first place, that to require "As an "indispensable preliminary of negotiation for peace with "England, the consent of his Britannick Majesty to the formal "restitution of all the possessions which he occupies, as well "those of the French Republick, as further and formally "those of Spain and the Batavian Republick," is to wish to establish a previous condition, which excludes all reciprocity, refuses to the King all compensation, and leaves no object of ulterior negotiation.

That the French Republick formally authorized by its Allies to negotiate the articles of Peace in their name, cannot fairly set up its partial treaties with them, in opposition to reasonable proposals of peace, since it is universally understood that the contracting parties always preserve the power to modify, by mutual consent, the conditions by which they may be engaged to each other, whenever their common interests may require it:—Consequently, the proposition made to the King of a general and

and gratuitous reſtitution as an indiſpenſable preliminary, would neceſſarily impute to his Catholick Majeſty, and to the Batavian Republick, diſpoſitions far leſs pacifick than thoſe which animate the French Republick.

That moreover, in conſequence of what paſſed in the firſt conferences, Lord Malmeſbury has always thought himſelf entitled to expect that the King his Maſter would find a compenſation for the ſacrifices he was ready to make for peace, by retaining a part of his conqueſts; and he was the leſs able to foreſee any obſtacle, on account of the ſecret articles of the treaties which bind the French Republick, as the principle of compenſation was acknowledged by a formal and poſitive declaration, made in the name of the Executive Directory, and communicated in an official note, dated the 27th of November 1796; a declaration, poſterior to the completion of thoſe treaties.

It was, therefore, in order to remove, as much a poſſible, every difficulty that, in the Projet of a treaty, which Lord Malmeſbury has delivered to the Miniſters Plenipotentiary of the French Republick, the alternative was left to France to ſettle this compenſation on its own poſſeſſions, or on thoſe of its Allies: But the abſolute refuſal of this alternative appears to do away the only poſſible means of conciliating every intereſt, and of arriving at an honourable, juſt, and permanent peace.

Lord Malmeſbury, perſuaded that ſuch cannot be the intention of the French Government, hopes, that in conſequence of the reaſons herein ſtated, a condition will not be inſiſted upon, to which his Britannick Majeſty can by no means conſent.

He again requeſts the Miniſters Plenipotentiary of the French Republick to accept the aſſurances of his high conſideration.

(Signed) MALMESBURY.

Liſle, 24th, July, 1797.

(No. 27.) Extract of a diſpatch from Lord Malmeſbury to Lord Grenville, dated Liſle, Sunday, Auguſt 6th 1797.

My Lord,

I FULLY expected, when I received the incloſed note on Friday, that the conference propoſed was to acquaint me with the inſtructions the French Plenipotentiaries had received from the Directory, on the note I had given in near a fortnight ago, as an anſwer to that in which the reſtitution of the whole of his Majeſty's conqueſts from each of his enemies is required as an indiſpenſable preliminary to all negotiation.

I was therefore ſurprized and diſappointed, when I had taken my place at the conference, to hear from the French Plenipotentiaries that the letters they had received that morning from Paris

Paris did not bring any ſpecifick reply to my laſt note, but only went to inform them that the Directory had taken the ſubject into their moſt ſerious conſideration, and would acquaint them as ſoon as poſſible with the reſult.

I could not avoid expreſſing my concern and ſurprize that there exiſted any heſitation whatever in the mind of the Directory on a point, which, although a very important, was certainly a very ſimple one:---That to allow it to remain in doubt whether his Majeſty was to have any compenſation or not, was in other words to leave it in doubt whether the Directory ſincerely meant peace or not:---And that, although I was very far from wiſhing for any improper haſte, or not to move in a matter of ſuch magnitude with becoming prudence and deliberation, yet I could not forbear lamenting that more than a month had now elapſed without our having advanced a ſingle ſtep, notwithſtanding his Majeſty had, in the very outſet of the negotiation, manifeſted a moderation and forbearance unprecedented under ſimilar circumſtances:---That anxious as I was not to prejudice it by any repreſentations of mine, I muſt ſay, this delay placed me in a very aukward poſition, as I really did not perceive how I could account for it in a way at all ſatisfactory, at the ſame time that it was quite impoſſible for me to ſuffer a longer ſpace of time to paſs over without writing to my Court.

One of the French Plenipotentiaries expreſſed his earneſt wiſh that I would write immediately; he was confident this delay would be ſeen in its true light! and added, "Si nous n'avancons pas à "pas de Geant, j'eſpere que nous marchons d'un pas ſur."---And another of them repeated this phraſe.

I expreſſed my ſincere hope this might be the caſe, but it would have been much better proved by the communication of the Counter-Projet they had in a manner pledged themſelves to procure, than by any vague and indeterminate aſſurances of what might poſſibly be the reſult of the preſent ſuſpenſion of all buſineſs. They obſerved to me, that the Counter-Projet would of courſe be (virtually) contained in their next inſtructions, and that their only motive for wiſhing to ſee me was, to convince me that this delay had neither originated with them, nor been occaſioned at Paris by any want of attention to this important buſineſs, or from any cauſe not immediately and cloſely connected with it.

I deſired to know from them when they thought it probable they ſhould receive poſitive and explicit inſtructions, whether in three, four, or five days?---They ſaid, it would be probably eight or ten.---And *one of them* obſerved, that as our not meeting more frequently gave riſe to many idle rumours and falſe reports, he would propoſe to me, if I had no objection, to meet every other day at two o'clock:---That it was very poſſible that in our

our next two or three meetings we might have nothing material to ſay, but that we ſhould get better acquainted with each other, and in our converſations mutually ſuggeſt ideas that might be of uſe.---I readily conſented to this.

I had a conference again this morning. As I was very deſirous of being enabled to tranſmit to your Lordſhip ſome more ſatisfactory account as to the motives of this delay, I again preſſed the French Plenipotentiaries on this point. They each of them repeated what they had ſaid before, and on my endeavouring to make them feel how impoſſible it was that his Majeſty ſhould not be hurt at this demur on ſo very ſimple a point, *One of them* ſaid, you ought to augur favourably from it; your note was a refuſal to agree to what was ſtated by the Directory in their inſtructions to us as a *ſine qua non* :---If the Directory were determined to perſiſt in this *ſine qua non* they would have ſaid ſo at once---" Je vous aſſure qu'il nous auroit " promptement renvoye le courier," were his words:---The time they take to deliberate indicates beyond a doubt that they are looking for ſome temperament, and it ſcarce can be doubted that one will be found.---I ſaid I was well pleaſed to hear him ſay this; but that ſtill he muſt be aware that it would not be an eaſy taſk for me to make my diſpatches to day either intereſting or ſatisfactory.

Another of the French Miniſters ſaid, that he really believed that this would be the only great impediment we ſhould have to encounter, that every thing would go on quickly and ſmoothly, and that I muſt admit the preſent to be a very important and difficult point in the negociation. I agreed with him entirely as to it's importance, but could not acquieſce as to its difficulty.

I am very ſorry, my Lord, that in ſuch a moment, and after waiting ſo long, I ſhould not be able to ſend you more explicit and deciſive aſſurances; but it is not in my power to compel the French negociators to move on faſter. All I can do is by my conduct and language to take care that no part whatever of the imputation of delay ſhould attach to me. I have, at every conference I have held, always declared my readineſs to proceed, and ſhall not fail to repeat this every time we meet.

Right Honourable Lord Grenville, &c. &c. &c.

(No. 28.) Note from the French Plenipotentiaries. to Lord Malmeſbury.

TRANSLATION.

THE Miniſters Plenipotentiary of the French Republick will be happy in having on opportunity of converſing for a few minutes with Lord Malmeſbury; and they have in conſequence the

the honour of propoſing to him to meet them at two o'clock to-day, or at any other hour which may be more convenient to him, and which he will have the goodneſs to appoint.

They renew, with pleaſure, to Lord Malmeſbury the aſſurances of their high conſideration.

(Signed) LE TOURNEUR.
HUGUES B. MARET.

Lille, 17 Thermidor,
5th year of the Republick.
(Auguſt 4, 1797.)

COLCHEN, Sec. Gen. of the Legation of the Republick.
(Aug. 4, 1797.)

(No. 29.) Extract of a diſpatch from Lord Malmeſbury to Lord Grenville, dated Liſle, Auguſt 14th, 1797.

My Lord,

In conſequence of the reſolution we had come to, to meet on the days of the arrival of the poſt from Paris, our conferences for this laſt week have taken place regularly every other morning, except on Thurſday the 10th of Auguſt, which being the anniverſary of one of their national feſtivals, the French Legation could not attend.

I have in mine, No. 17, given your Lordſhip an account of every thing which paſſed in theſe conferences, up to that of the 6th. On the 8th nothing was ſaid at all worth tranſmitting, except an intimation flung out by *One of the French Plenipotentiaries*, that it would be neceſſary to take into conſideration the rights of neutral nations on this occaſion. But as he ſpoke very vaguely, and in general terms, I did not chooſe to preſs him for an explanation, as I conſider it more judicious to avoid diſcuſſions on ſeparate and collateral points, and not to enter into negotiation till the whole can be brought under deliberation at once.

What paſſed on the 12th was rather more intereſting. The return of Mr. Wedley afforded me a very natural opportunity of expreſſing the impatience with which an anſwer to my laſt note was expected by my Court; that three weeks had now elapſed ſince its tranſmiſſion, and that although I by no means wiſhed to inſinuate that due attention had not been paid to ſo very important a ſubject as that on which we were treating, yet I could not but greatly lament, that day after day ſhould be allowed to paſs away without our proceeding on the great buſineſs for which they were met. *One of the French Miniſters* ſaid, that it was impoſſible I could lament this delay more than they did: that they had already declared to me that it was occaſioned by

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a wiſh not to create but remove difficulties; and that they could aſſure me poſitively, that the French Government had no other object in view, and that I ſhould find, when once we began fairly to negotiate, we ſhould proceed very rapidly.

I replied that it was indeed very material to make good the time we had loſt. *The French Miniſter* anſwered, you would not call it time loſt if you knew how it was employed. On my expreſſing by my manner, a wiſh to be informed, he went on, by ſaying, we will not ſcruple to tell you, though we feel we ought not to do it officially, that we are conſulting with our Allies; that we have communicated to them all that has paſſed here; we have ſtated that, unleſs they mean to continue the war, they muſt releaſe us from our engagements, and enable us, to a certain degree to meet your propoſals.

The conference to-day is this moment over. *One of the French Plenipotentiaries* informed me, that he had received this morning a letter from the Preſident of the Directory, aſſuring him that in four or five days they would receive their final inſtructions; and he added of himſelf, that he truſted theſe would be ſuch as would enable us to continue our work without any further interruption. I ſaid, I hoped theſe inſtructions would be in ſubſtance a counter project, as I did not ſee how any thing ſhort of one could enable us to proceed ſo rapidly as he deſcribed. He agreed with me entirely, and aſſured me, that both he and his colleagues had repeatedly ſtated the neceſſity of a counter project being ſent them; and he obſerved, that he really thought the French Government might have foreſeen every thing which had paſſed, and been prepared with one; and that this would have ſaved a great deal of valuable time. As I could not myſelf have ſaid more, I readily gave a full aſſent to what I had heard.

(No. 30.) Extract of a diſpatch from Lord Grenville to Lord Malmeſbury, dated Downing Street, Auguſt 19th, 1797.

An expreſſion mentioned in one of your Lordſhips laſt diſpatches to have fallen from one of the French Plenipotentiaries, leads to the preſumption that it is intended, on the part of France, to bring forward ſome propoſal about the navigation of neutral powers in time of war. Your Lordſhip will beſt judge of the proper opportunity of expreſſing his Majeſty's decided and unalterable reſolution on this point, not to admit of any propoſal for treating with his enemies on the ſubject of the rights or claims of neutral powers.

The only other remark with which I have to trouble your Lordſhip by this Meſſenger, relates to an expreſſion in the late Meſſage of the Directory to the Council of Five Hundred, which, if literally taken, conveys an accuſation againſt his Ma-

jeſty's Government, that ſome delay has ariſen on the part of this country in the negociation at Liſle. This is ſo avowedly contrary to the fact, that it muſt be conſidered as impoſſible that ſuch a charge could be intended to be made by a Government which had at that moment delayed for three weeks making any anſwer to his Majeſty's diſtinct and liberal propoſals of peace, and whoſe Plenipotentiaries were daily apologizing to your Lordſhip for this unbecoming, and as they almoſt confeſs, unaccountable delay; but as the point is too important to be left unnoticed, it is the King's pleaſure that your Lordſhip ſhould preſent a note, remarking upon the ſenſe to which theſe words are liable, expreſſing your perſuaſion that ſuch cannot be the intention with which they were uſed, but aſking on the part of your Court an explanation to that effect, which cannot be refuſed without a violation of every thing which truth and juſtice require on ſuch an occaſion.

(No. 31.) Extract from the Meſſage of the French Directory to the Council of Five Hundred, Aug. 9th, 1797.

TRANSLATION.

In ſhort, this cauſe is in the ſame deſpondency in which all good Citizens, and particularly the defenders of the country are, at ſeeing deferred at the very moment when its concluſion was thought to be near at hand, and after having bought it with ſo much blood and ſo much ſuffering---a definitive peace, which the heads of the vanquiſhed coalition at length ſolicited in good earneſt, when its concluſion was expected, and which a Government, friendly to humanity, were ſtill more earneſt to conclude: When, all on a ſudden, buoyed up with new hopes, reckoning upon a general diſſolution of the Government by the failing of its finances, upon its deſtruction, upon the death or baniſhment of its braveſt generals, and upon the diſperſion and loſs of its armies, theſe very ſame coaleſced powers have thrown as much delay into the negotiations, as they have ſhewn anxiety to bring them to an end.

(No. 32.) Copy of a diſpatch from Lord Malmeſbury to Lord Grenville, dated Liſle, Auguſt, 2d. 1797.

My Lord,

In my conference this morning, I took an opportunity of remarking to the French Plenipotentiaries on the very unfair and extraordinary aſſertion which had appeared in the meſſage of the 9th inſtant, from the Directory to the Council of Five Hundred, viz. " que les Puiſſances coaliſees ont mis autant de Len-

" teur

" teur dans les Negotiations, qu'elles avoient montre de l'Ardeur " pour les terminer." I obſerved to them, that I had orders from my Court to aſk a preciſe explanation, whether this accuſation of delay was meant to apply to the manner in which his Majeſty had conducted the Negotiation at Liſle, and if it was ſo meant, to declare that no accuſation was ever more deſtitute of foundation, nor a wider deviation from the real fact. I ſaid I was perfectly ready to abide by their determination on this point, convinced that it was impoſſible for them not to acknowledge that the delay (if there had been any blameable delay) reſted with the French Government and not with his Majeſty. The French Plenipotentiaries admitted this to be moſt ſtrictly true; that the phraſe I had quoted was an ill-judged one, and *mal redigée*: but that it could not in any point of view whatever be conſtrued as applying to England; and they were ready to ſay, that when it was written, the Directory alluded ſolely to the Court of Vienna; that they could aſſure me they had been very faithful in their reports, and that when they ſaid this it was ſaying in other words that I had carried on the Negotiation with as much expedition as poſſible, and that if it had proceeded ſlowly for this laſt month, the ſlowneſs aroſe on their ſide and not on mine.

I ſaid I could not for an inſtant call in queſtion their feelings on this point; it was the inſinuation conveyed in the meſſage, and which had gone over Europe, that it was neceſſary for me to clear up, and to know whether the Directory thought and felt as they did. *One of the French Miniſters*, with very ſtrong expreſſions, aſſured me the Directory certainly did think and feel like them; that no unfair and inſidious alluſion was meant, and added, " que ſe Meſſage etoit fait pour ſtimuler les Conſeils." I went on by obſerving that it was very eſſential for me to have this fully explained, and that I ſhould give them in a note to this effect; they requeſted I would not, it would lead to diſagreeable diſcuſſions, and would not anſwer the end I propoſed. They would take upon themſelves *now* to aſſure me in the name of the Directory, that nothing at all ſimilar to the conſtruction I put on the phraſe was intended, and that as ſoon as they could receive an anſwer to the report they ſhould make of to-day's converſation, they would ſay the ſame from the Directory itſelf.

I hope, my Lord, I have, therefore, by obtaining this very preciſe and formal diſavowal of an intention to fix any imputation of delay on his Majeſty's Government, fulfilled the object of my inſtructions on this particular point. If when the French Plenipotentiaries ſpeak from the Directory the diſavowal ſhould not be equally ſatisfactory and complete, I then will not fail, according to your Lordſhip's order, to give in a note.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) MALMESBURY.

Right Honourable Lord Grenville.

(No. 33.) Extract of a Diſpatch from Lord Malmeſbury to Lord Grenville, dated Liſle, Aug. 22, 1797.

THE four conferences I have held with the French Plenipotentiaries, ſince I laſt wrote to your lordſhip on the 14th inſtant, will not I fear, furniſh very intereſting materials from a diſpatch.

Our conference of this morning was principally employed in what I have related in my other diſpatch; but the French Plenipotentiaries aſſured me, that by Thurſday, or at lateſt by Saturday, they expected to receive their long expected meſſenger.

(No. 34.) Extract of a diſpatch from Lord Malmeſbury to Lord Grenville, dated Liſle, Auguſt 29th, 1797.

I AM extremely ſorry to be forced to announce to your Lordſhip, that freſh Delays occur in the Progreſs of the Negotiation.

The French Plenipotentiaries informed me at our Conference Yeſterday, that the laſt Anſwer from Holland was ſo unſatisfactory that the Directory had ordered the Miniſter for Foreign Affairs to return it to the Dutch Miniſters at Paris; that the Dutch Miniſters could not take upon themſelves to alter it in the way the Directory propoſed, but had been obliged to refer to their Government for new orders; and that therefore, ſuppoſing no time to be loſt in deliberation on this ſubject at the Hague, it would be at leaſt a week from to-day before any further account could be received here.

After lamenting this unexpected procraſtination of our buſineſs, I expreſſed a wiſh to know what the Dutch anſwer had been, what objections the Directory had made to it, and the alterations they were deſirous it ſhould undergo.

One of the French Plenipotentiaries ſaid, it had not been communicated to them, but that he underſtood it was *complexe, louche, et peu ſatisfaiſante.*---That the Directory expected it ſhould be clear and diſtinct, and ſuch an one as would enable them to ſend ſuch inſtructions here, as would allow us to go on with the Negotiation in a way to recover the time we had loſt.

(No. 35.) Extract of a Diſpatch from Lord Malmeſbury to Lord Grenville, dated Liſle, Sept. 5, 1797.

My Lord,

I SHOULD have conſidered what has paſſed in our conferences ſince I laſt had the honour of writing to your Lordſhip by Mr. Weſley, as in itſelf too unimportant to authorize me to diſpatch a meſſenger

a meſſenger, but that in general I think it my duty never to leave your lordſhip more than a week without hearing from me; and I was alſo glad of an opportunity to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordſhip's Diſpatch, No. 23, which was delivered to me by the meſſenger Shaw, on the 31ſt Auguſt, at 10 P.M.

Nothing but common converſation paſſed in our conferences of the 30th Auguſt and 1ſt September. In that of the 3d the French Plenipotentiaries confirmed what they had taken upon themſelves to aſſure me on the 22d Auguſt, in conſequence of the repreſentation I had your Lordſhip's orders to make on the expreſſions employed by the Directory in their meſſage of the 9th Auguſt to the Councils, and which expreſſions appeared to fix an imputation of delay on His Majeſty's Government in the progreſs of the Negotiation. They ſaid that they had reported to the Directory what I obſerved on this ſubject, and that they were now charged to repeat what I had already heard from them, and to declare that no intention ſimilar to that I ſuppoſed ever exiſted on the part of the Directory.

In our conference of this morning, although I had reaſon to expect that the anſwer from the Hague was arrived at Paris, yet it was not admitted by the French Plenipotentiaries.

(No. 36.) Extract of a diſpatch from Lord Malmeſbury to Lord Grenville, dated Liſle, 9th Sept. 1797.

I NEED not ſay that the two conferences which have been held ſince I diſpatched the meſſenger, Brooks, were not likely, under the preſent circumſtances of this country, to afford any thing extremely important or intereſting.

In that of Thurſday the 7th, *One of the French Plenipotentiaries* began, on my entering the room, by announcing a wiſh that the great event which had taken place at Paris, ſhould not interrupt for a long time our Negotiation, or deſtroy the pleaſing proſpect we had of its ſoon terminating ſucceſsfully; and from his manner I clearly ſaw he meant to convey the idea that it was his opinion it would not. I endeavoured to diſcover whether he ſpoke in conſequence of any private intelligence he had received from Paris, or ſimply from his own private judgement, and I found it was entirely from the latter.

In our conference of this morning, he ſaid they were ſtill without any letters from M. Talleyrand (which rather ſurprized him); but he could aſſure me, with certainty, that by Monday they would be empowered to go on with the Negotiation, and that I might ſafely ſay ſo to my court.

(No. 37.)

(No. 37.) Extract of a diſpatch from Lord Grenville to Lord Malmeſbury, dated Downing Street, September 11th, 1797.

YOUR Lordſhip's diſpatches by the meſſenger, Shaw, were received here this morning.

It would be premature in the preſent moment, to enter into any reaſoning on the effect which the extraordinary events at Paris may be expected to have on the important Negotiation with which your Lordſhip is charged. A very few days muſt now probably ſhew, in the moſt unequivocal manner, what are the views which are entertained by the now predominant party at Paris, reſpecting the queſtion of Peace or War with Great Britain: And it becomes His Majeſty's Government to wait the event with the ſame deſire for accommodation on reaſonable terms, and the ſame firmneſs, with reſpect to undue and inſulting demands, which has actuated every part of the conduct held by your lordſhip.

(No. 38.) Copy of a Diſpatch from Lord Malmeſbury to Lord Grenville, dated Liſle, Monday, Sept. 11, 1797.

My Lord,

ON my going to the conference this morning, the French plenipotentiaries informed me that the whole French legation was recalled, and that Meſſrs. Treilhard and Bonnier d'Alco were appointed in their room. They ſaid, their orders were to communicate this event to me immediately, and at the ſame time to add, in the name of the French government, that this alteration, in the choice of the negotiators, would not produce any whatever in the diſpoſition of the Directory, to bring the Negotiation to a happy iſſue.

I aſſured them I was extremely ſorry to hear that they were recalled. That we had hitherto acted together ſo cordially, that it was to be lamented any circumſtances had ariſen which made the French government think it adviſeable to put the Negotiation into other hands.

That I received with ſatisfaction what they told me as to the ſentiments manifeſted by the Directory, relative to the Negotiation, and that I could aſſure them, they were ſuch as certainly exiſted in the breaſt of my royal maſter.

I then ſuggeſted to them, whether it would not be proper to give me an official note on this occaſion, ſince it made a very marked period in the Negotiation; and as they perfectly agreed with me on the propriety of this, they ſent me that I now encloſe.

I conſider

I conſider this event as ſo material, that I do not loſe a moment in diſpatching one of my ſervants to England, as I have at preſent no Meſſenger with me.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) MALMESBURY.

Right Honourable Lord Grenville.

(No. 39.) Note from the French Plenipotentiaries to Lord Malmeſbury.

TRANSLATION.

THE miniſters plenipotentiary of the French Republick have the honour to inform Lord Malmeſbury that they have received, by this day's poſt, a decree of the Executive Directory, ſignifying their recall, and the nomination of citizens Treilhard and Bonnier to ſucceed them, and to continue the Negotiations entered upon with England.

The miniſter for Foreign Affairs, in ſending to the under-ſigned miniſters plenipotentiary this decree of the Directory, of the 22d of this month, orders them to wait the arrival of their ſucceſſors. It alſo directs them to inform the miniſter plenipotentiary of his Britannick Majeſty, that the change of the Negotiators does not carry with it any change in the diſpoſition of the Directory, with regard to the Negotiation.

The miniſters plenipotentiary of the French Republic have the honour to renew to Lord Malmeſbury the aſſurances of their high conſideration.

(Signed) LE TOURNEUR.
HUGUES B. MARET.

Liſle, 25 Fructidor,
5th Year of the Republick.
(Sept. 11, 1797.)

COLCHEN, Sec. Gen. of the Legation.

(No. 40.) Note from Lord Malmeſbury to the French Plenipotentiaries.

TRANSLATION.

THE miniſter plenipotentiary of his Britannick Majeſty has the honour to acknowledge the receipt of the Note which the miniſters plenipotentiary of the French Republick have addreſſed to him, communicating the decree of the Executive Directory, which ſignifies their recall and the nomination of the miniſters deſtined to ſucceed them, and to continue the Negotiations already commenced. He receives at the ſame time with ſatisfaction, and will tranſmit without delay to his Court, the aſſurance, that this change of the Negotiators does not bring with

with it any change in the diſpoſition of the Directory as to the Negotiation.

Lord Malmeſbury, in thanking the miniſters plenipotentiary of the French Republick for this communication, begs them to be perſuaded of his perſonal regret on account of their departure, and to accept the aſſurances of his high conſideration.

(Signed) MALMESBURY.

Liſle, Sept. 12, 1797.

(No. 41.) Extract of a Diſpatch from Lord Malmeſbury to Lord Grenville, dated Liſle, 17th September 1797.

My Lord,

THE new French Plenipotentiaries, Meſſieurs Treilhard and Bonnier d'Alco, with their principal ſecretary M. Derche, and two private ſecretaries, arrived here at five o'clock A. M. on Wedneſday the 13th inſtant. At eleven A. M. they ſent M. Derche to acquaint me with their arrival, and to inquire at what hour I would receive their viſit. In conſequence of my ſaying whenever it was convenient to them, they came immediately, attended by Meſſieurs Le Tourneur, Maret, and Colchen.

On taking leave, M. Le Tourneur came forward and ſaid to me, in his name and that of his colleagues, that they could not terminate their miſſion without expreſſing the ſatisfaction they had felt from the openneſs and candour (loyaute et Franchiſe) with which I had acted during the whole of the negotiation, and take leave of me, without expreſſing their ſincere perſonal regrets; that the recollection of my conduct would always be agreeable to them, and that it had given me the ſtrongeſt title to their eſteem and good wiſhes.

After giving the new Plenipotentiaries as much time as was neceſſary to return to their own houſe, I ſent Mr. Roſs to aſk at what hour I might return their viſit; and in conſequence of their anſwer, I went to them attended by Lord Morpeth and Mr. Ellis.

I took an opportunity of returning the compliment M. Le Tourneur had made me; and I muſt in juſtice repeat, my Lord, what I have already ſaid, that his conduct and that of his colleagues has, in every point which has depended on them, been perfectly fair and honourable, and in no inſtance contrary to the principles they announced, and the profeſſions they made. It is therefore impoſſible for me not to regret them, and not to conſider the change of Negotiators at leaſt as a very unpleaſant, if not a very unfortunate incident.

(No. 42.)

(No. 42.) Copy of a Diſpatch from Lord Malmeſbury to Lord Grenville, dated Liſle, 17th September, 1797.

My Lord,

I SHALL endeavour in this diſpatch to give your lordſhip as circumſtantial an account as my memory will allow me to do, of what has paſſed in the two conferences I have held with the new French Plenipotentiaries.

In that of Friday the 14th, after communicating to me the Arrete of the Directory appointing them to ſucceed Meſſieurs Le Tourneur and Maret, and empowering them to continue the Negotiation with me, *One of them* began by making the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of the ſincere deſire entertained by the Directory for Peace. He obſerved, that if this deſire had manifeſted itſelf ſo ſtrongly at a moment when the two great authorities of the country were at variance, it muſt naturally become ſtronger and be exerted with more effect when all ſpirit of diviſion was ſuppreſſed, and when the government was ſtrengthened by the perfect concord which now reigns between all its branches: That the firſt and moſt material point to be aſcertained in every Negotiation was the extent of the full powers with which the Negotiators are veſted; that I ſhould find theirs to be very ample; and that, as it was neceſſary to the ſucceſs of our diſcuſſions that mine ſhould be equally ſo, they had it in command to preſent a note, the object of which was to inquire whether I was authorized to treat on the principle of a general reſtitution of every poſſeſſion remaining in his Majeſty's hands, not only belonging to them, but to their Allies; that I was not unacquainted with their Laws and with their Treaties; that a great country could not on any occaſion act in contradiction to them; and that, aware as I muſt be of this, I could not but expect the queſtion contained in the note, neither could I conſider the requiſition of an explicit anſwer, previous to entering upon the negotiation, as ariſing from any other motive than that of the moſt perfect wiſh, on the part of the Directory, to bring it to a ſucceſsful, and, above all, to a ſpeedy concluſion.

I replied, that if after what I heard I could allow myſelf to hope for ſuch an event as he ſeemed to think probable, or give any credit to the pacifick diſpoſitions he announced on the part of the French Government, ſuch hope muſt ariſe ſolely from the confidence I might place in his aſſurances; ſince the meaſure itſelf now adopted by the Directory was certainly calculated to make a directly contrary impreſſion on my mind; that I could not conceal from him, that far from expecting ſuch a queſtion, its being now put ſurprized me beyond meaſure, and ſtill more ſo, when from his comment upon it I was to infer, that he wiſhed me to conſider it as tending to promote a ſpeedy pacification; that

the question expressed in the note he had delivered (for he had given it to me, and I had read it over as he ended his speech) was word for word the same as that put to me by his predecessor so long ago as the 14th July; that on the 15th I had, from my own authority, given an answer, and that this answer I confirmed fully and distinctly by order of my court on the 24th July; that these notes had to the present hour remained unnoticed, and a delay of two months had occurred; that the reasons assigned for this delay were, as I was repeatedly told, a decided resolution on the part of the French Government to listen to the reasonable proposals made by His Majesty; but that being bound by their engagements with the court of Madrid and the Batavian Republick, and wishing to treat their Allies with due consideration, they were desirous of consulting with them previous to any positive declaration, and obtaining from them a voluntary release from those engagements sufficient to enable the French Plenipotentiaries here to admit the basis His Majesty had established, and to ground on it all future discussions which might arise in the course of the Negotiation; that if he had read over the papers left, undoubtedly, in his possession by his predecessors, he would find what I stated to be strictly true; and that of course it could not be difficult to account for my surprize, when, after being told that he and his colleague were to take up the Negotiation precisely where they found it, it now became evident that it was to be flung back to the very point from which we started, and flung back in a way which seemed to threaten a conclusion very different from that he foretold.

I shall not attempt to follow *the French Minister* through the very elaborate and certainly able speech he made in reply, and a view to convince me that the enquiry into the extent of my full-powers was the strongest proof the Directory could furnish of their pacifick intention, and the shortest road they could take to accomplish the desired end. It was in order to give activity to the Negotiation, (*activer* was his word), and to prevent its stagnating, that this demand was made so specifically; and he intimated to me, that it was impossible for the Directory to proceed till a full and satisfactory answer had been given to it. I interrupted him here, by saying, their manner of acting appeared to me calculated to decide the Negotiation at once, not to give activity, since it must be known, I could not have powers of the description he alluded to; and even supposing I had, the admitting it would be in fact neither more nor less than a compleat avowal of the principle itself, which once agreed on, nothing would be left to negotiate about. *The other French Plenipotentiary* interposed here, by saying, *that would not be the case; many articles would still remain to be proposed, and many point for important discussion.* I said, every word I heard seemed to present fresh difficulties. Without replying to me *the first-mentioned Minister*

Miniſter went on by endeavouring to prove, that the avowal of having powers to a certain extent, did not imply the neceſſity of exerciſing them; that it was the avowal alone for which they contended, in order to determine at once the form the negotiation was to take; that the note, and the time preſcribed in it, were in conſequence of the moſt poſitive orders from the Directory; and that if I drew from it a concluſion different from the aſſurances they had made me in the name of the Directory; I did not make the true inference. I replied, that, although the preſcribing the day on which the queſtion was put to me as the term within which I was to give my anſwer to it, was both a very unuſual and abrupt mode of proceeding, yet as a day was much more than ſufficient for the purpoſe, I ſhould forbear making any particular remark on this circumſtance: That as to the inference to be drawn from the poſitive manner in which they appeared to maintain the queſtion put to me, I really could not make it different from that I had already expreſſed: That the reverting, after an interval of two months, to a queſtion already anſwered, and which queſtion involved the fate of the negotiation, certainly could not be conſidered as wearing a very conciliatory appearance: That in regard to my anſwer, it could not be different from that I had given before: That my full powers, which were in their hands, were as extenſive as any could be, and it did not depend on me to give them more or leſs latitude; but that in fact their queſtion went not to the extent of my full powers, but to require of me to declare the nature of my inſtructions; and on this point they certainly would forgive me if I did not ſpeak out till ſuch time as the circumſtances of the negotiation called upon me to do it.

The French Miniſter ſtrove to prove to me, what he had before attempted, that the claiming a right of enquiry into the nature of the diſcretionary authority confided in a miniſter, by no means implied an intention of requiring of him to act up to it to its utmoſt limits. I obſerved, if no ſuch intention exiſted, why inſtitute the enquiry? and if it did exiſt, why not ſay ſo at once?---He ſaid, what we now aſk is little more than a matter of form; when you have given us your anſwer, we ſhall follow it up by another ſtep, which we are ordered to take. I ſaid, my anſwer was given two months ago; that although I was ready to give it them again, and in writing, as one to their note, yet, as it could not be different, I did not ſee why they ſhould not proceed immediately to the other ſtep, by which I was told the queſtion was to be followed up. It would be premature, ſaid *the French Miniſter*; but in drawing up your anſwer, do not forget the force of the arguments I have uſed or in your report to your court, the aſſurances we have given of the earneſt wiſh of the Directory to terminate the war.

I replied, that I ſtill muſt maintain, that, from the manner in

which they thought proper to define full powers, I could ſee no diſtinction between acknowledging the power and admitting the principle; and that the queſtion itſelf could not be put with any other intention---(Your Lordſhip will obſerve, from the ſubſequent notes which paſſed between us, that I was perfectly grounded in this aſſertion);---that in my reports, they might be fully aſſured I ſhould act up to that conciliatory ſpirit, which, from the earlieſt period of the negotiation, had always decided my conduct; and that, inauſpicious as appearances were, I certainly would be careful not to make them look *hoſtile*. At the word hoſtile, both the French Plenipotentiaries were moſt warm in their proteſtations, that nothing could be leſs ſo; that the idea of the negotiation breaking off was as far from their thoughts as from their wiſhes. I ſaid, that although I heard this with pleaſure, yet I could not avoid adverting to facts, and that, when inſtead of an anſwer, and the favourable anſwer which I had every reaſon to expect, I received only the repetition of a demand, which had been already ſatisfied two months ago; I certainly could not think this a good omen. If it did not bode an immediate rupture of the Treaty, it aſſuredly did not announce a near and ſucceſsful termination of it. *The above-mentioned Miniſter* perſiſted I was miſtaken; that the buſineſs would end ſpeedily; that ſpeed was their wiſh, and ſpeed with peace for its object.

On breaking up our conference, I ſaid, that I took it for granted we ſhould meet again at the uſual hour, on Sunday. *He* ſaid, that it perhaps might not be neceſſary, but that they certainly would let me know in time; and this conveyed to me the firſt idea of what has ſince taken place.

I incloſe your Lordſhip the note A, I received in this conference from the French Plenipotentiaries, and the anſwer B, which I made to it yeſterday morning at 10 A. M.

At 6 P. M. the note C was tranſmitted to me; to which at 8 P. M. I returned the anwer D, by Mr. Roſs, whom I ſent in order that he might bring me the Paſſports I aſked for; but at a quarter before 10 P. M. M. Derche, Secretary of the French Legation, delivered to me the paper marked E; and this morning at 9 A. M. I replied by the note F, which immediately produced that marked G.

The notes ſent me by the French Plenipotentiaries ſpeak for themſelves; and it is unneceſſary to enter into any reflection on them. I am willing to hope that the anſwers I have made were ſuch as became the ſituation in which I ſtand, the importance of the cauſe intruſted to me, and the ſteady but temperate conduct which the ſpirit of my inſtructions injoin me to hold.

It was my wiſh to give every opening to the French Plenipotentiaries to recall the violent ſtep they had taken; and, if poſſible, to convince them of its extreme impropriety. And it was with this view, and with a moſt anxious deſire not to exclude all hope

hope of the reſtoration of peace, that I determined on ſuggeſting the idea of our meeting once more before I left Lille.

This meeting took place to-day at noon: I opened it by obſerving, that the ſeveral notes they had received from me ſince the preceding evening had been too expreſſive of the ſurprize I felt at the meaſure the Directory had thought proper to adopt, to make it neceſſary for me to enlarge upon it in this conference; and indeed my ſole motive for ſuggeſting that it might be for our mutual ſatisfaction that it ſhould be held, was, becauſe this meaſure appeared to me to be in ſuch direct contradiction to the very ſtrong aſſurances I had ſo conſtantly and repeatedly heard from them, and to the pacifick intentions with which they declared they were ſent, that it was my earneſt wiſh (before I conſidered their conduct as forcing me to a ſtep which muſt ſo materially affect the ſucceſs of the Negotiation), to be perfectly certain that I underſtood clearly and diſtinctly the preciſe meaning of their official notes. On their admitting that nothing could be more reaſonable than that I ſhould, on ſo important a point, require explanation, or more ſatisfactory to them than to give it me (as far as lay in their power) I proceeded by ſaying, that it appeared to me that I was called upon to produce immediately my full powers, or rather my inſtructions, (for however different theſe were in themſelves, in their demand they ſeemed conſtantly blended), and that if either I refuſed to conſent to this, or if on conſenting to it, it was found that I was not authoriſed to treat on the principle they laid down, I was then in the ſpace of twenty four hours to leave Lille, and return to my Court; and that I was required to obtain full authority to admit this principle, if it was wiſhed the negotiation ſhould proceed. This I ſaid appeared to me to be the evident ſenſe of the notes, and I begged to know whether I had mistaken it or not. *One of the French Plenipotentiaries* ſaid, "You have underſtood it exactly; I hope you "equally underſtand the intention of the French Government, "which is to accelerate peace by removing every obſtacle which "ſtands in its way."

I replied, that having now no doubt left on my mind as to their exact meaning, and being quite ſure notwithſtanding the obſervation they made, *que j'avais ſaiſi la veritable intention de leur note*, it would, I feared, be a very unprofitable employment of our time to argue either on the nature of the principle they announced as a *ſine quâ non*, to even a preliminary diſcuſſion, or on the extreme difficulty of reconciling the peremptory demand with which they opened their miſſion, to the pacifick profeſſions that accompanied it; that if they were determined to perſiſt in this demand, it was much better to avoid all uſeleſs altercation; and nothing in that caſe remained for me to do, but to aſk for my paſſports, and to ſignify to them my intention of leaving

France

France at an early hour the next morning. They ſaid, they had their hands tied by an Arrete of the Directory, and were bound to obſerve the conduct they had followed by the moſt poſitive orders; and although we remained together ſome time longer, not a hint dropped from them expreſſive of a wiſh that, inſtead of going myſelf for new inſtructions, I ſhould either write for them by a meſſenger, or obtain them by ſending in England one of the gentlemen who are with me. I endeavoured by every indirect means to ſuggeſt to them the neceſſity of adopting ſome ſuch modification, if they meant that their wiſhes for peace, in the expreſſion of which they were this morning more eager than ever, ſhould meet with the ſlighteſt degree of credit: I again brought to their recollection that I was authorized to receive any propoſal, any *Contre Projet* they tended to me, but that they muſt be aware that it was not poſſible for me to alter the orders I had received, or to aſſume an authority with which I was not inveſted. I dwelt particularly and repeatedly on my being competent to take any thing they ſaid for reference: but this availed nothing, except drawing from *One of them* a remark, that the full powers which authorized a miniſter to hear propoſals, were widely different from thoſe which would enable him to accede to them; and that it was ſuch full powers that the Directory required me to ſolicit.

An eaſy anſwer preſented itſelf to this mode of reaſoning; but I ſaw no advantage to be derived from prolonging a converſation, which, after the poſitive declaration they had made, could lead to nothing: I therefore ended the conference by declaring my reſolution to begin my journey at a very early hour the next morning, and by ſaying, that immediately on my arrival in England I would make an exact report of every thing that had paſſed ſince their arrival.

I truſt, my lord, I ſhall not incur cenſure for having declined to offer in diſtinct terms to wait at Liſle till I could know his Majeſty's pleaſure on the peremptory propoſal made to me: But when I conſidered the nature of the propoſal itſelf, the avowal *that this would not be the laſt*, nor perhaps the moſt humiliating, condition required of us, and the imperious ſtyle with which I was enjoined to depart in twenty-four hours, it was utterly impoſſible for me to aſſume a language or affect a manner that could be interpreted into ſolicitation or entreaty: I felt myſelf called upon to treat the whole of this extraordinary proceeding with calmneſs and temper; and notwithſtanding the deep and poignant concern I muſt feel at an event which I fear will remove all probability of an immediate pacification, I truſt that in the expreſſion of this ſentiment I have not uſed a language unbecoming the character with which I am inveſted, or the greateſt

of the ſovereign and country whoſe dignity and intereſts it is my primary duty to conſult and to maintain.

I have the honour to be
with great reſpect, my lord,
your lordſhip's moſt obedient
humble ſervant,
(Signed) MALMESBURY.

Right Honourable Lord Grenville.

(No. 43. A.) Note from the French Plenipotentiaries to Lord Malmeſbury.

TRANSLATION.

The underſigned Miniſters Plenipotentiaries of the French Republick, commiſſioned to treat of peace with England, have the honour to aſſure lord Malmeſbury, Miniſter Plenipotentiary of his Britannick Majeſty, that the French Government wiſhes as ſincerely, as ſtrongly as ever, a peace, deſired by the two nations: But, unable to conclude any other peace than ſuch a one as is founded on the Laws and on the Treaties which bind the French Republick, perſuaded that, to arrive at this end, it is neceſſary to explain itſelf with entire frankneſs, and deſirous of giving to the Negotiation the greateſt rapidity, the Executive Directory has expreſsly charged the underſigned to demand of lord Malmeſbury, whether he had ſufficient powers for reſtoring, in the Treaty which may be concluded, to the French Republick and to its allies, all the poſſeſſions which, ſince the beginning of the war, have paſſed into the hands of the Engliſh.

The underſigned are equally charged by the Executive Directory to demand from lord Malmeſbury an anſwer in the courſe of the day. They requeſt him to accept the aſſurances of their high conſideration.

(Signed) TREILHARD
BONNIER.

Lille, 29 Fructidor,
5th year of the Republick.
(Sept. 15, 1797.)

By the Miniſters Plenipotentiary of the French Republick, the Sec. Gen.
DERCHE.

(No. 44. B.) Note from Lord Malmeſbury to the French Plenipotentiaries.

TRANSLATION.

The underſigned Miniſter Plenipotentiary of his Britannick Majeſty receives with great ſatisfaction the expreſſion of the ſincere deſire for peace, which the Miniſters Plenipotentiaries of the French Republick announced to him yeſterday in the name of their Government. He has the honour to aſſure them that the

the King his maſter is animated with the ſame deſire, and has nothing more at heart than to put an end to the calamities of the war.

With regard to the queſtion which the Miniſters Plenipotentiary of the French Republick addreſſed to lord Malmeſbury, concerning the extent of his full powers, he conſiders himſelf as having already given the moſt unequivocal anſwer upon this ſubject, in the two notes which he delivered to their predeceſſors on the 15th and 24th of July.

However, to avoid all miſunderſtanding, he renews the declaration, which he made yeſterday; that is to ſay, that he neither can nor ought to treat upon any other principle than that of compenſations; a principle which has been formally recognized as the baſis of a Treaty equally juſt, honourable, and advantageous to the two powers.

Lord Malmeſbury requeſts the Miniſters Plenipotentiary of the French Republick to accept the aſſurances of his high conſideration.

(Signed) MALMESBURY.

Liſle, Saturday, 16th September 1797, 10 A. M.

(No. 45. C.) Note from the French Plenipotentiaries to Lord Malmeſbury.

TRANSLATION.

THE Miniſters Plenipotentiaries of the French Republick, commiſſioned to treat of peace with England, have the honour to acknowledge the Receipt of the anſwer of lord Malmeſbury to the note which was preſented to him in the conference of yeſterday.

It appears from this anſwer, and from the two notes of the 15th and 24th of July, to which it refers, that lord Malmeſbury has not powers for agreeing to the reſtitution of all the poſſeſſions which his Britannick Majeſty occupies, whether from the French Republick, or from its Allies.

In conſequence, while they re-itérate to Lord Malmesbury the moſt poſitive aſſurances of the ſentiments of the French Government, the underſigned apprize him of a decree of the Executive Directory, which ſignifies that, in caſe lord Malmesbury ſhall declare himſelf not to have the neceſſary powers for agreeing to all the reſtitutions which the Laws and the Treaties which bind the French Republick, make indiſpenſable, he ſhall be to return, in four-and-twenty hours to his court, to aſk for ſufficient powers. Lord Malmsbury can ſee in this determination of the Executive Directory nothing elſe than an intention to haſten the moment when the Negotiation may be followed up with the certainty of a ſpeedy concluſion.

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The Miniſters Plenipotentiary of the French Republick requeſt lord Malmesbury to accept the aſſurances of their high conſideration.

(Signed) TREILHARD.
BONNIER.

Lille, 30 Fructidor,
5th year of the Republick.
(Sept. 16, 1797.)

By the Miniſters Plenipotentiaries,
the Sec. Gen. of the Legation,
DERCHE.

(No. 46. D.) Note from Lord Malmeſbury to the French Plenipotentiaries.

TRANSLATION.

THE underſigned Miniſter Plenipotentiary of his Britannick Majeſty has the honour to acknowledge the receipt of the note of this day, which has been ſent him by the Miniſters Plenipotentiary of the French Republick.

Whatever regret he may experience at ſeeing the hope of a ſpeedy conciliation thus deſtroyed, he can return no other anſwer to a refuſal ſo abſolute to continue the negotiation on grounds which appeared to have been already agreed upon, than by demanding the neceſſary paſſports for himſelf and his ſuite, in order that they may ſet off within the four-and-twenty hours, and return immediately to England.

He requeſts the Miniſters Plenipotentiary of the French Republick to accept the aſſurances of his high conſideration.

(Signed) MALMESBURY.

Liſle, Saturday, 16th September 8, P. M.

(No. 47. E.) Note from the French Plenipotentiaries to Lord Malmeſbury.

TRANSLATION.

THE underſigned Miniſters Plenipotentiary of the French Republick, commiſſioned to treat of peace with England, have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of lord Malmeſbury's anſwer to the note which they addreſſed him this day.

They think it right to obſerve to him, that he does not appear to have ſeized the real meaning of their note; that it by no means contains a refuſal to continue the negotiations, but, on the contrary, the means for giving them activity, and for following them up with ſucceſs, no leſs deſirable to the two nations, than it would be flattering to the miniſters charged with the conduct of them.

The French Government is ſo far from entertaining the intentions which the note of lord Malmeſbury appears to impute to

them, that the Miniſters Plenipotentiary of the French Republick have received no orders to quite Liſle, after the departure of the Miniſter Plenipotentiary of his Britannick Majeſty.

The Miniſters Plenipotentiary of the French Republick requeſt lord Malmeſbury to accept the aſſurances of their high conſideration.

(Signed) TREILHARD.
BONNIER.

By the Miniſters Plenipotentiary,
the Sec. Gen. of the Legation.
DERCHE.

Lille, 30 Fructidor, 5th year of the French Republick.
(Sept. 16. 1797.)

(No. 48. F.) Note from Lord Malmeſbury to the French Plenipotentiaries.

TRANSLATION.

THE underſigned Miniſter Plenipotentiary of his Britannick Majeſty has the honour to acknowledge the receipt of the note which the Miniſter Plenipotentiary of the French Republick tranſmitted to him yeſterday, through the hands of the Secretary General of their Legation. He thinks he cannot anſwer it better than by ſubmitting to them in his turn the following obſervations.

That having already by his note, dated July 24, and in obedience to the expreſs orders of his Court, given an anſwer to the queſtion which is now ſo unexpectedly renewed, a queſtion, that in appearance relates ſolely to the limits of his full powers, (which are in the moſt ample form), but which does in fact require a declaration of the whole extent of his inſtructions; and not being authorized to quit the place of his deſtination without the expreſs orders of the King his maſter, in any caſe except that of the rupture of the negotiation; he could not help conſidering a note enjoining him, in conſequence of a decree of the Executive Directory, to return to his court in the ſpace of four-and-twenty hours, as ill calculated to accelerate the concluſion of peace: Nevertheleſs to anſwer the aſſurances of the Miniſters Plenipotentiary of the French Republick, and to teſtify his deſire to ſeize their real meaning with reſpect to which he ſhould be very ſorry to deceive himſelf, he thinks that it would be more ſatisfactory to meet once more; and if the Miniſters Plenipotentiary of the French Republick ſhould be of the ſame opinion, Lord Malmeſbury would propoſe that this meeting ſhould take place at an earlier hour than uſual, in order that he may have time to take ſuch ſteps as the reſult of their conferences may render neceſſary. He deſires the Miniſters

ters Plenipotentiary of the French Republick to accept the aſſurances of his high conſideration.

(Signed) MALMESBURY.

Liſle, Sunday, Sept. 17, 1797.

(No. 49. G.) Note from the French Plenipotentiaries to Lord Malmeſbury.

TRANSLATION.

THE underſigned Miniſters Plenipotentiary of the French Republick, commiſſioned to treat of peace with England, have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of the note which the Miniſter Plenipotentiary of his Britannick Majeſty has tranſmitted to them this morning. Referring to the notes addreſſed to lord Malmeſbury on the 29th and 30th Fructidor, and eſpecially to the firſt of yeſterday, they agree to the meeting which lord Malmeſbury appears to deſire, and propoſe the hour of noon.

They requeſt lord Malmeſbury to accept the aſſurances of their high conſideration.

(Signed) TREILHARD.
BONNIER.

Liſle, 1ſt Complementary Day,
5th Year of the French Republick.
(17 Sept. 1797.)

By the Miniſters Plenipotentiary,
the Sec. Gen. of the Legation,
DERCHE.

(No. 50.) Diſpatch from Lord Grenville to Lord Malmeſbury, dated Downing Street, Sept. 22, 1797.

My Lord,

I HAVE had the honour of laying before his Majeſty your lordſhip's diſpatches, in which you have given an account of the extraordinary conduct of the new Plenipotentiaries of the French Republick, of the anſwers given by your lordſhip to their unjuſtifiable demand, and of your conſequent departure from Liſle,

I have the ſatisfaction to be able to aſſure your lordſhip that his Majeſty has been pleaſed to expreſs his entire approbation of your lordſhip's judicious and temperate conduct in the unprecedented ſituation in which you were placed, and of the manner in which you expreſſed yourſelf, both in your official notes, and in your converſations with the French Plenipotentiaries, as well as of that in which you have conducted yourſelf during the whole courſe of the Negotiation, which ſeems too likely to be now brought to its cloſe.

As it appears, however, that ſome further anſwer will probably be expected by the French Government to their late extraordinary demand, notwithſtanding the full and concluſive reply given in your lordſhip's notes, I have received the King's commands to tranſmit to you the incloſed draft of a note, which it is his Majeſty's pleaſure that your lordſhip ſhould tranſmit to the plenipotentiaries at Liſle, by a meſſenger whom I ſhall direct to be in readineſs for that purpoſe.

(Signed) GRENVILLE.

Right Honourable Lord Malmeſbury.

(No. 51.) Note from Lord Malmeſbury to the French Plenipotentiaries.

TRANSLATION.

The underſigned Miniſter Plenipotentiary of his Britannick Majeſty has rendered to his court a faithful account of the circumſtances that have interrupted the exerciſe of thoſe important functions which his Majeſty had been pleaſed to entruſt to him. His majeſty has deigned to honour with his entire approbation the anſwers which the underſigned has already made to the extraordinary and unexpected demands which the new plenipotentiaries of the French Republick addreſſed to him immediately upon their arrival at Liſle.

But in order to leave no doubt reſpecting the nature and object of this demand, the underſigned has been expreſsly ordered to declare, in the name of his court,

1. That the full powers with which his Majeſty had thought proper to furniſh him for negotiating and concluding a Treaty of peace, are conceived and expreſſed in the moſt ample form, authorizing the underſigned fully, and without reſerve, to ſign any Treaty upon which he might agree with the French Plenipotentiaries, whatever its nature or conditions might be; conforming himſelf in all caſes to the inſtructions which he might receive from his court.

2. That theſe full powers have been received and recognized as ſufficient, as well by the plenipotentiaries with whom he has hitherto treated, as by the Directory themſelves, and that there is conſequently no room for any new diſcuſſion upon a ſubject which has already been cloſed by common agreement, and which moreover is not liable to any doubt or difficulty whatever; every thing which has been done hitherto upon this ſubject, being entirely conformable to cuſtoms long eſtabliſhed and recognized by all the nations of Europe.

3. That the demand of the Directory therefore, in reality, refers not to the full powers of the underſigned, but to the extent of his inſtructions, of which the Directory could not, under

any

any circumſtances, require any communication, further than as the underſigned himſelf might judge ſuch a communication conducive to the ſucceſs of the negotiation; and that very far from being in a ſituation to be called upon for any new explanations whatever, the underſigned had every reaſon to expect, from the repeated communications which had been made to him by the French Plenipotentiaries, that he ſhould immediately receive a Contre Projet, of a nature to facilitate the further progreſs of the Negotiation which had been ſuſpended for more than two months.

4. That the court of London had good reaſon to be ſtill more aſtoniſhed at the ſubſtance of the new demand made to the underſigned; a demand relating to Preliminary Conditions which had already been rejected at the very commencement of the Negotiation, and from which the French Plenipotentiaries had in effect departed, by a formal notification of the meaſures which the Directory were in conſequence taking for the purpoſe of coming to ſome arrangement with their Allies.

5. That it is therefore only by conſenting to treat upon the baſis of the Project, detailed with ſo much openneſs, which was preſented by the underſigned a few days after his arrival at Liſle, or by returning a Contre Projet of a conciliatory nature, agreeably to the aſſurances which he received ſo long ago, that it appears poſſible to continue the Negotiation, which the Plenipotentiaries have ſo ſtrongly aſſured him that the Directory did not wiſh to break off, notwithſtanding the meaſures lately adopted with reſpect to him: A meaſure which the underſigned forbears to characterize, but which could not fail to produce in this country the impreſſion of a diſpoſition by no means pacifick on the part of the Directory.

The underſigned is directed to add, that his Majeſty would ſee with real regret the certainty of the exiſtence of ſuch a diſpoſition, ſo little compatible with the ardent deſire with which he is animated to reſtore peace to the two nations; but that if, without having himſelf contributed to it on his part, he ſhould again find himſelf under the neceſſity of continuing the war, he will conduct himſelf upon every occaſion agreeably to the ſame principles, doing every thing which can depend upon him for the re-eſtabliſhment of peace, but perſiſting to defend, with an unſhaken firmneſs, the dignity of his crown, and the intereſts of his people.

The Miniſter Plenipotentiary of his Britannick Majeſty requeſts the Miniſters Plenipotentiary of the French Republick to accept the aſſurance of his high conſideration.

(Signed) MALMESBURY.

London,
the 22d of September 1797.

(No. 52.)

(No. 52.) Note from the French Plenipotentiaries to Lord Malmeſbury.

TRANSLATION.

THE Miniſters Plenipotentiary of the French Republick, commiſſioned to treat of peace with England, have received the note, dated from London, which has been brought to them by an extraordinary meſſenger, from lord Malmeſbury. They have the honour to anſwer to him, that their note of the 29th Fructidor, to which they refer, offered the double aſſurance of the ſettled intention of the French government to continue the Negotiations for peace, and of its conſtant determination not to agree to any other conditions than ſuch as are compatible with the dignity of the French Republick.

A peace, of which the baſis ſhould be contrary to the laws, or to the engagements taken with its Allies, would never ſatisfy the hopes of the nation. It is a point from which the Executive Directory has never departed, and upon which its ſentiments have never varied.

Lord Malmeſbury having formally declared in his notes of the 15th and 24th of July, and in the laſt inſtance in that of the 17th September, that he had not the powers neceſſary for reſtoring the Dutch and Spaniſh poſſeſſions, occupied by the troops of his Britannick Majeſty, the Executive Directory has given a new proof of its openneſs, and of its deſire to accelerate the concluſion of peace, in requiring lord Malmeſbury to return to his court, for the purpoſe of obtaining the authority, without which he cannot conclude; a meaſure rendered neceſſary by the declaration of the Miniſter Plenipotentiary of his Britannick Majeſty, and upon which it is impoſſible to give a wrong impreſſion to any thinking and impartial mind.

The Miniſters Plenipotentiary of the French Republic requeſt Lord Malmeſbury to accept the aſſurances of their high conſideration.

(Signed) TREILHARD.
BONNIER.

Liſle, 4th Vendemiare,
5th Year of the Republick.
(Sept. 25, 1797.)

DERCHE.

(No. 53.) Note from the French Plenipotentiaries to Lord Malmeſbury.

TRANSLATION.

THE Miniſters Plenipotentiaries of the French Republick, charged to treat for peace with England, have the honour to inform

inform lord Malmesbury, that having ſent a copy of his laſt note to their Government, the Executive Directory has directed them to declare in its name, that it has never ceaſed to wiſh for peace; that it gave an unequivocal proof of the ſentiment which animates it, when it ordered the Miniſters Plenipotentiary of the Republick to require a categorical explanation as to the powers given by the Engliſh Government to its Miniſter Plenipotentiary; that this demand had, and could have, no other object but to bring the Negotiation to a ſpeedy and ſucceſsful iſſue:

That the order given to the Plenipotentiaries of the Republick to remain at Liſle after the departure of lord Malmesbury, is another proof that the Directory had deſired and foreſeen his return with powers that ſhould not be illuſory, and the limitation of which ſhould no longer be a pretext for delaying the concluſion of peace:

That ſuch are ſtill the hopes and intentions of the Executive Directory, which enjoins the Miniſters Plenipotentiary of the Republick not to quite Liſle till the continued abſence of the Negotiator ſhall no longer leave any doubt of the intention of his Britannick Majeſty to break off all Negotiation:

That conſequently the 25th Vendemiare (16th of October old ſtyle) is the period fixed for the recall of the Miniſters Plenipotentiary of the French Republick, ſuppoſing that at that time the Miniſter Plenipotentiary of his Britannick Majeſty ſhall not have arrived at Liſle.

The Executive Directory will feel the greateſt regret that a reconciliation, already twice attempted, ſhould not be perfected; but its conſcience, and the whole of Europe, will bear it teſtimony, that it is the Engliſh Government alone that will have inflicted the ſcourge of war upon the two nations.

The Miniſters Plenipotentiary of the French Republick entreat the Miniſter Plenipotentiary of his Britannick Majeſty to accept the aſſurances of their high conſideration.

(Signed) TREILHARD.
BONNIER.

Liſle, 10th Vendemiaire,
6th Year of the French Republick.
(October 1, 1797.)

Sec. Gen. of the Legation,
DERCHE.

(No. 54.) Note from Lord Malmeſbury to the French Plenipotentiaries.

TRANSLATION.

THE underſigned having laid before the King's Miniſtry the note

note of the Plenipotentiaries of the French Republick, is directed to obſerve to them.

That it is only in conſequence of the formal and poſitive injunction of the Directory that he quitted Liſle; that his powers were neither illuſory nor limited; and that nothing was omitted on his part to accelerate the Negotiation, which has been only retarded by the delays of the Directory, and which at this moment is only ſuſpended by its act.

With regard to the renewal of the conferences, the underſigned can only refer to his laſt note, where he has explained with frankneſs and preciſion the only means which remain for continuing the Negotiation; obſerving at the ſame time that the King could no longer treat in an enemy's country, without being certain that the cuſtoms eſtabliſhed amongſt all civilized nations, with regard to publick Miniſters, and eſpecially to thoſe charged to negotiate for the re-eſtabliſhment of peace, would be reſpected for the future in the perſon of his Plenipotentiary.

The Miniſter Plenipotentiary of his Britannick Majeſty requeſts the Miniſters Plenipotentiary of the French Republick to accept the aſſurance of his high conſideration.

(Signed) MALMESBURY.

London, 5th October 1797.

ACCOUNT of ADVANCES made to GOVERNMENT by the BANK, from 25th February to 1ſt November 1797.

1797.		£.
March 2d to 9th.	To the Lords Commiſſioners of his Majeſty's Treaſury, on Exchequer Bills -	250,000
March 10th	On Exchequer Bills at 3 *d.* per Cent. per day, iſſued on accout of Loan 1797, for £18,000,000 - -	250,000
Apil 4th to 13th.	On Do. - - - being a Loan for £. 600,000, purſuant to a clauſe in the Act of 37th Geo. III. Chap. 45. Sec. 4	599,200

ALL the above ſums, with intereſt thereon, were paid the 31ſt July 1797.

W. Edwards,
Acct. Gent.

BANK,
10th November 1797.

ACCOUNT

ACCOUNT of the Total Amount of MORTGAGED ACTIONS of the BANK of VIENNA, depoſited in the BANK of ENGLAND.

A Tin Box was depoſited at the Bank of England on the 26th September 1794, by Meſſrs. Boyd, Benfield, and Co. ſealed by them and a Notary Public; the latter of whom has certified, that the Box contains 25 mortgage bonds of the Bank of Vienna, amounting to one million ſix hundred thouſand florins each, making together forty millions of florins, which are eſtimated at four millions ſterling.

On the 4th December 1795, another Tin Box was depoſited by Meſſrs. Boyd, Benfield, and Co. which a Notary Public has certified to the Bank, contains twenty mortgage bonds of one million florins each, and one bond of one million three hundred and thirty-three thouſand three hundred and thirty-three florins twenty kreutzers, making in all twenty-one millions three hundred and thirty-three thouſand three hundred and thirty-three florins and twenty kreutzers, eſtimated to be equal in value to two millions one hundred and thirty-three thouſand three hundred and thirty-three pounds ſix ſhillings and eight pence ſterling.

W. Edwards,
Acct. Gen.

BANK,
10th November 1797.

ACCOUNT reſpecting IMPERIAL STOCK.

No Purchaſes have been made on account of the Imperial Loan, towards its redemption.

W. Edwards,
Acct. Gen.

BANK,
10th November 1797.

REPORT.

THE COMMITTEE of SECRECY, appointed to enquire whether it may be expedient further to continue the Reſtriction, contained in two Acts made in the laſt Seſſion of Parliament, reſpecting Payments in Caſh by the Bank; have enquired accordingly, and agreed upon the following Report; *viz.*

YOUR Committee have, in the firſt place, examined the total amount of out-ſtanding demands on the Bank of England, and of the Funds for diſcharging the ſame; and find, from the examination of the Governor and Deputy Governor of the Bank, and the documents produced by them, that the total amount of

out-ſtanding demands on the Bank, was, on the 11th day of this inſtant November, £12,578,910; and that the total amount of the funds for diſcharging the ſame (without including the permanent debt due from government, of £11,686,800, which bears an intereſt of three per cent.) was, on the ſame day, £21,418,460; leaving a balance of ſurplus in favour of the Bank (excluſive of the above-mentioned debt from Government) of £3,839,550.

Your Committee next proceeded to examine the principal articles of which the above-mentioned ſum of £21,418,460, being the credit ſide of the account, is made up, with a view of aſcertaining how far the Bank might be enabled to reſume its accuſtomed payments in caſh, in caſe the reſtriction at preſent ſubſiſting ſhould be removed: And your committee find, that the advances to government have, on the one hand, been ſo much reduced, ſince the 25th of February laſt, as to amount, on the ſaid 11th day of this inſtant November, to no more than the ſum of £.4,258,140, while on the other hand, the caſh and bullion in the Bank have increaſed to an amount more than five times the value of that at which they ſtood on the ſame 25th of February laſt, and much above that at which they have ſtood at time ſince the beginning of September 1795.

Your Committee further find, that the courſe of exchange with Hamburgh is, at preſent, unuſually favourable to this country, and that, from the ſituation of our trade, there is good reaſon to imagine it will ſo continue, unleſs political circumſtances ſhould occur to affect it.

Your Committee next proceeded to examine the Governor and Deputy Governor of the Bank, as to their opinion of the inconvenience which may have ariſen from the reſtriction impoſed on the Bank from making payment in caſh, and of the expediency of continuing ſuch reſtriction; and your Committee find, that they are not aware of any ſuch inconvenience, and that they are ſupported in that idea, by knowing that the bankers and traders of London, who had a right by the Act of Parliament to demand three fourths of any depoſit in caſh which they had made in the Bank, of £. 500 or upwards, have only claimed about one ſixteenth: And your Committee find, that the Court of Directors of the Bank, did on the 26th of October 1797, come to a reſolution, a copy of which is ſubjoined to this report.

Your Committee having further examined the Governor and Deputy Governor, as to what may be meant by the political circumſtances mentioned in that reſolution, find, that they underſtand by them, the ſtate of hoſtility in which the Nation is ſtill involved, and particularly ſuch apprehenſions as may be entertained of invaſion, either in Ireland or this country, together with

with the poſſibility there may be of advances being to be made from this country to Ireland; and that from thoſe circumſtances ſo explained, and from the nature of the war, and the avowed purpoſe of the enemy to attack this country by means of its publick credit, and to diſtreſs it in its financial operations, they are led to think that it will be expedient to continue the reſtriction now ſubſiſting, with the reſerve for partial iſſues of caſh, at the diſcretion of the Bank, of the nature of that contained in the preſent acts; and that it may be ſo continued, without injury to the credit of the Bank, and with advantage to the nation.

Your Committee, therefore, having taken into conſideration the general ſituation of the country, are of opinion, that notwithſtanding the affairs of the Bank, both with reſpect to the general balance of its accounts, and its capacity of making payments in ſpecie, are in ſuch a ſtate that it might with ſafety reſume its accuſtomed functions, under a different ſtate of publick affairs; yet, that it will be expedient to continue the reſtriction now ſubſiſting on ſuch payments, for ſuch time, and under ſuch limitations, as to the wiſdom of parliament may ſeem fit.

Copy of a Reſolution of the Court of Directors of the Bank.

"At a Court of Directors at the Bank, on Thurſday the 26th October, 1797.

Reſolved,

THAT it is the opinion of this court, that the governor and company of the Bank of England are enabled to iſſue ſpecie, in any manner that may be deemed neceſſary for the accommodation of the publick; and the court have no heſitation to declare; that the affairs of the Bank are in ſuch a ſtate, that it can with ſafety reſume its accuſtomed functions, if the political circumſtances of the country do not render it inexpedient: But the Directors deeming it foreign to their province to judge of theſe points, wiſh to ſubmit to the wiſdom of parliament, whether, as it has been once judged proper to lay a reſtriction on the payments of the Bank in caſh, it may, or may not, be prudent to continue the ſame."

EXECUTIVE DIRECTORY.

PROCLAMATION OF THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTORY TO THE FRENCH.

1 Frimaire, 21 November, year 6.

CITIZENS.

THE intereſt of the Republic preſcribes to you a final triumph. After the innumerable battles in which you have been victorious, it remains for you to reduce the firſt, the moſt inſatiable, the moſt cunning of all your enemies.

The Executive Directory deſires a general peace; it wiſhes for this peace for your ſake and that of Europe. But for more than a year an enemy, deſtitute of faith, has ſtunned all the cabinets of Europe with its vain buzzing, has publicly propoſed peace, has ſecretly fanned the flames of war, has affected a deſire with one hand to extinguiſh the torch which he kindles with the other; has oſtentatiouſly ſent pacificators, and in reality has rejected all the overtures which alone could tend to pacification. This enemy you know; your indignation points to him and proclaims his name---it is the cabinet of St. James's. It is the moſt corrupt, and the moſt corrupting government in Europe---It is the government of England.

It is not againſt French liberty alone that this government has directed its conſpiracy. It embraces the whole world. Ah! too long has this perfidious cabinet agitated, ſubjugated, and laid waſte all the quarters of the globe.---Speak, Americans; ſay who are directly or indirectly your real rulers; ſay, wretched Indians, by what deteſtable arts this government has founded its tyranny among you; and you Europeans more wretched, ſtill innocent inhabitants of the plains of Franconia and of the Noric Alps---innumerable victims of the ſcourge of battle, ſay, who have been the moſt active inſtigators of that deſtructive war in which more than a million of men have been ſacrificed---in which immenſe treaſures have been ſwallowed up; where the eye of peace can yet diſcover on the plains of victory, nothing but a general miſery, a general mourning, a huge deſpair! And yet! It is in theſe circumſtances that the cabinet of St. James's has diſcloſed to afflicted Europe that it alone has experienced none of the effects of this hideous diſaſter. Hear the words of the ſpeech pronounced *from the throne*---"Our revenues, ſays the king, have continued to improve, our national induſtry has extended, and our commerce has exceeded its former limits." If the king of England ſpeaks the truth, powers of Europe what a terrible leſſon for you! What then is the government that is intereſted in your diſcords, that alone derives advantage from them, which ſubſiſts upon your calamities, which proſpers by your diſtreſs, which accumulates in its treaſures the tears and the blood of nations, which fattens upon their ſpoils?

It is clear that this cabinet muſt deſire war, ſince war ſerves to enrich it. It is this government, however, which in its new manifeſtoes, in gaudy ſpeeches, dares to accuſe the French government of inſatiable avarice, It does not ſay that the Engliſh, the firſt devaſtators of our iſland of St. Domingo, have taken without firing a ſhot the colonies of Holland, at that time even their ally, and that they pretend to retain theſe robberies which they call conqueſts, and yet the king of England talks to the powers of Europe of the ambition of France!

But the principles of the French towards the other nations are now manifeſted, vague allegations can no longer obſcure them. If the French Republic ſecure the limits it has received from nature, if in this point it repairs the faults of the monarchy, it diſdains conqueſt foreign to this object, It does not oppreſs ſecondary powers and feeble ſtates. It does not aim at plundering its allies. It is faithful to its friends. It puniſhes its enemies without treating them with animoſity. Naturally generous, it does not even hate the Engliſh, and never ſhall a miniſter in France be entitled to the honours of apotheoſis for the ſingle cauſe of his animoſity to the Engliſh people. But in France all men are agreed upon one point---it is, that we remember Toulon, Dunkirk, Quiberon, La Vendee, that we deteſt and reprobate the cruelty, the perfidy, the bloody machiaveliſm of the Britiſh miniſtry, and that we deplore at the ſame time, the inconceivable infatuation by which the Engliſh thus allow themſelves to be ground, in order to become the horror of the world.

The great nation will avenge the univerſe; and in order to ſucceed in this object, Frenchmen, various modes preſent themſelves to your choice: the moſt honourable and the moſt rapid is a deſcent upon England. Unheard of ſucceſſes have accuſtomed you no longer to count obſtacles. In ſuch enterpriſes the name alone of the armies is the promiſe of triumph, and the juſtice of the cauſe is the pledge of it. It is no longer the ſeaſon to inſult the plans of invaſion, and to diſcuſs the means. At the point which the French have attained, their will is victory, Thus, let the Army of England go and dictate peace in London; and there alſo republicans, you will find auxiliaries---and there you will find many men whom reaſon has not abandoned ſo far as to render them inſenſible of the odium which their government has thrown upon the Engliſh name. And there too you will find thoſe millions of generous men who have ſo long ſtruggled for Parliamentary Reform; and there too you will find thoſe innumerable artificers who figh for peate, whom the continuance of the war has reduced to miſery, and who weigh in the balance of their real wants the magnificent deluſion of royal harangues, the illuſion of manifeſtoes, and the chimera of conqueſts. There alſo you will find that Iriſh nation oppreſſed for ſo many years, and which bears with ſo much reluctance the chains of a court which is nouriſhed by its labour, which gluts itſelf with its blood, and inſults its deſpair.

Go

Go, brave republicans, under theſe auſpices. Second the unanimous wiſh of the nation. Led by the hero who has ſo often conducted you in the paths of victory, you will have in your favour the acclamations of all the virtuous and juſt ſouls which exiſt in the world. Go, re-eſtabliſh the freedom of the ſea. In a word, repreſs within juſt limits the unbounded ambition of this government, the deſtroyer of its own country as well as the univerſe. Secure the repoſe of the French Republic and that of Europe. Such is the great object which it remains for you to fulfil. And ſince at this moment the Britiſh government ſmiling coolly and with a ferocious grin at the diſaſters of the Continent, congratulates itſelf on its own wealth, compel it to defray, agreeably to juſtice, its ſhare of the expence of the war, the duration of which it alone is deſirous to render eternal, and which it knows well, that it could eaſily bring to a concluſion whenever it chooſes to ſpeak to the French government a language which can be liſtened to, and which can be conſidered as ſincere.

Citizens you will recognize your own proper ſentiments in the expoſition of thoſe of the Executive Directory. The ſame ſpirit animates your faithful repreſentatives. In vain the cabinet of London exhauſts its efforts to ſow among them diſtruſt and diſcord, or to perſuade them that it has ſucceeded. The 18th Fructidor has deſtroyed the Engliſh influence; and ſince that memorable day the Members of the Councils and the Directory preſent the picture of the moſt impreſſive union. Yes---All the patriots have now but the ſame intereſt. There is not in the Republic but one opinion and one wiſh---War to the cabinet of St. James's! It is the cry of France. What glory is thus in reſerve for the Army of England! It is enough to ſhew it to them! Yes! to inflame our warriors with an invincible patriotiſm, it is only neceſſary to recal to them what they have already done! The walls of the ſtrongeſt places have fallen before them. The moſt redoubted Chiefs could not reſiſt them.

They made priſoners Bender at Luxembourg, and Wurmſer at Mantua. Through them the tri-coloured ſtandard flies on the borders of the Rhine and on the Ægean ſea. After ſo many victories, what diſcourſe or what words can add any thing to the ardour of French ſoldiers? It is enough for them to hear the voice of the country, and to call to mind their own exploits.

The Executive Directory decrees, that the above Proclamation ſhall be printed, poſted, read, and ſolemnly publiſhed in all the communes of the Republic, and in all the diviſions of the land and marine armies. It ſhall be inſerted in the Bulletin of the Laws. The Minister of the interior and the Minister at War, the Minister of the Marine and the Colonies ſhall give an account to the Executive Directory of its publication,

(Signed) LAREVELLIERE LEPAUX, Preſ.

An ACCOUNT of the Net Produce of the PERMANENT TAXES, which ſubſiſted previous to the 5th of January 1791, in the Years ending the 10th October 1796 and 1797 reſpectively; adding thereto the Difference between the Produce of the Duties on Home-made Spirits in each Year reſpectively, and the Average Produce thereof in Three Years, ending the 10th of October 1794; and adding likewiſe the Amount of the Sums, paid from the Revenue of Cuſtoms on Account of Bounties for CORN Imported, or Bounties for raiſing SEAMEN, in the Years 1796 and 1797.

	In the YEARS ending OCTOBER 10th. 1796.	1797.	
	£.	£. s.	d.
Produce of the Permanent Taxes which ſubſiſted previous to 1791	12,798,326	13,341,636 14	6
Loſs on the Duties of the Diſtillery which ſubſiſted previous to 1791	554,181	252,414	
Bounties on Corn paid out of the Revenue of Cuſtoms	449,381	150,102 7	2¼
Bounties paid out of the Revenue of Cuſtoms for raiſing Seamen	51,491	14,784 13	9¼
	13,853,379	13,758,937 15	5

Whitehall, Treaſury Chambers,
21ſt November 1797.

GEORGE ROSE.

An ACCOUNT of the SUMS paid on Account of BOUNTIES for CORN Imported, in the Years ending the 10th October 1796 and the 10th October 1797.

	£.	s.	d.
Year ending 10th October 1796	449,381	18	8
Year ending 10th October 1797	150,102	7	2¼

An

AN ACCOUNT of the SUMS paid on Account of raiſing SEAMEN, in the Years ending the 10th October 1796 and the 10th October 1797.

	£.	s.	d.
Year ending the 10th October 1796 ---	51,491	9	--- $\frac{1}{4}$
Year ending the 10th October 1797 ---	14,784	13	9 $\frac{1}{4}$

THOMAS IRVING,
Inſpector General of the Imports and Exports of Great Britain.

Inſpector General's Office,
Cuſtom Houſe, London,
November 22d, 1727.

AN ACCOUNT of the Amount of the Old Duty on BRITISH SPIRITS (paid into the Exchequer) for three Years, ending 10th October 1794, diſtinguiſhing each Year; alſo, the Amount of the Old Duty on Britiſh Spirits (paid into the Exchequer) for the Year ending 10th October 1797; diſtinguiſhing ENGLAND from SCOTLAND.

	ENGLAND.	Remitted from SCOTLAND.		TOTAL.
		Britiſh.	Conſ. Spir. 3d Head.	
	£.	£.	£.	£.
Years ended 10th Oct. 1792	644,104	42,000	10,000	696,104
1793	603,402	36,000	---	639,402
1794	655,658	74,000	---	729,658
Year ended 10th Oct. 1797	£. 407,474	£. 28,500	---	£. 435,974

Exciſe Office, London, 22d Nov. 1797.

R. Waring, Acct. Gen.

G. J. CHOLMONDELEY,
W. LOWNDES,
J. OLMIUS,
T. CASWALL,
R. SPILLER.

N. B. Beſides

Beſides the above Sums, there was, in the Year ended October 1792, the Sum of £.10,000 remitted from land, under the Denomination of Conſolidated Spirits, lead; which this Board, having no Means of diſtinhing whether it was Britiſh or Foreign, return as a ſeate Sum.

EXECUTIVE DIRECTORY.

DECREE OF 5 BRUMAIRE, OCT. 26, YEAR VI.

1. There ſhall be aſſembled, without delay on the coaſts ocean, an army, which ſhall be called the ARMY OF ND.

itizen General Buonaparte is appointed commander in f this Army.

all be proviſionally commanded by Citizen Deſaix, Geſ Diviſion, who for this purpoſe ſhall repair to Rennes.

The Miniſter at War is charged with the execution of the t Decree, which ſhall be inſerted in the Bulletin of the

(Signed) LA REVEILLIERE LEPAUX, Preſ.

PROCLAMATION.

HE EXECUTIVE DIRECTORY TO THE FRENCH PEOPLE, 5 BRUMAIRE, OCT. 26.

ITIZENS,

e Proclamation of the 4th complementary day, year V. ntended to prepare the French armies to march by the 15th lemaire.

he defenders of their country have heard the voice of the tory: from every quarter they rejoined their reſpective ar-; and the Miniſter at War has upon this point given the ſatisfactory accounts. In this generous ardour, in this rneſs to maintain the cauſe of liberty, we recognize the acter of Frenchmen.

heir warlike attitude has already removed the obſtacles ch the Cabinet of St. James's has ſo long oppoſed to the conion of peace with the Emperor. At the view of your poſi-Auſtria returned to a ſenſe of her true intereſts; and on the h Vendemiaire (Oct. 17) the treaty, which had been ſuſpend-near ſix months, was concluded at San Fornio near Udina, ween General Buonaparte, Plenipotentiary of the French Reblic, and four Plenipotentiaries of the Emperor, King of Boia and Hungary. You will learn with pleaſure that ſeveral illions of men are again reſtored to their liberty, and that the nch People are the benefactors of nations.

This, however, is not all. In order to adjuſt the peace with he Empire, a Congreſs is about to aſſemble. Citizens, every

thing preſages that in a ſhort time you will reap the fr
many ſacrifices. The peace of the Continent will ſoon
on immoveable foundations.

All that now remains to be done is to puniſh the perfid
of the Cabinet of London, which ſtill infatuates certain
by making them the ſlaves of its maritime tyranny, an
deceives the Engliſh themſelves, by extorting from t
means of prolonging upon the ocean the calamities of w
effuſion of human blood, the deſtruction of commerce, a
the horrors which it purchaſes, and which it pays, but
muſt recoil upon itſelf. It is in London where the calam
Europe are contrived, and there they muſt be terminated.

Citizens, in theſe circumſtances you ſee very nearly th
of the military exertions which the Government is enab
obtain by French efforts. But until the very early peri
rives beware of laying down the arms which render you f
midable to the enemies of your independence. Be ware of
ing to the perfidious ſuggeſtions of thoſe who would anni
the effect of your triumphs. They will repeat to you,
peace being concluded, you ought to return without del
your families. Yes, doubtleſs the Directory has juſt figh
your behalf a glorious peace; but in order to enjoy thef
vantages, you muſt complete your work, you muſt ſecu
execution of the articles agreed upon between France an
Emperor; decide with promptitude upon thoſe which are
concluded with the Empire; in a word, crown your exploi
an invaſion of that iſland into which your anceſtors intro
ſlavery under William the Conqueror, and on the contrary
troduce the Genius of Liberty, which will land on its
when the French diſembark.

Citizens, be aſſured that the Government is deſirous to a
lerate the happy moment when, in concert with the Legiſl
Body, it ſhall be able to reduce the armies to the peace
bliſhment, reward the heroes who compoſe it, and after ha
celebrated their ſervices by monuments and feſtivals worth
their trinmphs, diffuſe through the whole country the truly
publican ſpirit by which the Armies have been conſtantly
mated, by reſtoring to their families all thoſe who ſhall be
titled to return thither.

But you will judge for yourſelves. The hour is not
come. A few moments longer and the French Republic,
umphant, conſolidated, and every where recogniſed, will e
the repoſe which it will procure for the world.

The Executive Directory decrees that the above Procla
tion ſhall be printed, ſtuck up, ſent to all the departments a
armies, and that the decree annexed to that of the 4th. C
plementary day, year 5, ſhall be executed according to its f
and tenor.

A BILL

[AS AMENDED BY THE COMMITTEE]

FOR

Granting to his Majeſty certain additional Duties on the Amount of certain Duties now charged by Aſſeſſment, for a time to be limited.

Moſt gracious Sovereign,

WE your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects the Commons of Great Britain in Parliament aſſembled, feeling it our indiſpenſible duty at the preſent criſis, to provide effectually for raiſing the ſupplies which are requiſite to defray your Majeſty's public expences in the proſecution of the juſt and neceſſary war in which we are engaged, for the defence and preſervation of your Majeſty's Crown, and of the religion, laws, liberties, and property of all your Majeſty's faithful ſubjects, have freely and voluntarily reſolved to give and grant unto your Majeſty the aid and contribution herein after mentioned, and do moſt humbly beſeech your Majeſty, that it may be enacted: *And be it enacted* by the King's moſt excellent Majeſty, by and with the advice and conſent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons, in this preſent Parliament aſſembled, and by the authority of the ſame, That from and after the paſſing of this act, there ſhall be raiſed, levied, collected, and paid, annually, during the term herein after mentioned, unto and for the uſe of his Majeſty, his Heirs and Succeſſors, throughout the kingdom of Great Britain, the ſeveral additional Rates, Duties and Sums of Money herein after mentioned; (that is to ſay) that every perſon Aſſeſſed to any of the Duties payable at and immediately before the paſſing of this act, on Male Servants, on Carriages, or on Horſes kept for the purpoſe of riding, or of drawing any ſuch Carriages, ſhall be charged annually, during the term herein mentioned, with an additional Rate or Duty in proportion to the amount of the ſaid Duties, to which ſuch perſon is Aſſeſſed, according to the laſt yearly Aſſeſſment or Aſſeſſments made or to be made prior to the ſixth day of April, One Thouſand Seven Hundred and Ninety-eight, in purſuance of any Act of Parliament now in force, and the proportion thereof ſhall be as follows; (that is to ſay) Where the amount of the ſaid duties ſhall be under twenty-five pounds, a duty equal to three times the amount thereof; where the amount of the ſaid duties ſhall be twenty-five pounds, and ſhall be under thirty pounds, a duty equal to three times the amount and one half the amount thereof; where the amount of the ſaid duties ſhall be thirty pounds, and ſhall be under forty pounds, a duty equal to four times the amount thereof; where the amount of the ſaid duties ſhall be forty pounds, and ſhall be under fifty pounds, a duty equal to four times the amount and one half the amount thereof; and where the amount of the ſaid duties ſhall be fifty pounds or upwards, a duty equal to five times the amount thereof; and that where any perſon ſhall be ſo charged by any ſuch aſſeſſment made for a leſs term than a year, the additional rate or duty hereby impoſed ſhall be computed on the aggregate amount of the ſums contained in ſuch aſſeſſment or aſſeſſments, and of ſuch further ſum to be added thereto as would be payable thereon if the ſame were made for a whole year.

And

And be it further enacted, That every perſon aſſeſſed to any of the ſa or duties now payable on houſes, windows, or lights, or on inhabi houſes, on dogs, or on clocks, watches, or time-keepers (except ſuch pe ſons who ſhall by this act be ſpecifically made ſubject to a lower or oth rate of duty) the amount of whoſe laſt aſſeſſment or aſſeſſments of the ſa duties ſhall not be equal to one pound, ſhall be exempted from the ſaid a ditional rate or duty; and that in all caſes where the amount of the l aſſeſſment or aſſeſſments made upon ſuch perſon of the ſaid laſt mentio duties, ſhall be one pound or upwards, ſuch perſon ſhall be charged an ally, during the term herein mentioned, with an additional rate or duty, proportion to the amount of the ſaid duties to which ſuch perſon is aſſeſ according to the laſt yearly aſſeſſment or aſſeſſments, made or to be m prior to the ſixth day of April one thouſand ſeven hundred and ninety-ei in purſuance of any act of parliament now in force; and the proportion th of ſhall be as follows; *videlicet*: Where the amount of the ſaid duties ſ be under two pounds, a duty equal to one fourth the amount there where the amount of the ſaid duties ſhall be two pounds, and ſhall be u three pounds, a duty equal to one half the amount thereof; where amount of the ſaid duties ſhall be three pounds, and ſhall be under pounds, a duty equal to three fourths of the amount thereof; where amount of the ſaid duties ſhall be five pounds, and ſhall be under ſ pounds and ten ſhillings, a duty equal to the amount thereof; when amount of the ſaid duties ſhall be ſeven pounds and ten ſhillings, and be under ten pounds, a duty equal to the amount and one half the am thereof; where the amount of the ſaid duties ſhall be ten pounds, and be under twelve pounds and ten ſhillings, a duty equal to twice the am thereof; where the amount of the ſaid duties ſhall be twelve pounds an ſhillings, and ſhall be under fifteen pounds, a duty equal to twi amount and one half the amount thereof; where the amount of the ſai ties ſhall be fifteen pounds, and ſhall be under twenty pounds, a equal to three times the amount thereof; where the amount of the ſa ties ſhall be twenty pounds, and ſhall be under thirty pounds, a duty to three times the amount and one half the amount thereof; whe amount of the ſaid duties ſhall be thirty pounds, and ſhall be unde pounds, a duty equal to four times the amount thereof; where the a of the ſaid duties ſhall be forty pounds, and ſhall be under fifty pou duty equal to four times the amount and one half of the amount t and where the amount of the ſaid duties ſhall be fifty pounds or u a duty equal to five times the amount thereof: And that where any ſhall be ſo charged by any ſuch aſſeſſment made for a leſs term than the additional rate or duty hereby impoſed ſhall be computed on th gate amount of the ſums contained in ſuch aſſeſſment or aſſeſſments, ſuch further ſum to be added thereto, as would become payable th the ſame were made for a whole year.

Provided always, and be it further enacted, That every perſon w occupy any dwelling houſe, which hath uſually been let out in par gers, or whereunto any ſhop or warehouſe is attached, or hath co cation therewith, the amount of whoſe laſt aſſeſſment or aſſeſſment ſpect of the ſaid dwelling houſe, of the duties now payable on hou dows, or lights, or on inhabited houſes, or on dogs, clocks, wa time-keepers, ſhall be under three pounds, ſhall be exempted from additional rate or duty; and that in all caſes where the amount o aſſeſſment or aſſeſſments, made upon ſuch occupier of the ſaid laſt m duties, ſhall amount to three pounds, ſuch occupier ſhall be charg ally, during the term herein mentioned, with an additional rate or

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proportion to the amount of the said duties to which such occupier is assessed, according to the last yearly assessment or assessments made or to be made prior to the sixth day of April one thousand seven hundred and ninety-eight, in pursuance of any act of parliament now in force; and the proportion thereof shall be as follows; *videlicet*: Where the amount of the said duties shall be three pounds and shall be under five pounds, a duty equal to one tenth of the amount thereof; where the amount of the said duties shall be five pounds and shall be under seven pounds and ten shillings, one fifth of the amount thereof; where the amount of the said duties shall be seven pounds and ten shillings and shall be under ten pounds, a duty equal to one fourth the amount thereof; where the amount of the said duties shall be ten pounds and shall be under twelve pounds and ten shillings, a duty equal to one half the amount thereof; where the amount of the said duties shall be twelve pounds and ten shillings, and shall be under fifteen pounds, a duty equal to three fourths the amount thereof; where the amount of the said duties shall be fifteen pounds and shall be under twenty pounds, a duty equal to the amount thereof; where the amount of the said duties shall be twenty pounds and shall be under twenty five pounds, a duty equal to the amount and one fourth the amount thereof; where the amount of the said duties shall be twenty-five pounds and shall be under thirty pounds, a duty equal to the amount and one half the amount thereof; and where the amount of the said duties shall be thirty pounds or upwards, a duty equal to twice the amount thereof: And that where any person shall be so charged by any such assessment, made for a less term than a year, the additional rate or duty hereby imposed shall be computed on the aggregate amount of the sums contained in such assessment or assessments, and of such further sum to be added thereto as would become payable thereon if the same were made for a whole year.

And be it further enacted, That every inn-keeper, and person licensed to sell ale, usually having guests to sleep in their respective dwelling houses, and every schoolmaster or person keeping any academy or seminary for learning, and usually having their scholars to board and lodge (to a number not less than ten) in their respective dwelling houses, shall be entitled to be exempted in the like cases; and the additional rate or duty to be imposed on them respectively by this act shall be ascertained in like manner, and under the like rules and regulations, as are herein before prescribed with respect to persons assessed for houses actually let to lodgers, or having shops attached thereto.

Provided always, and be it further enacted, That any person (except as herein after excepted) having more than five children born in lawful wedlock, being respectively under the age of sixteen years, shall be entitled to the respective abatements following, over and above any other abatement to which such person may be entitled on the ground of his or her income; that is to say, Any person having more than five such children and not amounting to eight such children, shall have an abatement at the rate of ten pounds *per centum* on the amount of the additional rate or duty hereby imposed; any person having eight such children and not more than nine such children, an abatement after the rate of fifteen pounds *per centum* on such amount as aforesaid; and any person having ten such children or more, an abatement after the rate of twenty pounds *per centum* on such amount; which abatements shall be allowed by the respective commissioners for executing this act, upon appeal, and delivery of a declaration stating the number of such appellant's children, and on proof made, to the satisfaction of the said commissioners, of the truth of the matters contained in such declaration; and the said commissioners shall cause the assessment to be amended, as the case shall require: Provided that no such abatement shall be made of

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the additional rates and duties hereby impoſed, in favour of any perſon who ſhall be liable to be charged to the ſaid additional rates and duties in the whole, to the amount of three hundred pounds, within or for the term of one year.

Provided always, and be it enacted, That no perſon exerciſing any branch of the medical profeſſion ſhall be liable to be aſſeſſed, by reaſon of this act, for a carriage with four wheels, or for two horſes, in any caſe where he does not keep more than one ſuch carriage or two horſes; nor for any number of horſes, mares, or geldings, kept for the purpoſe of riding, leſs than three, at more than a ſingle rate in addition to the ſum at which he is or may be aſſeſſed by virtue of any act or acts now in force.

Provided always, and be it further enacted, That in every caſe in which the Rector or Vicar of any pariſh church ſhall not be reſident within the pariſh in which ſuch church ſhall be ſituate, but employ a Curate to perform divine ſervice therein, in whoſe rectorial or vicarial houſe ſuch Curate ſhall reſide, then the additional rates or duties charged upon each ſuch houſe by this act, ſhall be defrayed by ſuch Rector or Vicar, and not by ſuch Curate.

Provided always, and be it further enacted, That every perſon aſſeſſed to the duties now payable on horſes, granted by two acts of the thirty-ſixth and thirty-ſeventh years of the reign of his preſent Majeſty, ſhall be charged annually, during the term herein mentioned, with an additional rate or duty equal to twice the amount of the ſaid duties to which ſuch perſon is aſſeſſed, according to the laſt aſſeſſment or aſſeſſments made in purſuance of the ſaid acts, prior to the ſixth day of April one thouſand ſeven hundred and ninety-eight: Provided always, that no perſon occupying a farm, the rent or value of which ſhall be leſs than ſeventy pounds a year, and making a livelihood ſolely thereby, ſhall be chargeable with the ſaid additional rate or duty.

Provided always, and be it further enacted, That every perſon charged to the additional rate or duty hereby impoſed, ſhall, upon proving to the ſatisfaction of commiſſioners to be appointed for that purpoſe as hereinafter is mentioned, that the amount of his or her annual income, to be eſtimated as herein after directed, is leſs than the ſum of ſixty pounds, be exempted from the ſaid additional rate or duty; and in all caſes where ſuch annual income amounts to ſixty pounds or more, ſuch perſon ſhall be entitled to ſuch an abatement of the ſaid additional rate or duty, as may be neceſſary to reduce the ſame, in each caſe reſpectively, in the proportions hereinafter ſtated; (that is to ſay)

Where the ſaid annual income ſhall appear to be not leſs than ſixty pounds but under ſixty-five pounds, to a ſum not exceeding one one-hundred and twentieth part of the ſame:

Or not leſs than ſixty-five pounds but under ſeventy pounds, to a ſum not exceeding one ninety-fifth part of the ſame:

Or not leſs than ſeventy pounds but under ſeventy-five pounds, to a ſum not exceeding one ſeventieth part of the ſame:

Or not leſs than ſeventy-five pounds but under eighty pounds, to a ſum not exceeding one ſixty-fifth part of the ſame:

Or not leſs than eighty pounds but under eighty-five pounds, to a ſum not exceeding one ſixtieth part of the ſame:

Or not leſs than eighty-five pounds but under ninety pounds, to a ſum not exceeding one fifty-fifth part of the ſame:

Or not leſs than ninety pounds but under ninety-five pounds, to a ſum not exceeding one fiftieth part of the ſame:

Or not leſs than ninety-five pounds but under one hundred pounds, to a ſum not exceeding one forty-fifth part of the ſame:

Or not leſs than one hundred pounds but under one hundred and five pounds, to a ſum not exceeding one fortieth part of the ſame:

Or not leſs than one hundred and five pounds but under one hundred and ten pounds, to a ſum not exceeding one thirty-eight part of the ſame:

Or not leſs than one hundred and ten pounds but under one hundred and fifteen pounds, to a ſum not exceeding one thirty-ſixth part of the ſame:

Or not leſs than one hundred and fifteen pounds but under one hundred and twenty pounds, to a ſum not exceeding one thirty-fourth part of the ſame:

Or not leſs than one hundred and twenty pounds but under one hundred and twenty-five pounds, to a ſum not exceeding one thirty-ſecond part of the ſame:

Or not leſs than one hundred and twenty-five pounds but under one hundred and thirty pounds, to a ſum not exceeding one thirtieth part of the ſame:

Or not leſs than one hundred and thirty pounds but under one hundred and thirty-five pounds, to a ſum not exceeding one twenty-eight part of the ſame:

Or not leſs than one hundred and thirty-five pounds but under one hundred and forty pounds, to a ſum not exceeding one twenty-ſixth part of the ſame:

Or not leſs than one hundred and forty pounds but under one hundred and forty-five pounds, to a ſum not exceeding one twenty-fourth part of the ſame:

Or not leſs than one hundred and forty-five pounds, but under one hundred and fifty pounds, to a ſum not exceeding one twenty-ſecond part of the ſame:

Or not leſs than one hundred and fifty pounds but under one hundred and fifty-five pounds, to a ſum not exceeding one twentieth part of the ſame:

Or not leſs than one hundred and fifty-five pounds but under one hundred and ſixty pounds, to a ſum not exceeding one nineteenth part of the ſame:

Or not leſs than one hundred and ſixty pounds but under one hundred and ſixty-five pounds, to a ſum not exceeding one eighteenth part of the ſame:

Or not leſs than one hundred and ſixty-five pounds, but under one hundred and ſeventy pounds, to a ſum not exceeding one ſeventeenth part of the ſame:

Or not leſs than one hundred and ſeventy pounds but under one hundred and ſeventy-five pounds, to a ſum not exceeding one ſixteenth part of the ſame:

Or not leſs than one hundred and ſeventy-five pounds but under one hundred and eighty pounds, to a ſum not exceeding one fifteenth part of the ſame:

Or not leſs than one hundred and eighty pounds but under one hundred and eighty-five pounds, to a ſum not exceeding one fourteenth part of the ſame:

Or not leſs than one hundred and eighty-five pounds but under one hundred and ninety pounds, to a ſum not exceeding one thirteenth part of the ſame:

Or not leſs than one hundred and ninety pounds but under one hundred and ninety-five pounds, to a ſum not exceeding one twelfth part of the ſame;

Or not leſs than one hundred and ninety-five pounds but under two hundred pounds, to a ſum not exceeding one eleventh part of the ſame:

Or

Or to two hundred pounds and upwards, to a ſum not exceeding one tenth part of the ſame:

And where the ſaid annual income ſhall appear to be not leſs than two hundred pounds, every ſuch perſon ſhall be entitled to ſuch an abatement of the additional duty now granted, as may be neceſſary to reduce the ſame, in each caſe reſpectively, to a ſum not exceeding one tenth part of the ſaid income.

And be it further enacted, That every perſon not aſſeſſed within the year ending on the fifth day of April, one thouſand ſeven hundred and ninety-eight, to any of the ſaid duties payable at and immediately before the paſſing of this act, and who ſhall be aſſeſſed to any of the ſaid duties in any ſubſequent year during the term hereinafter mentioned, ſhall be charged with the like additional rate or duty on the amount of the ſums contained in ſuch aſſeſſment or aſſeſſments, from the commencement of the year in which ſuch aſſeſſment or aſſeſſments ſhall be made, ſubject nevertheleſs to the like abatement as if ſuch perſon had been aſſeſſed to the ſaid duties within the year ending on the ſaid fifth day of April, one thouſand ſeven hundred and ninety-eight.

And be it further enacted, That every perſon who ſhall, by any aſſeſſment or aſſeſſments to be made after the fifth day of April, one thouſand ſeven hundred and ninety-eight, be aſſeſſed in reſpect of the duties payable at and immediately before the paſſing of this act, to a greater amount than the amount contained in the prior aſſeſſment, ſhall be charged with a further additional rate or duty, in proportion to the ſums contained in ſuch latter aſſeſſment or aſſeſſments, from the commencement of the year in which ſuch latter aſſeſſment or aſſeſſments ſhall be made.

And be it further enacted, That every perſon whoſe aſſeſſment ſhall be increaſed by any ſurcharge to be allowed, ſhall be charged, in reſpect of ſuch increaſed aſſeſſment, in the like proportion as if all the articles in reſpect of which ſuch ſurcharge may be allowed, had been included in the original aſſeſſment.

Provided always, and be it further enacted, That every aſſeſſment to be made by virtue of this act, ſhall be made on the amount contained in any ſuch aſſeſſment of the duties now payable as aforeſaid, excluſive of any fractional parts of ſums not amounting in the whole to one ſhilling.

And be it further enacted, That the ſeveral additional rates or duties by this act impoſed, ſhall be levied and paid annually, during the continuance of the term herein mentioned, to the full amount of the ſums contained in the firſt aſſeſſment to be made thereof reſpectively, without any diminution or abatement, and without any alteration, except in the caſes and in the manner herein otherwiſe directed.

Provided always, and be it further enacted, That if the amount of the duties now payable by any perſon ſhall conſiſt of various articles, on the reſpective amounts whereof different rates of duty are hereby impoſed, ſeparate aſſeſſments ſhall be made according to each rate of duty, which aſſeſſments ſhall be reſpectively made on the aggregate amount of the ſaid duties whereon the ſame rate of duty is impoſed; and that in every ſuch caſe, if the duties of ten pounds *per centum* and ten pounds *per centum*, now payable on the amount of former duties, ſhall have been calculated on the whole of the ſaid former duties contained in any aſſeſſment, it ſhall be lawful duly to apportion the ſame; and the ſaid reſpective commiſſioners for executing this act ſhall cauſe the ſame to be apportioned according to the reſpective amounts of the ſaid duties, whereon the ſame rates are impoſed, before any aſſeſſment ſhall be made thereon by virtue of this act.

Provided

Provided always, and be it further enacted, That nothing herein contained ſhall be conſtrued to extend to charge the ſaid additional rate or duty on the amount of the duties now payable on carriages, in purſuance of an act paſſed in the twenty-fifth year of the reign of his preſent Majeſty, in reſpect of any carriage kept by any perſon duly licenſed to let out horſes for hire, nor to charge the ſaid additional rate or duty, or the amount of the duties now payable on ſervants, in purſuance of two acts, paſſed in the twenty-fifth and thirty-ſeventh years of the reign of his preſent Majeſty, in reſpect of any waiter kept in any tavern, coffee-houſe, inn, alehouſe, or in any other houſe licenſed to ſell wine, ale, or other liquors by retail; nor to charge the ſaid additional rate or duty on the amount of the duties now payable on carriages as aforeſaid, in reſpect of any carriage kept or to be kept by any coach-maker for the purpoſe of being let out to hire prior to the ſixth day of April, one thouſand ſeven hundred and ninety-eight.

And be it further enacted, That the additional rate or duty hereby granted on the amount of the duties now payable on houſes, windows, or lights, or on inhabited houſes, ſhall be charged only upon the occupiers, for the time being, of the houſes or tenements in reſpect whereof the ſaid duties now payable are charged, and not on the landlord or landlords who let or demiſe the ſame, (except in the caſes hereinafter mentioned:) any covenant or agreement made or entered into previous to the paſſing of this act, relative to the payment of any duties or aſſeſſments to be impoſed upon ſuch houſes or tenements, or upon ſuch occupiers in reſpect thereof, or to be impoſed on the amount of the ſaid duties now payable, to the contrary notwithſtanding.

Provided always, and be it further enacted, That where the landlord of any houſe or tenement is or ſhall be, in reſpect thereof, charged to the ſaid duties now payable, then and in ſuch caſe the amount of ſuch charge ſhall be added to any aſſeſſment of the ſaid duties now payable, which ſhall have been made upon the occupier of ſuch houſe or tenement before the additional rate or duty hereby impoſed ſhall be computed on ſuch aſſeſſments, and ſuch computation ſhall be made on the aggregate of the ſums contained in ſuch aſſeſſment after ſuch addition is made, as if the occupier had been charged with the ſum ſo added; or where no aſſeſſment of the ſaid duties now payable is made on ſuch occupier, then the amount of the ſaid duties now payable and charged upon ſuch landlord, ſhall form the baſis of the aſſeſſment of the ſaid additional rate or duty to be made upon ſuch occupier, which ſhall be calculated upon the amount thereof, as if the occupier had been charged therewith, ſubject nevertheleſs to the exemption hereinbefore declared, or to ſuch abatement thereof as the occupier of ſuch houſe or tenement would have been entitled unto, if he or ſhe had been charged to the ſaid duties now payable in reſpect of ſuch houſe or tenement.

Provided always, and be it further enacted, That where any houſe ſhall be divided into different ſtories, tenements, or lodgings, and ſhall be inhabited by two or more perſons or families, the landlord or owner of ſuch houſe ſhall be deemed and taken to be the occupier thereof, and ſhall be charged with and liable to pay the additional rate or duty hereby impoſed.

And be it further enacted, That where any perſon or perſons chargeable with any rate or duty hereby impoſed, ſhall be under the age of twenty-one years, in every ſuch caſe the parents or guardians and tutors of ſuch infants reſpectively, upon default of payment by ſuch infants, ſhall be and are hereby made liable to and charged with the payments which ſuch infants ought to have made; and if ſuch parents, guardians, or tutors ſhall neglect or refuſe to pay as aforeſaid, it ſhall be lawful to proceed againſt

them in like manner as againſt any other perſon or perſons making default of payment of the additional rate or duty charged upon him, her, or them reſpectively; and all parents, guardians, or tutors making payment as aforeſaid, ſhall be allowed all and every the ſums paid for ſuch infants upon his or their accounts.

And be it further enacted, That where perſons charged to the additional rate or duty impoſed by this act, ſhall die within the term herein mentioned, their reſpective heirs, executors, and adminiſtrators ſhall be liable to the payment of all arrears of the ſaid rate or duty at the time of the deaths reſpectively of their anceſtors, teſtators, or inteſtates reſpectively, out of the eſtate or effects which ſhall come into their hands, and alſo to the payment of ſuch further ſums as would have become payable, by virtue of this act, from ſuch anceſtors, teſtators, or inteſtates reſpectively, at any time within or at the end of the year in which ſuch deaths reſpectively happened and no longer.

And be it further enacted, That the commiſſioners authorized or appointed, or who ſhall be hereafter authorized or appointed, to put in execution the acts relative to any of the preſent duties placed under the management of the commiſſioners for the affairs of taxes, ſhall be commiſſioners for executing this preſent act, and the powers herein contained, with relation to the duties hereby granted as before-mentioned, in all and every the counties, ridings, diviſions, ſhires, ſtewartries, cities, boroughs, cinque ports, towns, and places reſpectively, within the kingdom of Great Britain; and the ſeveral ſurveyors, inſpectors, aſſeſſors, and collectors reſpectively, appointed or to be appointed to put in execution the ſaid acts, relative to the ſaid preſent duties under the management of the commiſſioners for the affairs of taxes, or any of them, ſhall be ſurveyors, inſpectors, aſſeſſors, and collectors, to put in execution this preſent act, with relation to the duties hereby granted as before-mentioned, according to the powers given to them reſpectively by the ſaid acts, or any of them, and not hereby altered, and according to the powers given to them by this act; and the ſaid commiſſioners, and other the perſons aforeſaid, being reſpectively duly qualified to act in the execution of any of the ſaid acts, ſhall, and they are hereby reſpectively empowered and required to do all things neceſſary for putting this act in execution, with relation to the reſpective rates or duties hereby granted as before-mentioned, in the like and in as full and ample a manner as they or any of them are or is authorized to put in execution the ſaid acts relative to the ſaid preſent duties under the management of the ſaid commiſſioners for the affairs of taxes, or any matters or things therein reſpectively contained.

And be it further enacted, that the aforeſaid reſpective rates or duties by this act granted, ſhall and may be aſcertained, managed, collected, recovered, paid over, and accounted for, under ſuch penalties, forfeitures, and diſabilities, and according to ſuch rules, methods, directions, and proviſions, by which the rates and duties now placed under the management of the commiſſioners for the affairs of taxes, or any of them, are or is, or may be aſcertained, managed, collected, paid, recovered, paid over, and accounted for, except as far as any of the ſaid rules, methods, directions, and proviſions are expreſſly varied by this act; and all and every the powers, authorities, rules, directions, penalties, forfeitures, clauſes, matters, and things, contained in any act or acts relative to the ſaid rates and duties, or any of them now in force, or to be paſſed in the preſent ſeſſion of Parliament, for the ſurcharging, mitigating, recovering, paying, and accounting for the rates and duties by any former acts, granted, as far as the ſame are applicable to the aforeſaid reſpective rates or duties granted by this act, and not expreſsly varied or otherwiſe provided for hereby, ſhall ſeverally and reſpectively

ely be in full force, and duly obſerved, practiſed, and put in execution roughout the kingdom of Great Britain, for ſurcharging, mitigating re-vering, paying, and accounting for the aforeſaid reſpective rates or du-s granted by this act, as fully and effectually, to all intents and pur-ſes, as if the ſame powers, authorities, rules, directions, penalties, for-tures, clauſes, matters, and things, were particularly repeated and re-en-ted in the body of this act.

And be it further enacted, That the ſaid commiſſioners ſhall, in their re-ective counties, ridings, diviſions, ſhires, ſtewartries, cities, boroughs, nque ports, towns, and places, for which they are or ſhall be appointed mmiſſioners reſpectively, meet for the firſt time on or before the firſt day February one thouſand ſeven hundred and ninety-eight, and proceed in e execution of this act, in the manner herein directed; and where no par-ular directions are hereby given, then in ſuch and the ſame manner as is ſcribed by any act or acts with reſpect to the rates and duties before men-ned, under the management of the ſaid commiſſioners for the affairs of xes.

And be it further enacted, That if it ſhall happen that no ſuch meeting all be held in any diſtrict within the time before limited, then it ſhall be wful for the commiſſioners for executing this act, or any two or more of em, in all and every the reſpective diſtricts reſpectively wherein ſuch eeting ſhall not be held, to meet and execute the ſaid powers at any other ne or times, or for the ſaid commiſſioners who ſhall be preſent at any eeting to be held in any diſtrict for carrying into execution any former t or acts, relative to any of the duties herein-mentioned, to execute the wers granted by this act; and they are hereby required to proceed in the ecution of this act, at the firſt meeting to be held in purſuance of this t, or of ſuch former act or acts; and all ſuch meetings, and all acts done r the ſaid commiſſioners at ſuch meetings, ſhall be as valid, to all intents id purpoſes, as if the ſame had been particularly appointed in purſuance of e directions of this act.

And be it further enacted, That as ſoon as conveniently may be after the ſſing of this act, the commiſſioners for the affairs of taxes ſhall cauſe to prepared true ſchedules of the perſons reſpectively who are aſſeſſed to e duties now payable in two or more pariſhes or places in any part of reat Britain, whether ſuch pariſhes or places ſhall be ſituate within the viſion of the ſame commiſſioners for executing this act, or within dif-rent diviſions, together with the amount of the reſpective aſſeſſments; hich ſaid ſchedules ſhall be tranſmitted to the reſpective commiſſioners r executing this act within their reſpective diviſions where any of ſuch ſeſſments have been made; and that the ſeveral and reſpective commiſ-oners for executing this act ſhall, within their reſpective diviſions, at their rſt meeting to be holden as aforeſaid, cauſe their reſpective clerks, or ich other perſons as they reſpectively ſhall employ for that purpoſe, fore-ith, or as ſoon after as conveniently may be, not later than ſeven days ter ſuch meeting, juſtly, and without fraud, to compute and aſcertain ie amount of the rate or duty by this act impoſed upon, or in reſpect of very ſuch aſſeſſment upon any perſons within their reſpective diviſions, ccording to the reſpective rates before-mentioned, and according to the roviſions of this act, and to make out ſchedules thereof for each pariſh or lace, containing the amount of the ſums charged by virtue of this act upon ach perſon within ſuch pariſhes and places reſpectively, and alſo the mount of the ſums, if any, with which the ſaid perſons are reſpectively harged to the ſaid duties now payable in any other pariſh or place in reat Britain, together with the names of the ſeveral perſons chargeable

therewith, and the amount of the ſaid former rates and duties wherein ſuch additional rates or duties, by this act impoſed, ſhall be computed and aſcertained, and ſhall cauſe certificates and duplicates thereof to be made out, which certificates and duplicates thereof reſpectively ſhall be ſigned by two or more of ſuch commiſſioners; and the ſaid original certificates, being firſt numbered and regiſtered, ſhall be delivered to the reſpective clerks to the ſaid commiſſioners, and by them carefully kept, and the ſaid duplicates thereof ſhall forewith be tranſmitted to ſuch perſons, and in ſuch and the like manner, as is directed by any act or acts now in force relative to the ſaid former duties, with reſpect to the duplicates of aſſeſſments therein mentioned.

And be it further enacted, That a copy of the certificates to be made out as aforeſaid, ſhall forthwith, after the ſame ſhall be ſigned as aforeſaid, be tranſmitted to the reſpective aſſeſſors appointed or to be appointed as aforeſaid in each pariſh or place within the reſpective diviſions of the ſaid commiſſioners; which ſaid aſſeſſors ſhall cauſe notice thereof in writing to be given to each perſon ſo charged, or left at his or her place of abode in ſuch pariſhes or places reſpectively.

And be it further enacted, That it ſhall be lawful for any ſurveyor or inſpector of the ſaid duties now payable, to attend any meeting or meetings of the reſpective commiſſioners for executing this act, and to inſpect and examine any aſſeſſment to be made under the authority of this act, and all ſuch aſſeſſments ſhall, at the requeſt of any ſuch ſurveyor or inſpector, be produced for his or their examination; and in caſe he or they ſhall find any error in the ſame aſſeſſments or any of them, at any time before the ſaid commiſſioners ſhall have ſigned and allowed the ſame reſpectively, which in the judgment of the ſaid commiſſioners ſhall require amendment, it ſhall be lawful for the ſaid commiſſioners to amend the ſame accordingly; and in caſe any error ſhall be diſcovered in any aſſeſſment, after the ſame ſhall be allowed, it ſhall be lawful for the ſurveyor or inſpector, and he or they is and are hereby required to certify the ſame to the ſaid reſpective commiſſioners, who ſhall have power to cauſe the ſame to be amended, if in their judgment they deem any amendment requiſite.

And be it further enacted, That if any perſon is or ſhall be aſſeſſed to the duties now payable in two or more pariſhes or places, the additional rate or duty hereby granted ſhall be charged upon ſuch perſon according to the aggregate amounts as aforeſaid of the reſpective duties to which ſuch perſon is or ſhall be aſſeſſed in ſuch pariſhes or places; and it ſhall be lawful for the ſaid reſpective commiſſioners, and they are hereby required, to cauſe an aſſeſſment to be made of the ſaid additional rate or duty hereby impoſed upon any perſon ſo aſſeſſed in two pariſhes or places, upon the amount of the ſaid duties contained in each aſſeſſment belonging to the diviſion where ſuch commiſſioners reſpectively ſhall act, but nevertheleſs in proportion to and at the rate before ſpecified for the aggregate amount of the ſaid duties to which ſuch perſon is aſſeſſed in all the ſaid ſeveral aſſeſſments made in the ſame, or in different diviſions as aforeſaid.

Provided always, and be it further enacted, That if any perſon, charged by the laſt aſſeſſment or aſſeſſments made as aforeſaid to any of the duties now payable on ſervants, carriages, or horſes, ſhall at any time before the tenth day of October one thouſand ſeven hundred and ninety ſeven, have ceaſed to keep any ſervant, carriage, or horſe, or any number of ſervants, carriages, or horſes, for which he or ſhe ſhall have been ſo charged, and ſhall have *bonâ fide* ceaſe to keep the ſame, and ſhall have remained during the whole interval, without any ſervant, carriage, or horſe, or any ſervants, carriages or horſes, liable to the like duty in lieu of the former, then ſuch perſon ſhall, on proof thereof to the ſatisfaction of the commiſſioners for executing

cuting this act, be exempted from any charge to be made by virtue of this act on the amount of the said duties now payable on such servants, carriages, and horses respectively.

And be it further enacted, That where any person charged to the duties now payable on houses, windows, or lights, or on inhabited houses, shall remove from the dwelling house in respect whereof such charge shall have been imposed, the assessment made by virtue of this act, so far as relates to the amount of the duties payable in respect of such dwelling house, shall cease and determine from the day on which notice shall be given of such removal to the collectors or assessors, or any two or more of them, of the parish or place where such dwelling house is situate, and the succeeding occupier shall become chargeable to the said additional rate or duty, in respect of such dwelling house, from the day he or she shall become the occupier thereof, and the commissioners for executing this act shall cause an assessment to be made on such succeeding occupier, on the amount of the duties payable in respect of such dwelling house, and also on the amount of such other of the said duties now payable, to which such occupier was or shall be liable to be assessed: provided always, that the person so removing shall be liable to be again charged to the said additional rate or duty, in respect of any other dwelling house which he or she may occupy at any time after such removal; and also on the amount of such other of the said duties now payable, to which such person was assessed previous to such removal, which charge shall commence from the time such person shall become the occupier of such other dwelling house, and shall be paid on the instalment next ensuing.

Provided always, and be it further enacted, That nothing herein contained shall be construed to extend to charge with the said additional rate or duty, any person in respect of any clock, watch, or timekeeper, kept, used, or worn after the fifth day of January one thousand seven hundred and ninety eight, unless such person shall have been or shall be charged to the duties now payable on clocks, watches, and timekeepers, within the year ending on the fifth day of January one thousand seven hundred and ninety-eight, in respect of a clock, watch, or timekeeper, kept, used, or worn, previous to the fifth day of January one thousand seven hundred and ninety eight; any thing herein before contained to the contrary notwithstanding.

And be it further enacted, That where two or more persons shall be jointly assessed to the duties now payable on houses, windows, or lights, or on inhabited houses, in respect of the same dwelling-house, and the said persons, or any or either of them, shall be severally assessed to the said duties, now payable in respect of any other dwelling house, or shall be severally assessed to any other of the said duties now payable, it shall be lawful for the commissioners for executing this act, and they are hereby required to make an assessment of the said additional rate or duty on the amount of the duties contained in such joint assessment, upon such one of the said persons so jointly charged, who shall be also severally charged to the said duties now payable to a greater amount than any other of the said persons so jointly charged, unless a certificate, apportioning the sums to which each such person shall be charged, shall be delivered to the said commissioners within such time as hereinafter is allowed.

And be it further enacted, That where two or more persons shall be assessed to the duties now payable on houses, windows, or lights, or on inhabited houses, in respect of the same dwelling house, either as joint occupiers thereof, or as in partnership together; or in case one or more of such joint occupiers or partners shall be so assessed, exclusive of the other occupiers of such dwelling house, or exclusive of the other partners as aforesaid,

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it ſhall be lawful for them, or any of them, at any time before the aſſeſſment to be made by virtue of this act ſhall be ſigned and allowed, to certify the ſame to the commiſſioners for executing this act by writing under their or his hands, and to ſtate in ſuch certificate the juſt proportions of the ſaid duties now payable, to which each of ſuch occupiers or partners is liable to contribute by virtue of any covenant or agreement ſubſiſting between them, or by virtue of ſuch occupation or partnerſhip; and the ſaid commiſſioners ſhall cauſe the additional rate or duty hereby impoſed to be charged on each of ſuch occupiers or partners, according to the proportions ſo certified, and in like manner as if the proportion of each occupier or partner in ſuch dwelling houſe was payable in reſpect of a diſtinct and ſeparate dwelling-houſe; and in caſe no ſuch certificate ſhall be delivered to the ſaid commiſſioners before an aſſeſſment ſhall be made on the amount of the ſaid duties payable in reſpect of ſuch dwelling houſe as aforeſaid, it ſhall be lawful for ſuch joint occupiers or partners as aforeſaid, if they or any of them ſhall think themſelves or himſelf aggrieved by the ſaid aſſeſſment, to appeal to the ſaid commiſſioners, provided that at the time of ſuch appeal a like certificate as aforeſaid ſhall be delivered to the ſaid Commiſſioners, ſtating the juſt proportions of the ſaid duties now payable, with wich each of ſuch occupiers or partners ought to be charged; and the ſaid commiſſioners are hereby required to hear and determine ſuch appeal; and if the matter contained in ſuch appeal ſhall be proved to the ſatisfaction of the ſaid commiſſioners, they ſhall cauſe the ſaid aſſeſſment to be amended, and the reſpective occupiers and partners aforeſaid to be ſeverally aſſeſſed according to the juſt proportions ſo to be aſcertained, and on the amount of the ſaid duties now payable, with which they ſeverally ought to be charged in reſpect of ſuch dwelling houſe, and of ſuch other of the ſaid duties now payable, to which ſuch occupier or partner ſhall be aſſeſſed.

And be it further enacted, That if any perſon or perſons ſhall think him or herſelf, or themſelves, aggrieved by any ſuch aſſeſſment, by reaſon that the additional rate or duty hereby impoſed hath been miſcalculated in the amount thereof, or that the ſame, or any part thereof hath been taken at a different rate than this act directs, it ſhall be lawful for him, her, or them reſpectively to appeal to the ſaid commiſſioners againſt any ſuch aſſeſſment; and the ſaid commiſſioners for executing this act, or any two or more of them, ſhall and they are hereby required to hear and determine all ſuch appeals within their reſpective diviſions; and if it ſhall appear to the ſatisfaction of ſuch commiſſioners, that the additional rate or duty hereby impoſed is miſcalculated in the aſſeſſment or aſſeſſments made on ſuch perſon or perſons reſpectively, or taken at a different rate than this act directs, then the ſaid commiſſioners are hereby authoriſed and empowered to compute and aſcertain the ſum juſtly to be charged upon ſuch aſſeſſment or aſſeſſments, according to the true intent and meaning of this act, and to amend the ſame whenever they ſhall ſee juſt cauſe ſo to do; and the determination of the ſaid commiſſioners thereupon ſhall be final: Provided always that the ſaid commiſſioners, or any of them, ſhall not, upon the hearing of any appeal to any ſuch aſſeſſment, make any alteration or abatement whatever in the aſſeſſments of the ſaid former rates or duties whereon the duty by this act impoſed hath been aſcertained.

And be it further enacted, That the commiſſioners for executing this act, in their reſpective diviſions, ſhall, if they deem it expedient for the better execution of this act, nominate aſſiſtant commiſſioners to receive, hear, and determine the appeals of perſons entitled to be exempted from the payment of the ſaid additional rate or duty, or to any abatement thereof, according to the proviſions of this act; for which purpoſe the ſaid commiſſioners for executing

xecuting this act, present at the first meeting to be holden as aforesaid, r at some other meeting to be holden as soon as conveniently may be, not ıter than seven days from such meeting, or the major part of the commis- oners then present, shall, out of the persons assessed to the duties now ayable, and resident in the respective parishes and places in which such ersons respectively are assessed to the said duties now payable, make out list of the persons so assessed in each such parish and place, beginning ith the person assessed to the greatest amount in such assessment, and so ownwards, according to the amount of each person's assessment; and hich lists shall contain the names of so many of those persons as the said ommissions shall in their discretion, after taking into consideration the size f each parish and place, and the number of persons assessed therein re- pectively, require to act as assistant commissioners for each such parish or lace, according to the provisions of this act; which lists, being respectively igned by two or more of the said commissioners, they shall cause to be de- ivered to the respective assessors and collectors of the respective parishes and laces within their respective divisions, with a notice subscribed to each ist of the day to be appointed by the said commissioners for executing this ct, as hereinafter is mentioned, which day shall not be later than ten ays after such lists shall be signed; and the said respective assessors and ollectors shall, without delay, cause the respective persons named in such ists to be summoned by notice in writing, either given personally, or left t their respective places of abode, to assemble themselves at the time men- ioned in such notice, for the purpose of qualifying themselves to act in the xecution of this act, and at such place as meetings for parochial purposes re usually holden, or at such other place as the commissioners for executing his act shall think fit to appoint: Provided always, that if the commis- ioners for executing this act shall see any just cause why any person or ersons in the order before prescribed, as to the amount of their respective ssessments, is or are not of fitness and ability to execute the office of as- istant commissioner, it shall be lawful for them to exclude any such person r persons from such list, and to insert in such list the names of other ersons in such parish or place, next in order as to the amount of their espective assessments as aforesaid.

Provided always, and be it further enacted, That where three or more it and able persons as aforesaid, assessed in any parish or place to the du- ies now payable, cannot be found to accept the office of assistant commis- ioner, it shall be lawful for the commissioners for executing this act, to nite such parish or place to some adjacent or contiguous parish or place, arishes or places, and to nominate assistant commissioners for the parishes r places so united, out of the persons assessed therein respectively to the luties now payable, as if the same had constituted one parish or place nly.

Provided also, and be it further enacted, That it shall be lawful for the ommissioners for executing this act, whenever the number of persons ssessed in any parish or place shall, in their judgment, require that as- istant commissioners should act at different places at the same time, to di- ide the persons qualifying themselves so to act for any parish or place nto distinct committees, and to allot to each committee distinct divisions within each such parish or place, in such manner as they in their discretion hall think most convenient.

Provided also, and be it further enacted, That it shall not be lawful for nore than seven persons to act together for any parish or place having one ommittee only, nor any greater number to act together in the same com- nittee in any parish or place having more than one committee; and that where

where more than ſeven perſons qualified to act ſhall attend at any meeting of ſuch committee, ſeven perſons among them ſhall be choſen indifferently by lot, and the reſt ſhall be excluded from acting at ſuch meeting.

And be it further enacted, That every perſon, before he ſhall act as an aſſiſtant commiſſioner in the execution of this act, ſhall, and he is hereby required to take the following oath; (that is to ſay)

"I *A. B.* do ſwear, That I will faithfully execute the office of an "aſſiſtant commiſſioner, according to an act paſſed in the thirty-"eighth year of the reign of his majeſty King George the Third, "intituled, "An Act [*Here ſet forth the title of the act*] and that "I will determine upon all appeals which ſhall be brought before "me under the ſaid act, without favour or affection, and accord-"ing to the beſt of my knowledge and judgment.

"ſo help me God."

Which oath any two or more of the perſons nominated aſſiſtant commiſſioners as aforeſaid, is and are hereby empowered to adminiſter; and if any perſon ſhall act as an aſſiſtant commiſſioner in the execution of this act, before he ſhall have taken the oath before-mentioned, except in adminiſtiſtering the ſaid oath, he ſhall for every ſuch offence forfeit and pay the ſum of one hundred pounds.

And be it further enacted, That in caſe of any appeal by any perſon or perſons who ſhall be qualified to act as an aſſiſtant commiſſioner for the pariſh or place where ſuch appeal ſhall be made, the aſſiſtant comiſſioner concerned therein ſhall have no voice, but the ſame ſhall be determined by the reſt of the commiſſioners, or the major part of them then preſent, in like manner as if the perſon appealing had not ſo qualified himſelf.

Provided always, and be it further enacted, That where the ſaid commiſſioners for executing this act ſhall not deem it expedient to nominate any aſſiſtant commiſſioners for the purpoſes of this act, in their reſpective diviſions, or in any pariſh or place within the ſame, it ſhall be lawful for the ſaid commiſſioners for executing this act, and they are hereby reſpectively required, to execute this act in all things appertaing to aſſiſtant commiſſioners, and for that purpoſe to meet at ſuch places, within their reſpective diviſions, as they ſhall think proper and ſhall appoint, and at ſuch times reſpectively as they ſhall find convenient, ſo that this act ſhall in all reſpects be duly executed within the times and in the manner herein preſcribed, and according to the true intent and meaning hereof; and all and every the reſpective poewrs hereby directed to be executed by aſſiſtant commiſſioners ſhall, in each and every of the caſes herein-before mentioned, be veſted in the commiſſioners for executing this act in their reſpective diviſions, as fully and effectually as if the ſaid reſpective powers had been ſpecially veſted in the ſaid laſt-mentioned commiſſioners.

And be it further enacted, That the reſpective commiſſioners for executing this act ſhall in their reſpective diviſions appoint the day and time of holding the firſt meeting of the aſſiſtant commiſſioners for each pariſh or place, and which ſhall be on ſome convenient day within the time before limited, and ſhall direct the reſpective aſſeſſors to give public notice thereof by affixing the ſame on the church or chapel door of each pariſh or place, or where there ſhall be no ſuch church or chapel, then to give ſuch public notice thereof as hath been uſual in caſes requiring public notice within ſuch pariſh or place; which aſſeſſors reſpectively are hereby required to give ſuch notice accordingly, and to inſert therein the place of holding the firſt meeting of the ſaid aſſiſtant commiſſioners, and which ſhall be the uſual place of holding parochial meetings in ſuch pariſh or place; and that the reſpective aſſiſtant commiſſioners, who have aſſembled at the uſual place for holding parochial

arochial meetings, and duly qualified themſelves to act for ſuch pariſh a nd places reſpectively, or any three or more of them reſpectively, ſhall, nd they are hereby empowered to fix a convenient place for holding their uture meetings within their reſpective pariſhes and places, of which they hall cauſe the like public notice to be given, and ſhall inſert in ſuch notice he time appointed as aforeſaid for their ſecond meeting, which ſhall not e later than ten days after the copies of the certificates ſhall have been ranſmitted to the reſpective aſſeſſors as herein before mentioned; at which econd meeting all perſons intending to appeal on the ground of exemption, r from the aſſeſſment made upon them, in order to obtain any abatement f the amount thereof, ſhall give notice of ſuch intention to the ſaid aſſiſtant commiſſioners; and the ſaid aſſiſtant commiſſioners preſent at ſuch ſecond meeting ſhall then there openly declare to the reſpective perſons intending ſo o appeal, in what manner and under what directions and rules, they ought and ſhould make their declarations of the amount of income in reſpect whereof they ſhall be entitled to any ſuch exemption or abatement as herein mentioned, and how they ought to proceed in making the ſame, and the penalties they will be liable to by making an untrue declaration of any matter required to be declared therein; and ſuch meeting ſo to be held ſhall be continued [by adjournment from day to day (Sundays excepted) until all the appeals ſo to be entered ſhall be heard and determined.

And be it further enacted, That if any perſon ſhall claim to be exempted from the additional rate or duty which ſhall be aſſeſſed by virtue of this act, or to be entitled to any abatement thereof in the proportions herein before ſtated, it ſhall be lawful for him or her to appeal to the aſſiſtant commiſſioners to be appointed for each pariſh or place as aforeſaid, or to the commiſſioners for executing this act, as the caſe ſhall require; and the ſaid aſſiſtant commiſſioners, or any three or more of them, not exceeding the number of ſeven, as aforeſaid, or the ſaid commiſſioners for executing this act, or any two or more of them, ſhall, and they are hereby required to hear and determine any ſuch appeal, provided that at the time of hearing the ſame appeal a declaration in writing ſhall be produced, ſigned by the appellant, and atteſted by two or more credible witneſſes, who ſhall have ſeen ſuch appellant ſign the ſame; which declaration ſhall be in the form following, in the ſchedule hereunto annexed; and all ſuch appeals ſhall be heard and determined in the order in which ſuch declarations ſhall be delivered; and in caſe any claim ſhall be allowed by the aſſiſtant commiſſioners, the ſaid aſſiſtant commiſſioners ſhall make out their certificates to the reſpective commiſſioners for executing this act, ſtating therein the limit of the annual income of every ſuch appellant, as declared by him or her, and the ſaid commiſſioners for executing this act ſhall in ſuch caſe cauſe the aſſeſſment to be amended as the caſe ſhall require; and in all appeals heard before the commiſſioners for executing this act, in caſe any claim ſhall be allowed, they ſhall alſo cauſe the aſſeſſment to be amended in like manner: Provided always, that the ſaid reſpective commiſſioners, or any of them, ſhall not upon any account allow any exemption, or make abatement in the charge made upon any perſon by any ſuch aſſeſſment as aforeſaid, but the ſame ſhall ſtand good, unleſs the appellant ſhall verify the contents of every ſuch declaration upon oath or affirmation, which oath or affirmation any three or more of the ſaid aſſiſtant commiſſioners, or any two or more of the ſaid commiſſioners for executing this act, are hereby reſpectively authorized and required to adminiſter.

Provided always, and be it further enacted, That if any perſon ſhall be prevented by abſence, ſickneſs, or any other unavoidable accident, or by any other ſufficient cauſe, to be allowed by any two or more commiſſioners

for executing this act, from attending in person to make his or her appeal from any assessment in the manner before directed; or if any body corporate or politic, or any infant, shall be charged to the said additional rate or duty, it shall be lawful for the guardian, tutor, or curator, or the steward or agent of such persons respectively, or body corporate or politic, to appeal on the behalf of such incapacitated person, or of such body corporate or politic; such guardian, tutor, curator, steward, or agent having first taken the oath, or, being one of the people called Quakers, made the solemn affirmation set forth in the schedule hereunto annexed, or to the like effect; (which oath or affirmation any two or more of the commissioners for executing this act are hereby authorized to administer.)

And, in order that the estimates of the annual income of persons assessed may be made according to some known rules, and with as much uniformity as the respective cases will admit, *be it further enacted*, That in every case where any person shall claim to be exempted from the additional rate or duty hereby imposed, or to be entitled to any abatement thereof, according to the amount of his or her annual income, the said income shall be estimated, and the declaration hereby required shall be made, according to the rules and directions, and in the form set forth in the schedule hereunto annexed.

Provided always and be it further enacted, That if, at the end of any year during the term herein mentioned, any person shall discover, and shall prove, to the satisfaction of the commissioners for executing this act, or the assistant commissioners acting for the parish or place where such person shall be assessed, that his or her income during such year fell short of the sum mentioned in his or her declaration by a stated sum, it shall be lawful for the said assistant commissioners, or the major part of them, before whom such proof shall be given, to certify the same to the commissioners for executing this act within the same division; and the said commissioners for executing this act shall cause the last assessment of such person, made under the authority of this act, to be amended as the case shall require, and to certify to the receiver general of the same county or place, under their hands and seals, the amount of the sums overpaid on such assessment; and the said receiver general shall, on receipt of such certificate, and on production of a duplicate thereof, signed by any two or more of the said commissioners acting for the said division, pay to the person entitled to the same such sum as it shall apper has been overpaid on such assessment, out of any money in his hands of the duties granted by this act; for which payment the certificate of the said commissioners shall be a sufficient authority, and the same shall be allowed in his accounts: Provided always, that from the estimate of the income of any person to be made according to the directions and rules before-mentioned, may be deducted the amount as well of the land tax as of the other assessed duties now payable, to which such person shall be liable according to the last assessment or assessments thereof.

Provided also, and be it further enacted, That if the income of any person charged to any of the said additional rates or duties by this act imposed, shall be diminished from any specific cause arising after the time allowed for hearing appeals in any year during the term herein mentioned, whereby the person so charged may become entitled to an exemption from or abatement of the said additional rates or duties, it shall be lawful for such person to appeal from the assessment made by virtue of this act, whether such person shall have made any previous appeal or not, giving notice in writing of such appeal to the assistant commissioners, or the commissioners for executing this act, and acting for the parish or place where the assessment shall be made, ten days at least before the said commissioners

respectively

ſpectively ſhall be required to hear ſuch appeal; and the ſaid reſpective commiſſioners ſhall be obliged to hear and determine ſuch appeal before the time appointed for payment of the next inſtalment of the ſaid additional rates and duties which ſhall happen after the expiration of the ſaid ten days; and if ſuch perſon ſhall, upon ſuch appeal, prove to the ſatisfaction of the ſaid reſpective commiſſioners that his or her income is diminiſhed from any ſuch ſpecific cauſe ariſing as aforeſaid, it ſhall be lawful for the ſaid commiſſioners, or the major part of them, before whom ſuch proof ſhall be given, to cauſe the ſame to be amended by the commiſſioners for executing this act, and which amendment ſhall be made in caſes where ſuch appeal ſhall be had before any aſſiſtant commiſſioners, by certificate under the hands of any three or more of them, to the commiſſioners for executing this act; and the ſaid commiſſioners for executing this act ſhall cauſe the aſſeſſment of ſuch perſon, made under the authority of this act, to be amended as the caſe ſhall require; and that in every ſuch caſe where ſuch amendment ſhall take place, a certificate and duplicates thereof ſhall be made out and ſigned by the ſaid commiſſioners, or any two or more of them, in order that the perſon ſo charged may have the relief intended to be given by this act; and all payments to be made ſubſequent to ſuch amendment ſhall be regulated according to ſuch amended aſſeſſment, during the then remainder of the term herein mentioned.

And be it further enacted, That in every caſe where an appeal ſhall be made, in order to obtain a return of the ſaid additional rate or duty on the ground of overpayment, in the manner before directed, or in order to obtain an exemption from or abatement of the ſaid additional rate or duty on the ground of any diminution of income from any ſpecific cauſe ariſing after the time for hearing appeals in any year as aforeſaid, the appellant ſhall be obliged to make a declaration in the form ſet forth in the ſchedule hereunto annexed, and to verify the ſame on oath or ſolemn affirmation, as in other caſes of appeal authorized by this act.

And be it further enacted, That the reſpective additional rates and duties impoſed by this act, ſhall be paid at the times and in the proportions following; that is to ſay, in ſix inſtalments, *videlicet*, within one week from the fifth day of April, the fifth of June, the fifth day of Auguſt, the fifth day of October, the fifth day of December, and the fifth day of February in every year, by even and equal portions; the firſt of the ſaid inſtalments to be paid within one week from the fifth day of April one thouſand ſeven hundred and ninety-eight; and that the ſaid reſpective commiſſioners ſhall iſſue out and deliver their warrants to the reſpective collectors for the preſent year, ſeven days at leaſt before the firſt of the ſaid payments ſhall be due, for the collecting and levying the whole of the rates and duties which will become payable within one week from the fifth day of April one thouſand ſeven hundred and ninety-eight; and the ſaid commiſſioners ſhall, after the ſaid fifth day of April, yearly, during the term herein mentioned, iſſue out and deliver to the reſpective collectors for the time being, their warrants for the ſpeedy collecting and levying the ſaid rates and duties as they ſhall become payable by inſtalments within each year, according to the true intent and meaning of this act.

And be it further enacted, That the pariſh or place for which any perſons ſhall be employed to collect the additional rates and duties hereby granted, ſhall be anſwerable for their punctually paying unto the receiver general, now, or for the time being, ſuch money as they the ſaid collectors ſhall be charged with under this act.

And be it further enacted, That if any ſurveyor or inſpector ſhall have neglected or refuſed, or ſhall neglect or refuſe to ſurcharge any aſſeſſment

relative to the ſaid duties now payable, or any of them, within the time allowed by law, it ſhall be lawful for the ſurveyor or inſpector of the diſtrict where ſuch neglect or refuſal ſhall have happened for the time being, and he is hereby required, to ſurcharge the ſame at any time before the fifth day of April one thouſand ſeven hundred and ninety-nine; which ſurcharge ſhall be certified and proceeded upon in like manner and as effectually as if the ſame had been made within the time allowed by the laws now in force: provided always, that the reſpective commiſſioners for executing this act ſhall have authority, and they are hereby reſpectively required, to appoint, from time to time to time, days for hearing all appeals made from ſuch laſt-mentioned ſurcharges, in ſuch manner, and at ſuch times, as ſhall be convenient; ſo that the collection of the rates and duties by this act impoſed, may not be unneceſſarily retarded: provided alſo, that no appeal from ſuch laſt mentioned ſurcharge or from any ſurcharge now depending, ſhall retard the execution of this act, ſo far as relates to the making an aſſeſſment thereupon by virtue of this act; but that it ſhall be lawful for the reſpective officers before-mentioned, to charge the reſpective rates or duties hereby impoſed on the amount contained in ſuch aſſeſſment, and to cauſe the ſame to be levied in the mean time and until ſuch ſurcharge or ſurcharges ſo appealed from or to be appealed from, ſhall be determined, as if ſuch ſurcharge or ſurcharges had not been made; and after the allowance of ſuch ſurcharge or ſurcharges, for the ſaid reſpective commiſſioners to cauſe ſuch aſſeſſment, and alſo the aſſeſſment made by virtue of this act, to be amended accordingly; and all arrears become due on ſuch amended aſſeſſment, ſhall be levied from the time when the original aſſeſſment commenced.

And be it further enacted, That from and after the fifth day of April one thouſand ſeven hundred and ninety-eight, the ſaid commiſſioners for executing this act ſhall annually during the term herein mentioned, cauſe to be delivered to the reſpective aſſeſſors appointed to aſſeſs the duties now payable within their reſpective diſtricts, at the time of appointing the ſaid aſſeſſors, or as ſoon after as conveniently may be, a true copy of the certificates of aſſeſſments made under the authority of this act, in as far as the ſame relate to the perſons liable to the ſaid rates or duties hereby impoſed within the diſtricts of ſuch aſſeſſors reſpectively, and the ſaid aſſeſſors ſhall cauſe the amount of each ſuch aſſeſſment, except in the caſes hereinafter mentioned, to be added to the aſſeſſments to be made of the ſaid duties now payable for that year upon the ſeveral perſons named in ſuch certificates and aſſeſſments reſpectively: provided always, that in caſe no aſſeſſment of the ſaid duties now payable ſhall be made for that year, within the diſtrict of any aſſeſſor or aſſeſſors, upon any perſon or perſons named in the copies of the certificates delivered to ſuch aſſeſſor or aſſeſſors, then ſuch aſſeſſor or aſſeſſors ſhall return the ſame, together with the cauſe thereof, according to the beſt of his or their knowledge and belief, to the ſaid commiſſioners for executing this act, at their firſt meeting for receiving the aſſeſſments for that year, and the ſaid commiſſioners ſhall cauſe the ſums contained in ſuch certificates to be collected and levied by the reſpective collectors, in like manner as if the ſame were added to the aſſeſſments for that year, unleſs the ſame ſhall be vacated in the manner herein mentioned; and in caſe any perſon or perſons named in ſuch certificates, ſhall be aſſeſſed for any year after the fifth day of April one thouſand ſeven hundred and ninety-eight, on account of the ſaid duties now payable to a greater amount than in the year in which the aſſeſſments made by virtue of this act ſhall have been made, then the ſaid aſſeſſment made by virtue of this act, ſhall be increaſed proportionally at the rate before directed, according to the amount contained in ſuch laſt aſſeſſment; and that in every caſe where ſuch increaſe

creaſe ſhall be made, a certificate and duplicates thereof ſhall be returned by the ſaid aſſeſſors, to the reſpective commiſſioners for executing this act, in the manner before directed; and the payments to be made, in purſuance of this act, ſhall, after the making of any ſuch increaſe, during the then remainder of the term herein mentioned, be regulated according to the laſt increaſed aſſeſſment; provided that ſuch increaſed aſſeſſment ſhall be liable to be appealed againſt in like manner as is hereby directed to be done with reſpect to the firſt aſſeſſment to be made under this act.

And be it further enacted, That if any perſon or perſons ſhall be liable to be aſſeſſed towards the ſaid duties now payable, or any of them, in any year after the fifth day of April one thouſand ſeven hundred and ninety-eight, in any pariſh or diſtrict wherein ſuch perſon or perſons ſhall no have been before charged by virtue of this act, the aſſeſſors ſhall give or leave notice in writing to or for every ſuch perſon liable as aforeſaid, within the limits for which ſuch aſſeſſors are to act at his or her dwelling houſe, to prepare or produce, within fourteen days next enſuing the day of giving ſuch notice, a declaration in writing, ſigned with his or her proper name; which declaration ſhall ſpecify whether ſuch perſon hath or hath not been aſſeſſed in any former year by virtue of this act, in any other pariſh or place, and alſo the name or names of the pariſh or place, pariſhes or places, and county or counties wherein ſuch perſon ſhall have been ſo aſſeſſed by virtue of this act, and alſo the amount of the ſaid aſſeſſment or aſſeſſments, together with the amount of the duties now payable contained in the laſt aſſeſſment or aſſeſſments thereof; and if in any ſuch caſe it ſhall appear that an aſſeſſment hath been made of the additional rate or duty by this act impoſed in any former year, but that the amount of the ſaid duties now payable is li able to increaſe then a proportional increaſe at the rate before directed, ſhall take place in the aſſeſſment to be made by virtue of this act; and it ſhall be lawful for the aſſeſſor or aſſeſſors to whom ſuch declaration ſhall have been delivered, to make an aſſeſſment to the full amount of the ſum required; and where no ſuch aſſeſſment ſhall have been made by virtue of this act in any former year, then it ſhall be lawful for ſuch aſſeſſor or aſſeſſors to make an aſſeſſment, by virtue of this act, on the amount of the duties now payable, contained in the aſſeſſment thereof to be made for that year, according to the reſpective rates hereby impoſed; and every ſuch aſſeſſor ſhall return a certificate of ſuch aſſeſſment, and duplicates thereof, to the ſaid commiſſioners, at the reſpective times, and in the manner before mentioned; and if any perſon ſo liable to be aſſeſſed ſhall neglect or refuſe to make out, ſign, and deliver ſuch liſt within the time before mentioned, then ſuch aſſeſſor or aſſeſſors ſhall make an aſſeſſment by virtue of this act, as in the caſe where no former aſſeſſment ſhall have been made by virtue of this act; and every ſuch aſſeſſment ſo made upon any ſuch neglect or refuſal, ſhall be final and concluſive upon the perſon thereby charged, unleſs the aſſeſſment upon which the ſame ſhall be computed ſhall be abated upon appeal, either on proof of the rate of income of ſuch perſon, entitling him thereto, or of any miſtake which may have ariſen in the computation to be made on the amount thereof, or unleſs it ſhall appear that ſuch perſon is entitled to be exempted from the ſaid additional rate or duty.

Provided always, and be it further enacted, That if any perſon or perſons aſſeſſed by virtue of this act, or liable ſo to be aſſeſſed, in two or more places, ſhall be deſirous of paying the whole of the ſums aſſeſſed in either of ſuch places; or if any perſon or perſons, after an aſſeſſment made by virtue of this act in any place, ſhall remove therefrom, or become reſident in any other place, and ſhall be deſirous of paying the ſums aſſeſſed in ſuch other place, it ſhall be lawful for him, her, or them, to give notice thereof to the

the aſſeſſor or aſſeſſors for ſuch other place, accompanied with a declaration of the place where ſuch other aſſeſſment was made, and the amount thereof, in the manner before directed; and every ſuch aſſeſſor or aſſeſſors ſhall make an aſſeſſment to the amount ſo declared, or to any greater amount, in proportion to the amount of the former duties now payable, for which ſuch perſon or perſons ſhall be aſſeſſed in ſuch other place or places, and ſhall certify the ſame to the commiſſioners acting for the diſtrict where the ſaid declaration ſhall be delivered; and the ſaid commiſſioners, or any two or more of them, or their clerk, or other perſon to be employed by them for that purpoſe, ſhall on requeſt deliver or cauſe to be delivered to the perſon or perſons ſo again aſſeſſed, a certificate, ſigned by ſuch commiſſioners or their clerk, of the amount of ſuch aſſeſſment, which certificate ſhall be made out and delivered gratis, and ſhall be a ſufficient authority for vacating the former aſſeſſment to the amount certified, and for transferring the future collection and account of the ſums contained in ſuch former aſſeſſment to the officers acting for the diſtrict where ſuch latter aſſeſſment ſhall be made; and that in default of obtaining ſuch certificate, the commiſſioners acting for the diſtrict where ſuch former aſſeſſment was made, on proof given on oath of the fact of ſuch latter aſſeſſment being made, or of payment under the ſame, to the ſatisfaction of the commiſſioners preſent, or the major part of them, may vacate ſuch former aſſeſſment.

Provided always and be it further enacted, That the allowance of any exemption from, or abatement to be made of the ſaid additional rate or duty, in the manner before directed, ſhall not have continuance or be in force for any longer term than the expiration of one week after the fifth day of January next enſuing the allowance of ſuch exemption or abatement; but that it ſhall be lawful for any perſon to whom ſuch allowance was granted, at any time during the continuance of the rate and duty hereby impoſed, and ſo from time to time whenever there ſhall be occaſion, to appeal again from the aſſeſſment made by virtue of this act to the aſſiſtant commiſſioners acting for the pariſh or place where the ſame was made, in the manner before directed, and on proof on oath, to the ſatisfaction of the ſaid commiſſioners, of the amount of the then annual income of the appellant, the ſaid aſſiſtant commiſſioners ſhall continue the ſaid exemption, or allow ſuch abatement as the caſe may require; and all the rules and directions preſcribed for making the appeal to the ſaid aſſiſtant commiſſioners, in the firſt inſtance, ſhall be uſed and applied (*mutatis mutandis*) in every other ſubſequent appeal to be made to the ſaid aſſiſtant commiſſioners; and the ſaid aſſiſtant commiſſioners ſhall have the like powers to determine the matter of ſuch ſubſequent appeals, as are hereby given to them for determining appeals in the firſt inſtance.

And, in order that an opportunity may be afforded to perſons, not aſſeſſed to the rates and duties before-mentioned, to contribute towards carrying into effect the purpoſes of this act, and to others deſirous of contributing more largely than they are required to do according to the rate of aſſeſſment provided by this act; *be it enacted*, that it ſhall and may be lawful for any ſuch perſons to pay unto the governor and company of the Bank of England, any ſum or ſums of money towards carrying into effect the purpoſes of this act, to be placed to an account to be raiſed in the books of the ſaid governor and company, in order that the amount thereof may be paid into the receipt of his Majeſty's exchequer, to be placed to the account of the conſolidated fund; which ſum or ſums of money the ſaid governor and company are hereby required to receive, and to cauſe receipts to be given for the ſame, ſigned by the chief Caſhier, or other proper officer, and

and to pay the monies ſo to be received, from time to time, into the receipt of the exchequer, for the purpoſes aforeſaid.

And be it further enacted, That it ſhall and may be lawful for all and every the receivers and collectors of the ſaid additional rates and duties, and they are hereby required, to admit and allow all ſuch receipts for the ſame in payment of the ſums aſſeſſed and to be collected by virtue of this act, or in payment of ſuch proportion thereof as ſhall be equivalent to the ſums expreſſed in ſuch receipts.

And be it further enacted, That all monies ariſing by the ſaid reſpective additional rates and duties (the neceſſary charges of raiſing and accounting for the ſame excepted) ſhall from time to time be paid into the receipt of his Majeſty's exchequer, diſtinctly and apart from all other branches of the public revenues; and that there ſhall be provided and kept in the office of the auditor of the ſaid receipt of exchequer, a book or books in which all the monies ariſing from the ſaid reſpective rates and duties, and paid into the ſaid receipt as aforeſaid, ſhall be entered ſeparate and apart from all other monies paid and payable to his Majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors, upon any account whatever; and the ſaid monies ſo paid into the ſaid receipt ſhall be ſubject and liable to the uſes and purpoſes hereinafter mentioned.

And be it further enacted, That all the monies ariſing from the ſaid reſpective additional rates and duties, or from ſuch other aids and duties as ſhall be granted by any act to be paſſed in this ſeſſion of parliament, and ſpecifically appropriated thereby to the ſame purpoſes with the ſaid additional rates and duties hereby impoſed, not exceeding in the whole the ſum of ſeven million pounds, which ſhall be paid into the ſaid receipt of the exchequer, ſhall from time to time, as the ſame ſhall be paid into the ſaid receipt, be iſſued and applied to ſuch ſervices as ſhall then have been voted by the Commons of Great Britain, in this preſent ſeſſion of parliament, for the ſervice of the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and ninety-eight; and the commiſſioners of his Majeſty's treaſury now or for the time being, or any three or more of them, or the high treaſurer for the time being, are or is hereby authorized and empowered to iſſue and apply the ſame accordingly.

And be it further enacted, That after iſſuing or reſerving at the ſaid receipt of exchequer, out of the monies to ariſe as aforeſaid, by virtue of this act, or any other act or acts to be paſſed in this preſent ſeſſion of parliament, ſuch ſum, not exceeding ſeven million pounds, as ſhall be voted for the ſervice of the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and ninety-eight as aforeſaid, ſo much of the ſurplus of the ſaid monies as ſhall be neceſſary, ſhall be and are hereby directed to be applied, in the firſt place, to the payment and diſcharge of all annuities, intereſt, and dividends, which ſhall become payable in conſequence of any ſum of money to be raiſed by loan by virtue of any act or acts to be paſſed in the preſent ſeſſion of parliament (exceeding the amount of the ſums veſted in the commiſſioners for the reduction of the national debt, by virtue of any acts of parliament now in force, during the year ending on the firſt day of February one thouſand ſeven hundred and ninety-nine, and the ſame ſhall, at the end of each quarter of a year, or at ſuch other periods as the ſaid annuities, intereſt, and dividends ſhall become payable, be carried to and made part of the conſolidated fund, during the continuance of the term herein mentioned; and that after applying ſuch part of the ſaid monies as ſhall be ſufficient for the purpoſes aforeſaid, the commiſſioners of his Majeſty's treaſury for the time being, or any three or more of them, or the high treaſurer for the time being, are or is hereby authorized and required to iſſue the ſurplus of the ſaid monies ariſing as aforeſaid, during the ſaid term, to the governor and company of the bank of England, and the ſaid money ſo iſſued ſhall be by them placed to the commiſ-

ſioners

ſioners appointed by an act of the Twenty ſixth year of his preſent Majeſty's reign, for applying certain ſums of money annually to the reduction of the national debt, who ſhall apply the ſame in the manner hereinafter directed.

And be it further enacted, That all the monies which by virtue of this act ſhall be placed to the account of the ſaid commiſſioners, to be applied towards the reduction of the national debt, ſhall be applied by the ſaid commiſſioners in payment for the purchaſe of any public annuities, in the following manner; (that is to ſay) That all monies ſo to be applied, which ſhall be placed to the account of the ſaid commiſſioners, between the end of any quarter of a year ending on the fifth day of January, the fifth day of April, the fifth day of July, the tenth day of October, in any year during the term herein mentioned, and the firſt day of the calendar month which ſhall commence next after the end of ſuch quarter, ſhall be applied to the purchaſe of public annuities, in equal portions as nearly as may be on every day (Saturdays and Mondays excepted) on which the ſame ſhall be transferrable, between the ſaid firſt day of the calendar month which ſhall commence next after the end of ſuch quarter next enſuing; and that all the rules and directions preſcribed by the ſaid act of the twenty-ſixth year of his preſent Majeſty aforeſaid, for the purchaſe of any public annuities below par, or at or above par, ſhall be applied and put in practice with relation to the monies appropriated by virtue of this act, as effectually as if the ſaid rules and directions had been ſpecially enacted in this act; and all ſuch part of the principal or capital ſtock of ſuch public annuities as ſhall be purchaſed by the ſaid commiſſioners by virtue of this act, ſhall be transferred to the account of the ſaid commiſſioners, in the books of the governor and company of the bank of England; and that the dividends payable thereon ſhall from time to time, during the term herein mentioned, be received by the governor and company of the bank of England, and placed to the account of the ſaid commiſſioners.

And be it further enacted, That all dividends which ſhall from time to time become due and payable in reſpect of the principal or capital ſtock of ſuch annuities as ſhall be redeemed by virtue of this act, ſhall be iſſued or ſet apart out of the conſolidated fund, during the term herein mentioned, in the ſame manner as if ſuch principal or capital ſtock had not been redeemed, and ſhall be paid to the ſaid governor and company of the bank of England, to be placed to the account of the ſaid commiſſioners; and the ſame ſhall from time to time be applied by them under the like rules and regulations, and in the manner preſcribed by the ſaid act of the twenty ſixth year of the reign of his preſent Majeſty, with reſpect to the ſums redeemed by virtue of the ſaid act; and that all and every the rules, methods, regulations, and proviſions, which in and by the ſaid act of the twenty-ſixth year aforeſaid are provided and eſtabliſhed for applying, managing, or accounting for the ſums veſted in the ſaid commiſſioners for the purpoſes of the ſaid act, ſhall be practiſed, uſed, and put in execution in and for the applying, managing, and accounting for all ſums of money directed to be placed to the account of the ſaid commiſſioners by virtue of this act, as fully and effectually as if the ſame had been repeated and re-enacted in the preſent act; and that after the determination of this act, ſuch dividends as ſhall be payable in reſpect of the public annuities redeemed by virtue of this act, ſhall remain in the conſolidated fund, and ſhall be applied to the uſes and purpoſes which the monies compoſing the conſolidated fund may be applicable to.

And be it further enacted, That upon the purchaſe by the ſaid commiſſioners appointed for the reduction of the national debt, out of the monies to ariſe by virtue of this act, or upon a ſufficiency of ſuch monies being placed to the account of the ſaid commiſſioners in the books of the governor and

mpany of the bank of England, for the purchaſe of public annuities, amount of the annuities which may be created by any act of the preſion of parliament, except as aforeſaid, and upon publication there- the manner hereinafter directed, the ſaid rates and duties hereby im- ſhall from thenceforth ceaſe and determine, and be no longer paid or e; and all the rules and regulations of this act, reſpecting the ſaid ve additional rates and duties hereby impoſed, ſhall alſo from thence- ceaſe and determine; ſave and except as to the recovery of any arrears ſaid reſpective additional rates and duties which may at that time have d, or to any fine, penalty, or forfeiture which may have been thereſ ed: ſave alſo and except as to the proviſions of this act, relating to idends which ſhall be payable in reſpect of the public annuities re- by virtue of this act.

be it further enacted, That as ſoon as any public annuities, to the t of the annuities to be created by any act of the preſent ſeſſion of ment, or any loan, except as aforeſaid, ſhall be purchaſed by the com- ners for the reduction of the national debt out of the monies ariſing is act, or money ſufficient for thoſe purpoſes ſhall have been iſſued to id governor and company of the bank of England, according to the tions of this act, the auditor of the receipt of his majeſty's Exchequer and he is hereby directed and required to tranſmit a certificate there- the commiſſioners of the treaſury, or the high treaſurer for the time , who ſhall thereupon iſſue their or his orders to the ſaid commiſſioners he affairs of taxes, to direct the commiſſioners for putting this act in ation, and the ſeveral ſurveyors, inſpectors, aſſeſſors, and collectors g under them reſpectively, to ceaſe from charging any further rate or for or on account of the ſaid additional rates and duties by this act im- d, from a certain day in ſuch orders to be ſpecified, not exceeding two ext months from the date of ſuch certificate of the ſaid auditor; and ſaid commiſſioners for the affairs of taxes are hereby required to cauſe lic notice of ſuch order to be given to them as aforeſaid, to be affixed eir office, and at the Royal Exchange, and alſo to publiſh the ſame in London Gazette, before the day fixed for the determination of the ſaid ective additional rates and duties; and ſuch notice ſhall be deemed to ſufficient publication of the determination of the ſaid additional rates duties, according to the true intent and meaning of this act; and the miſſioners for putting this act in execution, and all ſurveyors, inſpec- , aſſeſſors, and collectors, and other officers acting under them, are eby required to act in obedience thereto.

And be it further enacted, That if, after applying the monies to be ſed by virtue of this act to the ſeveral purpoſes aforeſaid, any ſum of ney ſo ariſing ſhould be in the ſaid receipt of the Exchequer, the ſame ll remain for the diſpoſition of Parliament, and ſhall be not applied otherſe than as Parliament ſhall direct.

And be it further enacted, That one moiety of all pecuniary penalties and feitures hereby impoſed, ſhall, if ſued for within the ſpace of ſix calendar nths from the time of ſuch penalties or forfeitures being incurred, be his Majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors, and the other moiety thereof, with ll coſts of ſuit, to the perſon or perſons who ſhall inform or ſue for the me within the time aforeſaid, and which ſhall and may be ſued for in his ajeſty Court of Exchequer at Weſtminſter, for offences committed in ngland, or in his Majeſty's Court of Exchequer in Scotland for offences mmitted in Scotland, by action of debt, bill, plaint, or information, herein no eſſoign privilege, wager of law, nor more than one imparlance all be allowed; but nevertheleſs it ſhall be lawful for his Majeſty's at-

torney general in England, or his Majesty's advocate in Scotland, in case it shall appear to his satisfaction that any such penalty or forfeiture was incurred without any intention of fraud, to stay all further proceedings, by entering a *noli prosequi*, or otherwise, with respect as well to the share of such penalty or forfeiture claimed by such informer or informers, as to the share thereof belonging to his Majesty.

And be it further enacted, That if any action or suit shall be brought against any person or persons for any thing done in pursuance of this act, such action or suit shall be commenced within six months next after the fact committed, and not afterwards, and shall be laid in the county or place where the cause of complaint did arise, and not elsewhere; and the defendant or defendants in every such action or suit may plead the general issue, and give this act, and the special matter in evidence at any trial to be had thereupon; and if the jury shall find for the defendant or defendants in any such action or suit, or if the plaintiff or plaintiffs shall be nonsuited, or discontinue his or their action or suit after the defendant or defendants shall have appeared, or if upon demurrer judgement shall be given against the plaintiff or plaintiffs, the defendant or defendants shall have treble costs and have the like remedy for the same as any defendant hath in any other case to recover costs by law.

Provided also, and be it further enacted, That this act may be altered, varied, or repealed by any act or acts to be made in this present session of Parliament.

ADDITIONAL CLAUSES

ADDED TO THE BILL WHEN AMENDED, ON THE REPORT FOR GRANTING TO HIS MAJESTY CERTAIN ADDITIONAL DUTIES, ON THE AMOUNT OF CERTAIN DUTIES NOW CHARGED BY ASSESSMENT FOR A TIME TO BE LIMITED.

And be it further enacted, That every person having two or more dwelling houses, one or more whereof hath or have been usually let as a ready furnished lodging house or lodging houses, or keeping two or more dwelling houses with the purpose of so usually letting out one or more thereof, shall, in respect of each dwelling house so let or kept with the purpose of being so let, be liable to the said additional rate or duty, at the like rate and under the like rules and regulations as are herein prescribed with respect to persons assessed for houses let in part to lodgers as aforesaid, and shall be entitled to be exempted from the said additional rate or duty in the like cases as persons so letting houses in part to lodgers: Provided always, that every assessment to be made by virtue of this act on any person having two or more such dwelling-houses so let or kept with the purpose of being so let, shall be ascertained at the rate before-mentioned on the amount of the duties now payable in respect of each dwelling-house separately, and not on the aggregate amount of the said duties, payable in respect of all the houses, or of any other of the said duties for which such person shall or may be assessed.

Provided always, and be it further enacted, That every person occupying an house or rooms used for the purpose of public resort and entertainment, shall be entitled to the like exemption as Inn-keepers; and the additional rate and duty imposed on them respectively by this act, shall be ascertained in like manner, and under the like rules and regulations as are herein before prescribed with respect to persons assessed for houses assessed let to lodgers, or having shops attached thereto.

Pro

Provided always, and be it further enacted, That no perſon having ſerved, or who ſhall, during the continuance of this act, ſerve the office of Sheriff of any county, or any annual office in any corporation or royal burgh, and who ſhall be aſſeſſed to the duties payable on ſervants, carriages, or horſes kept by him during ſuch year of ſervice, ſhall be liable to be charged, by virtue of this act, for any number of ſervants, carriages and horſes, greater than the number ſuch perſon was aſſeſſed to by the laſt aſſeſſment made prior to the year of ſuch ſervice, provided he ſhall ceaſe to keep any ſuch additional carriage, horſe, or ſervant, carriages, horſes, or ſervants, after the expiration of ſuch year of ſervice.

Provided alſo, and be it further enacted, That no academician or aſſociate of the royal Academy of Arts in Great Britain, keeping one male ſervant only, ſhall be liable to be aſſeſſed to the ſaid additional rate or duty in a ſum greater than once the amount of the duties now payable on ſuch male ſervant, by the laſt aſſeſſment thereof; and that every ſuch academician or aſſociate ſhall be aſſeſſed to the ſaid additional rate or duty on houſes, windows, or lights, and on inhabited houſes, at the like rate, and under the like rules as are hereinbefore preſcribed for dwelling houſes occupied in part as ſhops.

Provided alſo, and be it further enacted, That no perſon who is or ſhall be duly licenced to keep, and who ſhall keep a houſe for the reception of lunatics, ſhall be chargeable with any greater rate of duty than if ſuch houſe had been let out to lodgers.

Provided alſo, and be it further enacted, That nothing herein contained ſhall be conſtrued to extend to charge the ſaid additional rate or duty on the amount of the duties payable on carriages, in reſpect of any carriages, by whatever name or names the ſame ſhall be called, and kept by any perſon duly licenſed for that purpoſe, to be employed as public ſtage coaches or carriages, for the purpoſe of conveying paſſengers for hire to and from different places in Great Britain.

Provided alſo, and be it further enacted, That nothing herein contained ſhall be conſtrued to extend to charge any additional rate or duty on the amount of any aſſeſſment or aſſeſſments made or to be made by virtue of an act paſſed in the thirty-ſeventh year of the reign of his preſent Majeſty, intituled, "An act for enabling his Majeſty to raiſe a proviſional force of Cavalry, to be embodied in caſe of neceſſity, for the defence of theſe kingdoms," or by virtue of another act, paſſed in the ſame Seſſion of Parliament, intituled, "An act to explain and amend an act, made in this preſent ſeſſion of Parliament, intituled, and act for enabling his Majeſty to raiſe a proviſional force of Cavalry, to be embodied in caſe of neceſſity, for the defence of theſe kingdoms."

Provided alſo, and be it further enacted, That any perſon keeping hounds and paying a compoſition for the ſame in lieu of the duty impoſed by an act, paſſed in the thirty ſixth year of the reign of his preſent Majeſty, intituled, "An act for granting to his Majeſty certain duties on dogs," ſhall not be aſſeſſed to the additional rate or duty by this act impoſed, in reſpect of ſuch hounds, in any greater ſum than in the proportion of the rates hereby impoſed, eſtimated on the amount of the ſum paid for ſuch compoſition.

And be it further enacted, For the mutual accommodation of landlords and tenents, that if any landlord, at the deſire of his tenant, ſhall advance monies for the purpoſe of diſcharging the duties impoſed upon ſuch tenant by this act, ſuch landlord ſhall be entitled to recover ſuch monies, with lawful intereſt, at the times and by the inſtalments agreed upon between them, by all and every the remedies and remedy to which he is entitled for

the recovery of his rent; and if any tenant shall, at the desire of his landlord, for the like purpose, advance to his landlord any monies, it shall be lawful for such tenant to deduct the same, with lawful interest, out of his rent, at such times and by such instalments as shall be agreed upon between them, in the same manner as he is by law entituled to deduct payments by him made in respect of the land tax.

Provided also, and be it further enacted, That if any person so charged as aforesaid to any of the duties now payable on carriages, shall, from the fifth day of April one thousand seven hundred and ninety seven, to the time of hearing the appeal against the assessment to be made by virtue of this act, have *bonâ fide* ceased to use any carriage or carriages kept by him or her, and shall have wholly discontinued the use of the same during the whole interval between the said fifth day of April one thousand seven hundred and ninety seven, and the time of hearing the appeal against the assessment to be made under this act, then such person shall, on proof thereof to the satisfaction of the commissioners before whom the appeal for that cause shall be depending, be exempted from any charge to be made by virtue of this act, on the amount of the duties now payable on such carriage or carriages so discontinued.

Provided also, and be it further enacted, That if any person who shall, previous to the first day of appeal under this act for the district where such person resides, have inrolled himself in any regiment, corps, or troops of yeomanry, cavalry, raised by virtue of an act passed in the thirty fourth year of the reign of his present Majesty, intituled, "An act for encouraging and disciplining such corps or companies of men as shall voluntarily enroll themselves for the defence of their counties, towns, or coasts, or for the general defence of the kingdom, during the present war," shall not have obtained his exemption for one horse, mare, or gelding, in pursuance of an act passed in the thirty sixth year of the reign of his said Majesty, intituled, "An act for granting to his Majesty several additional duties on horses kept for the purpose of riding or drawing certain carriages therein mentioned," in the last assessment made for the year ending the fifth day of April one thousand seven hundred and ninety eight, then and in such case on proof to the satisfaction of the commissioners for executing this act, of his being entitled to such exemption, and on production of a certificate to be made out at any time previous to his making such appeal of his service in such regiment, corps, or troop, in the manner directed by the said last-mentioned act, the person so enrolled and serving shall be assessed to the said additional rate or duty, in like manner and at the like rate as if such exemption had been allowed.

And be it further enacted, That where any person charged to the said last-mentioned duties on houses, windows, or lights, or on inhabited houses, by the last assessment as aforesaid, shall have removed from the dwelling house in respect whereof such person shall be assessed, such person shall not be charged to the said additional rate or duty on the amount of the said duties payable in respect of such dwelling house, but the present occupier (if any) of such dwelling house shall be chargeable therewith, although such occupier shall not have been charged to the said duties now payable by such last assessment.

And be it further enacted, That if any person shall remove from any dwelling-house into any newly erected messuage, which shall not before have been inhabited, such person shall not be liable, during the continuance of the rates and duties imposed by this act, to be assessed to the said additional rate or duty, at more than the amount of the said rate or duty, which by virtue

virtue of this act, was, or ought to be charged in respect of the dwelling house from which such person so removed.

Provided always, and be it further enacted, That all such appeals against any assessments as aforesaid shall be entered with the clerk to the respective Commissioners for executing this act, within ten days after notice of such assessment shall be given to, or left with the party intended to be charged thereby, in the manner before directed, and the same shall be heard and determined within ten days after such appeal shall be so entered, for which purpose a day or days of appeal shall be appointed, within the time before mentioned by the said respective Commissioners, unless the day of appeal from assessments of the duties now payable on houses, windows, or lights, or on inhabited houses, shall intervene; on which days respectively the said Commissioners are hereby required to hear and determine all such appeals.

Provided always, and be it further enacted, That all such last-mentioned appeals against any such assessment as aforesaid, shall be entered with the respective commissioners, or the clerk to the respective commissioners for executing this act, within ten days after such assessment shall be signed and allowed; and the same shall be heard and determined ten days at least before the day appointed for paying the first instalment thereon, for which purpose the said respective commissioners shall, within the time beforementioned, appoint a day or days of appeal, unless the day of appeal from assessments of the duties now payable on houses, windows, or lights, or on inhabited houses, shall intervene, on which days respectively the said respective commissioners are hereby required to hear and determine all such appeals.

Provided also, and be it further enacted, That if any such person shall be prevented by infancy, sickness, or other incapacity, or by absence out of the kingdom, from making any such declaration, or from verifying the same as aforesaid, or if any body corporate or politic shall be charged to any of the said additional rates or duties, it shall be lawful for the guardian, tutor, curator, or Committee, or the steward or agent of such persons respectively, or body corporate or politic, to appeal on the behalf of such incapacitated person, or of such body corporate or politic, and to make such declaration as is required in such case by this act, such guardian, tutor, curator, committee, steward or agent, having first made the affidavit set forth in the schedule hereunto annexed before two justices of the peace, or two commissioners for executing this act (in which case the justices or commissioners shall certify the same at the foot of such declaration as aforesaid) or before the commissioners before whom the said appeal shall be depending, and which affidavit the said justices or commissioners respectively as aforesaid are hereby empowered to take, and they respectively shall cause the same to be signed by the party making the affidavit, and annexed to the declaration respecting which such affidavit shall be made; and every such appeal shall be as effectual as if such appellant had appeared in person.

Provided also, and be it further enacted, That if any person shall be prevented by sickness or other unavoidable accident, or by any other sufficient cause, to be allowed as aforesaid, from appealing within the time limited by this act, it shall be lawful for the commissioners for executing this act, or the assistant commissioners of the proper division, parish, or place, and on proof to the satisfaction of the said commissioners respectively of the cause of such omission, to receive the appeal of any person so circumstanced, within a reasonable time to be allowed by the said respective commissioners, after such person shall have had notice of the assessment or assessments made by virtue of this act, and the disability arising from any such cause as aforesaid shall have been removed, and the respective commissioners may proceed in

in such appeal by and under the like rules and directions as are hereby prescribed in other cases of appeal; and that any abatement of the said additional rate or duty assessed on such appellant, which may be made on such appeal, shall commence from and after the time appointed for payment of the instalment of the additional rate or duty next before the time of making such appeal.

And be it further enacted, That such persons as shall be nominated to be collectors of the said duties now payable, shall, if required so to do, give good and sufficient security to the churchwardens, or overseers or guardians of the poor of any description, or any two or more of them, or the select vestry, or any seven or more of them, where a select vestry shall be authorized to act for any parish or parishes, equal to the amount of one instalment of the whole rate to be collected in each district, for their duly paying to the receiver general such monies as shall come to their hands, at such times as are directed by this act; which security the said churchwardens, overseers, guardians, or vestry respectively are hereby authorized and empowered to take, and on failure of the persons so named to be collectors as before directed giving such security, if required, the commissioners for executing this act, or any two or more of them, shall be at liberty, and are hereby authorized to appoint any other two or more sufficient persons, who can give such security as aforesaid, residing within the limits and bounds of the parishes, townships, constablewicks, and places, where they shall be chargeable, to be named by such churchwardens, overseers, guardians, or vestry as aforesaid, to be collectors of the said former rates and duties: Provided always, That if no persons can be found within the several parishes, townships, constablewicks, or places respectively, who are willing or able to give security, then and in such case the persons who were first named by the said commissioners shall be collectors of the said former rates and duties: Provided also, that no security or receipt to be given in pursuance of this act shall be charged or chargeable with any stamp duty whatsoever.

And be it further enacted, That the several collectors of the said additional rates or duties hereby granted shall, within seven days after the respective times hereby appointed for payment of the several instalments of the said additional rates or duties, pay into the hands of the receivers general, or their respective deputies, all the monies then received on account of those respective instalments, and shall also from time to time, within seven days after the receipt of of any arrears of the said respective instalments, not paid within the respective times hereby appointed, pay the same in like manner to the said receivers general, or their respective deputies; and that the said several collectors, paying the whole sums by them collected within the times hereby appointed, shall have and receive, for their pains in collecting and paying the money, such sums as the commissioners for the affairs of taxes, with the approbation of the commissioners of the treasury (due regard being had to the size of the district of collection, and the circumstances attending the same, together with the amount of the sums collected) shall think fit, not in any case exceeding three pence in the pound, which the said collectors are hereby empowered to detain out of the last payment of their several and respective payments, in respect of each instalment.

And be it further enacted, That any receiver-general, upon the receipt of the whole monies assessed within the county, riding, shire, stewartry, or place, for which he is appointed receiver (in case he shall have received the several duplicates of each parish and place therein, and that duplicates shall be returned to the office of his Majesty's remembrancer of the Exchequer, and not otherwise) shall allow and pay, according to such warrant as shall be given in that behalf by the commissioners for executing this act, or any

be

or more of them, three halfpence in the pound, and no more, to the clerks of the commissioners for executing this act, for their pains in ascertaining the said additional rates and duties, and for fair writing the assessments, duplicates, and copies in before directed, and all warrants, orders, and instruments relating thereto.

And be it further enacted, That no receiver-general, his deputy or deputies, shall be entitled to any allowance by way of salary, his pains in receiving, accounting for, or paying the monies collected by virtue of this act; but that the commissioners of his Majesty's treasury, or the high treasurer for the time being, are or is hereby authorized to allow to such receivers-general, out of the monies collected by virtue of this act, such sums as they shall appear to have expended or disbursed in the execution of this act, and for their reasonable charges in collecting the same.

And be it further enacted, That within the bills of mortality, the parishes of St. Marylebone and St. Pancras, in the county of Middlesex, the appointment of collectors of the said additional rates and duties shall belong wholly to such of the commissioners for executing this act, who shall reside in the parishes for which such collectors respectively are to be appointed, in case there shall be two or more commissioners there resident, and no other commissioners shall in such case interfere; and it shall be lawful for the said commissioners for executing this act, and residing within the respective parishes as aforesaid, to appoint such persons to be collectors, who shall have given security, to the satisfaction of the churchwardens and overseers or guardians of the poor, or any two or more of them, or any seven or more of the vestry, where a select vestry shall be appointed as aforesaid, and who shall be thought by the said commissioners to be of ability to execute the office of collector; and that in default of appointing such persons who shall have given such security, then the said commissioners residing as aforesaid shall name such persons as they shall think of ability to execute the said office: Provided always, that where two or more commissioners shall not be resident in any parish, for which collectors are to be appointed, then a commissioner or commissioners residing in any adjacent parish may concur in the appointment of such collectors.

And be it further enacted, That the governors and directors of the bank of England shall open an account in their books with the commissioners of his Majesty's treasury for the time being, under the title of the commissioners of the treasury on account of the supplies granted by parliament for the year one thousand seven hundred and ninety-eight, and shall carry to the credit of such account all the monies authorized by this act to be paid to the governor and company of the said bank of England, or to their cashier or cashiers, or other person or persons to be authorized by them as hereinafter is mentioned, and the said cashier or cashiers, or other person or persons to be authorized as aforesaid, shall give a receipt or receipts in writing for the amount of the monies so to be paid to the person or persons paying the same, or to his, her, or their agent or agents, and if required so to do shall also give a duplicate of any such receipt, or a second receipt of the same tenor and date, to the person or persons paying in the same, his, her, or their agent or agents, which duplicates or second receipts of the same tenor or date shall be accepted and taken by the several collectors and receivers of the said additional rates and duties by this act granted as cash, and in payment and discharge of the several sums to be assessed and collected by virtue of this act, in the manner hereinafter directed.

And be it further enacted, That it shall be lawful for any person or persons, body politic or corporate, to pay or cause to be paid to the said governor and company, or to their cashier or cashiers, or other person or

persons

perſons to be authoriſed as aforeſaid, any ſum or ſums of money, or require a receipt or receipts for the ſame, without requiring duplicate or duplicates thereof, or any ſecond receipt or receipts of the ſame tenor and date, which ſums ſo to be paid as aforeſaid, and for which original receipts only ſhall be required, ſhall be deemed and taken to be the voluntary contributions of ſuch perſons, bodies politic or corporate reſpectively, towards effecting the purpoſes of this act.

And be it further enacted, That it ſhall be lawful for any perſon or perſons to pay, or cauſe to be paid, to the ſaid governor and company, or to their caſhier or caſhiers, or other perſon or perſons to be authorized as aforeſaid, any ſum or ſums of money, and to require a receipt or receipts, and duplicates thereof reſpectively, or receipts of the ſame tenor and date, for ſuch payments (which ſums may be ſo paid without producing to the ſaid governor and company, or their caſhier or caſhiers, or other perſon or perſons to be authorized as aforeſaid, any aſſeſſment or certificate of the amount of the ſaid additional rates and duties to be made by virtue of this act, upon ſuch perſon or perſons) and all ſums to be paid, for which receipts and duplicates, or receipts of the ſame tenor and date ſhall be required, ſhall, in caſe the ſum paid at any one time ſhall not be leſs than the amount of three inſtalments of the ſaid additional rates or duties ſo to be aſſeſſed or charged on the perſon or perſons ſo paying in, or cauſing to be paid the ſame, be deemed and taken to be on account of ſuch inſtalments of the ſaid additional rates and duties, and in advance of the ſame; and the exceſs of the ſums ſo paid above the amount of the ſaid additional rates or duties ſo to be aſſeſſed or charged on ſuch perſon or perſons, and alſo all ſums which ſhall be paid into the ſaid bank of England at any one time, leſs than the amount of three ſuch inſtalments, ſhall be deemed and taken to be the voluntary contribution of ſuch perſon or perſons towards effecting the purpoſes of this act; and the duplicates of the receipt or receipts to be given upon ſuch of the ſaid payments, which ſhall not be leſs than the amount of three inſtalments as aforeſaid, or the ſecond receipts of the ſame tenor and date, ſhall, upon delivery thereof to the collectors of the ſaid additional rates and duties, aſſeſſed and charged upon ſuch perſon or perſons as aforeſaid, be an acquittance and diſcharge for ſuch and ſo many inſtalments of the ſaid additional rates and duties ſo aſſeſſed and charged as aforeſaid, as ſhall not exceed the amount of the ſums expreſſed in ſuch duplicates or ſecond receipts as aforeſaid.

And be it further enacted, That upon the payment of any ſuch ſum of money as aforeſaid into the ſaid bank of England, the caſhier or caſhiers, or other perſon or perſons receiving the ſame, ſhall give one receipt, ſigned by them reſpectively, for the whole of the ſums ſo paid, or ſeparate receipts for ſuch portions thereof as ſhall be required, and ſhall alſo, if required, give a duplicate of each or any receipt or ſecond receipts of the ſame tenor and date reſpectively, which receipts and duplicates thereof, or ſecond receipts of the ſame tenor and date, ſhall ſeverally be cut off indentwiſe from the counter cheques thereof, which counter cheques are to remain with the ſaid governor and company; and every receipt, in caſes where a duplicate thereof, or ſecond receipt of the ſame tenor and date, ſhall be given, ſhall be denominated in the body thereof to be the firſt receipt of the ſame tenor and date, and the duplicate of ſuch receipt or ſecond receipt ſhall be denominated in the body thereof to be the duplicate or ſecond receipt of the ſame tenor or date.

And be it further enacted, That upon the delivery of the duplicate of any ſuch receipt as aforeſaid, or any ſecond receipt of the ſame tenor and date, to any Collector of the ſaid additional rates or duties, in diſcharge of the whole

or any part thereof, not leſs than the amount of three inſtalments as aforeſaid, the ſaid collector ſhall, if required, indorſe in writing on the back of the original receipt, of which the duplicate or ſecond receipt as aforeſaid ſhall be delivered, the amount and the number of inſtalments of the additional rates or duties thereby to be diſcharged, and the commiſſioners for executing this act in the diſtrict where ſuch duplicate or ſecond receipt ſhall have been delivered, or any two or more of them, may and they are hereby required, on any application for that purpoſe, at any of their meetings, and on production or the original receipt indorſed as aforeſaid, or other proof given to the ſatisfaction of the ſaid commiſſioners of the payment in advance of a ſum not leſs than the amount of three ſuch inſtalments, on account of the ſaid rates or duties, grant a certificate thereof under their hands to the perſon or perſons making ſuch payments, which certificates of the ſaid commiſſioners ſhall be received as evidence of ſuch payments in all courts and places, and before all perſons whatever.

And be it further enacted, That every perſon delivering to the collector or collectors of the ſaid additional rates or duties hereby granted, any receipt or duplicate as aforeſaid, given for monies paid into the ſaid bank of England, in advance as aforeſaid, in diſcharge of not leſs than three inſtalments of the ſaid additional rates and duties charged upon ſuch perſon, ſhall be entitled unto an allowance on the ſums expreſſed in ſuch receipt or duplicate, or ſuch part thereof, not exceeding the amount of ſix inſtalments, charged as aforeſaid, of ſo much money as the intereſt of the ſums ſo paid in advance, not being leſs than three nor exceeding ſix inſtalments as aforeſaid, ſhall amount unto after the rate of four pounds per centum per annum, from the day of payment of the firſt of the ſaid inſtalments ſo to be diſcharged, until the day of payment of the laſt of the ſaid inſtalments, which allowance is to be aſcertained by the certificate of the receiver-general of the county, riding, ſhire, ſtewartry, or place, where ſuch additional rates or duties ſhall be payable; which certificate ſuch receiver-general ſhall grant on demand, before the period of ſuch laſt inſtalment; and the allowance ſo certified ſhall be paid at the bank of England, or by the collector or collectors of the ſaid additional rates or duties, out of any payments that may be afterwards made by or on the behalf of the perſon to whom ſuch certificate ſhall be granted, or in caſe no future payment ſhall become due; then by the receiver-general of the ſame county, riding, ſhire, ſtewartry, or place, out of the monies in his hands, of the ſaid additional rates or duties.

And be it further enacted, That if any perſon or perſons ſhall forge or counterfeit, or cauſe or procure to be forged or counterfeited, or ſhall willingly act or aſſiſt in the forging or counterfeiting any receipt or receipts for the whole or any part or parts of the ſums received at the bank of England, in purſuance of this act, or any duplicate of any ſuch receipt, or ſhall alter any number, figure, or word, in any ſuch receipt or duplicate, or utter or publiſh as true, any ſuch falſe, forged, counterfeited, or altered receipt or receipts, or duplicate or duplicates, with intent to defraud the King's Majeſty, his heirs or ſucceſſors, or the governor and company of the bank of England, or any body politic or corporate, or any perſon or perſons whatſoever, every ſuch perſon or perſons ſo forging or counterfeiting, or cauſing or procuring to be forged or counterfeited, or willingly acting or aſſiſting in the forging or counterfeiting, or altering, uttering or publiſhing as aforeſaid, being thereof convicted in due form of law, ſhall be adjudged guilty of felony, and ſhall ſuffer death as a felon, without benefit of clergy.

And whereas many counties, cities, towns, and other places, are burthened with rates for the purpoſe of diſcharging the debts incurred by the

building or repairing of churches, gaols, houſes of correction, poor houſes, and other works of a public nature, which debts are required by divers acts of Parliament to be wholly diſcharged within certain limited times: *And whereas* it would tend to facilitate the collection of the tax impoſed by this act, and would be a reaſonable relief to the perſons liable to the ſaid rates, if ſuch times were permitted to be prolonged without prejudice to any creditors; *Be it therefore enacted*, That in all the ſeveral caſes aforeſaid, it ſhall be lawful for the the magiſtrates or other perſons inveſted with the authority of borrowing money, and impoſing rates for the purpoſes aforeſaid, to prolong the time for completing the diſcharge of the monies borrowed or otherwiſe due, for any term not exceeding three years beyond the now ſubſiſting term: Provided always, that ſuch order be made with the conſent in writing of the reſpective creditors, or ſo many of them as ſhall be affected thereby.

AMENDED CLAUSES.

AND be it further enacted, That every inkeeper, and other perſon licenſed to ſell wine, ale, or other liquors by retail, and every perſon keeping any ſchool, academy, or ſeminary for learning, and uſually having their ſcholars to board and lodge (to a number not leſs than ten) in their reſpective dwelling houſes, ſhall be entitled to be exempted in the like caſes; and the additional rate or duty to be impoſed on them reſpectively by this act ſhall be aſcertained in like manner, and under the like rules and regulations, as are herein-before preſcribed with reſpect to perſons aſſeſſed for houſes actually let to lodgers, or having ſhops.

And be it further enacted, That every perſon having one or more dwelling houſes, uſually let as a ready-furniſhed lodging houſe or lodging houſes, or keeping one or more dwelling houſes with the purpoſe of ſo uſually letting out the ſame, ſhall, in reſpect of each dwelling houſe ſo let or kept with the purpoſe of being ſo let, be liable to the ſaid additional rate or duty, at the like rate and under the like rules and regulations as are herein preſcribed with reſpect to perſons aſſeſſed for houſes let in part to lodgers as aforeſaid, and ſhall be entitled to be exempted from the ſaid additional rate or duty in like caſes as perſons ſo letting houſes in part to lodgers; Provided always, that every aſſeſſment to be made by virtue of this act on any perſon having two or more ſuch dwelling houſes ſo let or kept with the purpoſe of being ſo let, ſhall be aſcertained at the rate before-mentioned on the amount of the duties now payable in reſpect to each ſuch dwelling-houſe ſeparately, and not on the aggregate amount of the ſaid duties payable in reſpect of all the houſes, or of any other of the ſaid duties for which ſuch perſon ſhall or may be aſſeſſed.

Provided always and be it further enacted, That if any ſuch perſon ſhall be prevented from attending in perſon to make his or her appeal from any aſſeſſment in the manner before directed, it ſhall be lawful for ſuch perſon to appeal by his or her attorney or agent, and to tranſmit his or her declaration, ſigned by ſuch appellant, and atteſted in the manner and in the form herein directed, to the reſpective commiſſioners before whom ſuch appeal ſhall be depending, which declaration ſo to be tranſmitted, being verified on the oath, or (being one of the people called Quakers) on the ſolemn affirmation of the appellant, ſhall be as effectual as if ſuch appellant had appeared in perſon, and which oath or ſolemn affirmation any two juſtices of the peace of any county, riding, ſhire, ſtewartry, or place, or any two commiſſioners

missioners for executing this act, of the division where such appeal shall be depending, are hereby empowered to administer, and are also hereby required to certify the same, at the foot of such declaration, by writing under their respective hands.

Amended oath of an assistant commissioner, for executing the act.

"I *A. B.* do swear, that I will faithfully execute the office of an assistant commissioner, according to an act, passed in the thirty-eight year of the reign of his Majesty King George the Third, intituled, *An Act*, [here set forth the title of the act], to the best of my knowledge and judgment.

"So help me GOD."

NEW CLAUSES BROUGHT UP BY WAY OF RIDERS.

PROVIDED always, and be it further enacted, That no person shall be deemed to occupy any dwelling house for the purpose of being let out in part to lodgers, or as a ready-furnished lodging house, unless the same shall be actually let, or unless some person shall prove, upon the appeal herein mentioned, that such dwelling house had been let out in part to lodgers, or as a ready-furnished lodging-house, within the year preceding the time of making such appeal, or that the same, not being so let, hath been advertized or publickly offered to be so let in the period in which the same shall not have been so let; and that such person hath occupied or kept, and doth continue to occupy or keep the same, with the *bona fide* purpose of being let out in part to lodgers or as a ready-furnished lodging house.

Provided also, and be it further enacted, that nothing herein contained shall be construed to extend to charge the said additional rate or duty on the amount of the duties payable on houses, windows or lights, in respect of any of the royal or public hospitals, or any chambers or apartments therein used or occupied for charitable purposes.

Provided always, and be it further enacted, That if any person, charged by the last assessment or assessments made as aforesaid to any of the duties now payable on servants, carriages, or horses, shall at any time before the first day of November one thousand seven hundred and ninety seven, have ceased to keep any servant, carriage, or horse, or any number of servants, carriages, or horses, for which he or she shall have been so charged, and shall have *bonâ fide* remained during the whole interval, between the tenth day of October one thousand seven hundred and ninety seven and the time of hearing the appeal against the assessment to be made under this act, without any servant, carriage or horse, or any servants, carriages, or horses, in lieu of the former, liable to the like duty, then such person shall, on proof thereof to the satisfaction of the commissioners for executing this act, be exempted from any charge to be made by virtue of this act on the amount of the said duties now payable on such servants, carriages, and horses respectively.

Provided also, and be it further enacted, That if any person so charged as aforesaid to any of the duties now payable on carriages, shall, from the fifth day of April one thousand seven hundred and ninety-seven, to the time of hearing the appeal against the assessment to be made by virtue of this act, have *bonâ fide* ceased to use any carriage or carriages kept by him or her, and shall have wholly discontinued the use of the same during the whole interval

terval between the said fifth day of April one thousand seven hundred and ninety seven; and the time of hearing the appeal against the assessment to be made under this act, then such person shall, on proof thereof to the satisfaction of the commissioners before whom the appeal for that cause shall be depending, be exempted from any charge to be made by virtue of this act, on the amount of the duties now payable on such carriage or carriages so discontinued.

Provided also, and be it further enacted, That persons not living in cities, or the suburbs thereof, or in market towns, and having but one place of residence, who shall not be rated above the sum of twenty five pounds for their male servants, pleasure horses, and carriages, shall be assessed for their mansion houses as if they contained forty windows only, notwithstanding they should contain a greater number, so far as respects the additional rates and duties imposed by this act.

Provided also, and be it further enacted, That every person occupying a farm at the time of any assessment being made of the said additional rates and duties, by virtue of this act, on horses, by the said two acts of the thirty sixth and thirty seventh years of the reign of his present Majesty, before mentioned, and who shall quit the said farm, in pursuance of any notice given before the first day of December one thousand seven hundred and ninety-seven, shall be entitled to an abatement of the said additional rate or duty, for the whole of such horses kept for the purposes of husbandry upon such farm, which such person shall cease to keep after having so quitted the said farm; and the assessment made upon such person shall, on proof, to the satisfaction of the commissioners for executing this act, of such person having *bonâ fide* ceased to keep any number of such horses, and hath remained without any other horses in lieu of the former, be entitled to an abatement in respect of such number, as aforesaid, of the said horses.

Provided always, and be it further enacted, That if any person who shall, previous to the first day of appeal under this act for the district where such person resides, have inrolled himself in any regiment, corps, or troop of yeomanry cavalry, raised by virtue of an act, passed in the thirty-fourth year of the reign of his present Majesty, intituled, "An act for encouraging and disciplining such corps or companies of men as shall voluntarily enrol themselves for the defence of their counties, towns or coasts, or for the general defence of the kingdom, during the present war," shall not have obtained his exemption for one horse, mare, or gelding, in pursuance of an act passed in thirty-sixth year of the reign of his said Majesty, intituled, "An act for granting to his Majesty several additional duties on horses kept for the purpose of riding, or drawing certain carriages therein mentioned, in the last assessment made for the year ending the fifth day of April one thousand seven hundred and ninety-eight, then and in such case, on proof, to the satisfaction of the commissioners for executing this act, of his being entitled to such exemption, and on production of a certificate to be made out at any time previous to his making such appeal of his service in such regiment, corps, or troop, in the manner directed by the said last-mentioned act, the person so enrolled and serving shall be assessed to the said additional rate or duty in like manner, and at the like rate, as if such exemption had been allowed.

And be it further enacted, That where any person charged to the duties now payable on houses, windows, or lights, or on inhabited houses, shall remove from the dwelling house in respect whereof such charge shall have have been imposed, the assessment made by virtue of this act, so far as relates to the amount of the duties payable in respect to such dwelling house, shall cease

ceaſe and determine from the day on which notice ſhall be given of ſuch removal to the collectors or aſſeſſors, or any two or more of them, of the pariſh or place where ſuch dwelling houſe is ſituate, and the ſucceeding occupier ſhall become chargeable to the ſaid additional rate or duty, in reſpect of ſuch dwelling houſe, from the day he or ſhe ſhall become the occupier thereof, and the commiſſioners for executing this act, ſhall cauſe an aſſeſſment to be made on ſuch ſucceeding occupier, on the amount of the duties payable in reſpect of ſuch dwelling houſe, and alſo on the amount of ſuch other of the ſaid duties now payable, to which ſuch occupier was or ſhall be liable to be aſſeſſed: provided always, that the perſon ſo removing ſhall be again charged to the ſaid additional rate or duty, in reſpect of any other dwelling houſe which he or ſhe may occupy at any time after ſuch removal; and alſo on the amount of ſuch other of the ſaid duties now payable, to which ſuch perſon was aſſeſſed previous to ſuch removal, and ſuch charge, in reſpect of ſuch other dwelling houſe, ſhall commence from the time ſuch perſon ſhall become the occupier of ſuch other dwelling houſe, and ſhall be paid on the inſtalment next enſuing.

Provided alſo, and be it further enacted, That if any perſon ſhall be aſſeſſed to the duties on carriages in reſpect of any additional carriage kept after the paſſing of this act, and which ſhall not have been uſed before the paſſing of this act, by any perſon whatever, or if any perſon not charged to the duties on carriages within the year ending the fifth day of April one thouſand ſeven hundred and ninety eight, ſhall be aſſeſſed in reſpect of any carriage which hath been kept and uſed for the firſt time after the paſſing of this act, then and in every ſuch caſe the perſon ſo keeping or uſing ſuch carriage ſhall not be liable to be aſſeſſed to the ſaid additional rate or duty in reſpect thereof, in any ſum greater than once the amount of the ſaid duties now payable on ſuch carriages; and that the aſſeſſment to be made on once the amount ſhall commence from the fifth day of April next after ſuch carriage ſhall begin to be uſed, and the aſſeſſments ſo to be made on once the amount of the duties now payable in reſpect of ſuch carriages, ſhall be made on ſuch amount ſeparately, and not on the aggregate amount of the duties aſſeſſed upon ſuch perſon; any thing herein contained to the contrary thereof notwithſtanding.

Provided alſo, and be it further enacted, That the additional rates or duties hereby impoſed ſhall not extend, or be conſtrued to extend, to carriages with leſs than four wheels, particularly mentioned and deſcribed by the name of taxed carts, in an act, made in the thirty-fifth year of the reign of his preſent Majeſty, intituled, "An act for repealing ſo much of an act of Parliament, paſſed in the twenty-ninth year of the reign of his preſent Majeſty, intituled, 'An act for granting to his Majeſty ſeveral additional 'rates and duties upon horſes, and carriages with four wheels; and for ex-'plaining and amending an act, paſſed in the twenty-fifth year of his pre-'ſent Majeſty, as far as relates to certain carriages with two or three 'wheels therein mentioned,' as relates to the additional duties upon carriages with four wheels, uſed as ſtage coaches; and for reducing the duties upon carriages with leſs than four wheels, mainly uſed in the affairs of huſbandry, or for the purpoſes of trade.

Provided alſo, and be it further enacted, That nothing herein contained ſhall be conſtrued to extend to charge the ſaid additional rate or duty on the amount of the duties now payable on carriages, in reſpect of any carriage kept by any perſon duly licenſed to let out horſes for hire, in purſuance of an act paſſed in the twenty fifth year of the reign of his preſent Majeſty, and uſed for the purpoſes in the ſaid act mentioned, ſuch perſons duly obſerving the regulations of the ſaid act with reſpect to ſuch carriages;

nor

nor to charge the said additional rate or duty on the amount of the duties now payable on servants, in pursuance of two acts, passed in the twenty-fifth and thirty-seventh years of the reign of his present Majesty, in respect of any waiter kept in any tavern, coffee house, inn, alehouse, or in any other house licensed to sell wine, ale, or other liquors by retail; nor to charge the said additional rate or duty on the amount of the duties now payable on carriages as aforesaid, in respect of any carriage kept by any coachmaker or other person, or the purpose of being lent or let out to hire.

Provided always, and be it further enacted, That, from and after the fifth day of April one thousand seven hundred and ninety-nine, it shall be lawful for the respective commissioners aforesaid, to receive the appeal of any person, on account of income, against any assessment made by virtue of this act, (whether such assessment shall have been made in that year, or in any preceding year, and whether such person shall have appealed from the same or not, or the income of the person assessed shall have been diminished since the making the assessment or not), so that such appeal shall be made between the fifth and the twentieth days of April in any year, during the continuance of this act, and to proceed therein by and under the like rules and directions as are hereby prescribed in other cases of such appeals, and that any abatement of the said additional rate or duty assessed on such appellant, which may be made on such appeal, shall be allowed according to the rules hereinbefore prescribed in such cases of appeal.

Provided also, and be it further enacted, That all such last-mentioned appeals against any such assessment as aforesaid, shall be entered with the respective commissioners, or the clerk to the respective commissioners for executing this act, within fifteen days after such assessment shall be signed and allowed; and the same shall be heard and determined ten days at least before the day appointed for paying the first instalment thereon, for which purpose the said respective commissioners for executing this act, shall, within the time before-mentioned, appoint a day or days of appeal, unless the day of appeal from assessments of the duties now payable on houses, windows, or lights, or on inhabited houses, shall intervene, on which days respectively the said respective commissioners for executing this act are hereby required to hear and determine all such appeals.

And be it further enacted, That it shall be lawful for the assistant commissioners for any parish or place, with the approbation of the commissioners for executing this act within the same division, or any two or more of them, such approbation being testified by writing under their hands and seals, to employ a fit person to be their clerk, whose duty shall be to receive and file all declarations delivered to the said assistant commissioners upon any appeal under this act, in order that the same may be returned to the commissioners for executing this act, and to enter the names of the appellants in a book or books to be provided for that purpose, in order in which the appeals shall be made, and also to enter whether the appellants respectively were sworn before the said commissioners, or prosecuted their appeals by affidavit, or by any other person in their behalf; and that the commissioners for executing this act within the same division shall, on receipt of such books, with the due entries therein, and the declarations of all appellants named therein, (which declarations, and also all declarations received by the commissioners for executing this act, where the said commissioners shall act as assistant commissioners, shall be carefully kept by the clerks of the said commissioners for executing this act), make out a certificate directed to the commissioners for the affairs of taxes, containing the number of appeals entered in such books, and the number of days such clerk has been employed in his attendance on the assistant commissioners; and the said commissioners

ners for the affairs of taxes shall, on receipt of such certificates, settle and allow what sums should be paid to such clerks for their pains in writing and transcribing the said books, and in keeping and returning the declarations of appellants, and for their attendance on the said assistant commissioners, not exceeding the rate at which attornies or solicitors are usually paid for the like work done by their respective clerks; which sums so settled and allowed the respective receivers general, on the production of such certificates with sums endorsed thereon, shall pay out of any monies in their hands of the said additional rates and duties hereby imposed.

And be it further enacted, That all assessors and collectors for the time being of the said duties now payable, shall and are hereby required and enjoined, at the request of any surveyor or inspector of the said duties, to be aiding and assisting such surveyor or inspector in the execution of the powers given to them by this act, and in the performance of their respective duties hereby required; and if any assessor or collector shall neglect or refuse to be aiding or assisting any surveyor or inspector in any matter required of him in pursuance of this act, every such assessor or collector so offending, shall be liable to such penalties as assessors and collectors are liable to for neglect of duty by any act or acts of Parliament before mentioned, relative to the said duties now payable.

Provided always, and be it further enacted, That if any person, having received the copy of the certificate of his or her assessment to be made by by virtue of this act, shall be desirous of paying the duty in advance at the bank of England, and of receiving the discount to be allowed by this act on prompt payment at the said bank of England, it shall be lawful for the cashier or cashiers at the said bank of England, on production of the copy of such certificate at the time of payment of the said duty in advance, (the sum so paid not in any case to be less than the sum which appears by such certificate to be payable, by three instalments), to make an allowance at the rate before-mentioned out of the sums so paid in advance, from the day of paying in the same until the day appointed by this act for the payment of the last of the said instalments thereby discharged, and in such case to give the person paying in the same a certificate or receipt, and a duplicate thereof, specifying therein the number of instalments thereby discharged, and the amount of the allowance for such prompt payment; and all such allowances shall be made by the said cashier or cashiers out of the duties to be paid in at the said bank of England, at the time of paying the same.

Provided always, and be it further enacted, That it shall be lawful for the cashier or cashiers of the governor and company of the bank of England, on the receipt of any sum of money by virtue of this act, to give a certificate or certificates in lieu of a receipt or receipts as herein-before mentioned, and if required so to do, a duplicate or duplicates thereof, or certificates of the same tenor and date, and every such certificate shall be of the like force and validity as a receipt or receipts in the manner before directed.

The bill when it received the Royal Assent was intituled, "An act for granting to his Majesty an aid and contribution for the prosecution of the war."

THE

THE SCHEDULE

To which this Act refers.

RULES for eſtimating the income of perſons appealing againſt any aſſeſſment to be made under the Act of the Thirty-eight Year of the Reign of His preſent Majeſty.

THE caſes of appellants deriving their income, or any part thereof from or out of land:

In ſuch caſe the income of the owner ſhall be taken at the true annual value, according to the beſt of his knowledge and belief, but in no caſe leſs than the rent of one year and the half of a year; at which lands of the like quality and quantity are worth to be let by the year in that neighbourhood, and according as the ſame may be ſubject to, or free from tythe, or according to the rate of compoſition or modus payable for the ſame, after deducting ſuch payments as the ſame may be ſubject to, and which are allowed to be deducted by theſe rules from income ariſing out of land.

In the caſe of lands demiſed at rack rent; the income of the owner ſhall be taken at the full amount of the rent reſerved for one year, after deducting as aforeſaid.

In caſe of lands demiſed in conſideration of a fine paid, and a rent reſerved, the ſaid income ſhall be taken at the amount of the ſaid rent for one year, and of ſuch further ſum in reſpect of the fine, as in the judgment of the owner will amount to a ſum equal to the receipts of one year, on a fair average of the fines antecedently received upon the whole eſtate for three years.

In the caſe of lands demiſed in conſideration of a fine only, the like average as aforeſaid ſhall be taken.

Caſual and uncertain profits ariſing out of lands ſhall be eſtimated according to the beſt of the owner's judgment and belief, on the amount of a ſum equal to the receipts of one year, on the fair average of the antecedent receipts for three years.

In the caſe of a demiſe at rack rent, the income of the occupier of lands under the rent of one hundred pounds per annum, ſhall be taken at not leſs than three fourths of ſuch rent for one year.

If one hundred pounds per annum, or upwards, than at not leſs than the full amount of ſuch rent for one year.

In the caſe of copyholders and leſſees of lands demiſed in conſideration of a fine, whether with or without a rent reſerved, the income of the copyholder or leſſee ſhall be taken at not leſs than three fourths of the rent, as lands of the like quality and quantity are worth, to be let by the year in that neighbourhood.

In ſuch caſe, the annual rent for which the houſe ſhall be let, ſhall be taken to be the income of the owner, after deducting the fair average for money expended in repairs during the three preceding years.

The income of ſuch perſon ſhall be taken at not leſs than the full amount of his or her profits, gains, or receipts acquired or received within the year, ending the thirty-firſt day of December one thouſand ſeven hundred and ninety-ſeven, and which ſuch perſon might or could expend within ſuch year, or, at the election of the perſon aſſeſſed, at a ſum not leſs than the fair and juſt average for one year of the amount of his or her profits, gains,

gains, or receipts the three years preceeding the thirty first day of December one thouſand ſeven hundred and ninety ſeven, and which ſuch perſons might or could expend within the ſaid three years.

In ſuch caſes, the income ſhall be taken at not leſs than the whole ſums payable within the year preceding the paſſing of this act.

RULES ſetting forth in which caſes, and on what account, any deductions may be made in eſtimating the fair income.

FIRST, The amount of annual intereſt payable for debts owing by the appellant.

Second, The amount of allowances ſettled, ſecured, or agreed to be paid to any child or children of the appellant, ſuch children being reſpectively aſſeſſed to the duties now payable on houſes, windows or lights, or inhabited houſes, either ſeparately or together, with the duties on ſervants, carriages or horſes.

Third, The amount of the aſſeſſed taxes, contained in the laſt aſſeſſment or aſſeſſments thereof, within the year ending the fifth day of April, one thouſand ſeven hundred and ninety-eight.

Fourth, The amount of the ſeveral rates made upon and paid by ſuch appellant, within one year, ending the thirty-firſt day of December, one thouſand ſeven hundred and ninety-ſeven, for the relief of the poor, for the ſeveral rates commonly called the church rate, the county rate, the rate (if any) for paving and lighting ſtreets, or for maintenance of ſewers, and for repair of gaols or bridges.

Firſt, The amount of the land tax paid by, or to be paid by the appellant, or any former owner or occupier, within one year, ending the fifth day of April, one thouſand ſeven hundred and ninety-eight.

Second, In the caſe of lands demiſed to the appellant, the amount of annual rents reſerved thereout.

Third, The amount of fee farm rents, quit rents, rent charges, ground rents, and other rents payable by the appellant, for one year, or on an average for three years preceding the time of making the appeal.

Form to be uſed by Appellants in declaring their proportion of the duty to their income.

I, *A. B.* do declare, That the amount of my annual income, (*or, if the declaration ſhall be made by a guardian, tutor, or curator, or by a ſteward or agent, then,* I, *C. D.* of guardian, tutor, curator, ſteward, or agent, *as the caſe may be,* of *A. B.* of *or, as the caſe may be,* do declare, that the amount of the annual income of the ſaid A. B.) eſtimated according to the rules and directions preſcribed by an act paſſed in the thirty-eighth year of the reign of his Majeſty King George the third, doth not exceed the ſum of which eſtimate I have made according to the ſame directions and rules, to the beſt of my knowledge and belief.

Signed,

We whoſe names are under-written, do teſtify that the ſignature of is of his proper hand-writing, and that the ſame was written in our preſence.

E. F. of

G. H. of

We lay the following Paper before our Readers, as it immediately refers to the intended Invaſion of theſe Kingdoms:

PARIS, 25 NIVOSE, JANUARY 14.

THE COMMISSARY OF THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTORY AT THE MUNICIPAL ADMINISTRATION OF THE CANTON OF CALAIS, TO THE INHABITANTS OF THAT CANTON.

"CITIZENS,

"THE victorious French Republic no longer apprehends danger from its enemies without. The coalition being deſtroyed, leaves England expoſed to her mercy; that power alone, after having ſupported each of the vanquiſhed powers in their turn—after having rent France with inteſtine commotions, will now ſuſtain the whole weight of her indignation and of her vengeance. The money which ſhe had laviſhed, and which ſhe yet continues to laviſh, will not ſave her from the ſword of the Republicans, and it is this ſword which will ſoon avenge the cauſe of all Europe, of violated principle, and of liberty trodden under feet. Its corrupt and tyrannical Government will give place to that which the people of England, worthy, no doubt, of freedom, ſhall ſubſtitute to it, and, before the trees ſhall have their firſt leaves on them, the tri coloured ſtandard, floating on the Britiſh ſoil, ſhall remind them of what they were and what they ought to be. But in the moment of fixing for ever the deſtinies of the firſt Republic in the world, the Government, turning its attention to home, is no longer diſpoſed to leave the internal enemies of the State any reaſon to hope for ſucceſs, and is determined to deſtroy them; not becauſe it is apprehenſive of its efforts, but becauſe they weaken the public ſpirit; and becauſe it is time to give to the State all that energy which has been vainly attempted to be deſtroyed. Government wiſhes to rally all the friends of their country, and of liberty by Republican inſtitutions; because Republican inſtitutions alone can give energy to the public mind, and operate within what its victorious arms have effected without.

"Awake, then, Republicans of this canton, from your ſlumbers; you ſpecially, patriots of 1789, who do not confound liberty with liceniouſneſs, and the laws with anarchy. This is the moment in which you muſt conſolidate your work, and fix for ever the fate of France. Riſe from your depreſſion, ſecond the efforts of a Government which is perpetually triumphant; a Government which, on the 4th of September, deſtroyed the hopes of the Royaliſt faction, and fixed peace and ſecured liberty on the moſt unſhaken baſis. Dare to avow your principles openly; dare to call yourſelves Republicans; and may this title, hitherto unfavourably regarded, become henceforth an honourable title; and may thoſe who do not deſerve to ſhare it with you, at leaſt learn to be ſilent.

"Officers of Government! it is to you in particular that I addreſs myſelf: remember the Republic will only be ſerved by thoſe who are the friends of liberty. Remember there is no longer any room to temporize, and that you muſt frankly ſhew yourſelves to be what you are. If there are any among you who are not devoted to the cauſe of liberty, remember that, of all kinds of baſeneſs, it is the greateſt to receive pay and maintenance, and to hold a place under a Government which you deteſt, and the deſtruction of which you are deſirous to bring about, and quit your ſituations before you are driven from them, and lay aſide a maſk which, ſooner or later, will be torn from you.

"Zealous Officers of the Republic, it is on you that the Republic particularly relies, and on your example and your influence to give vigour to the

the public mind. Employ in your offices none but the partizans of liberty, and diſcard thoſe who have ſignalized themſelves by contrary opinions. Scrupulouſly obſerve the days of repoſe, and let your offices be cloſe ſhut on thoſe days, and do you yourſelves aſſemble, together with the Magiſtrates, in the Temple of the laws, there to be preſent at the promulgation of the new decrees and orders of Government, to hear the recital of their triumphs, the ſongs compoſed on their victories, and the civic diſcourſes, which are to encourage and give ſtrength to the love of the country. Government requires that I ſhould acquaint you with the conduct of thoſe who act contrary to theſe inſtructions, and I notify to you that I ſhall neither betray the truth nor neglect my duty. You too who have been included in the requiſition have been [illegible], by means of the exceptions which Government has thought proper to make, to preſerve yourſelves at home with your families, ſhould recollect, that the favour you have met renders it particularly incumbent on you to reſpect Government, and to aſſiſt it by combating the enemies at home, while your brave comrades are engaged in contending with thoſe abroad.

" Citizens of all claſſes, at the commencement of hoſtilities againſt England, theſe coaſts are about to be covered with the numerous battalions of the conquerors of Italy. Welcome theſe brave defenders, and receive them with honours; obſerve their words; remember the acts of valour they have performed—remember that half naked, in want of every thing, and forgetting that they had relations and children, and conſidering only that their country and liberty were threatened, they ſecured theſe bleſſings by their blood—remember that they daily braved death, while you, quietly at home, were contented to read the details of their victories by your fireſide. Render them, then, that tribute of gratitude which they have a right to expect; applauſe, at leaſt, you owe them. They, indeed, may ſpeak of their country and of their liberty, they know what they have done for them, and may conſider them as their own work, ſince, without their efforts, neither the one nor the other would have been in exiſtence. It is by uniting yourſelves to theſe men that you will learn to appreciate the value of theſe great bleſſings, Liberty and the Republic. As to you who abhor theſe goods—you eſpecially, ſtrangers, to whom the Republic affords an aſylum—you too whom paſſions, prejudice and reſentments render inſenſible to her glory and to her triumphs, who daily pour forth your guilty wiſhes for her overthrow, whom the memory of paſt horrors cannot deter—whoever you be, and wherever you exiſt, be careful not to miſtake the indulgence of Government for weakneſs. I give you notice that the end of this indulgence is at hand, and remember, that the power which has deſtroyed all the Kings of Europe, can, with a breath, annihilate you.

" Internal enemies, believe that Government knows and ſees every thing; clubs, taverns, and places of public entertainment, nothing can eſcape their vigilance. Awaken all of you from your error; you eſpecially who have ſuffered yourſelves to be corrupted by perfidious influence, return to thoſe ſentiments which you owe your country, and draw that line between you and the agents of England which alone can protect you, can enſure your ſafety, and hinder you from ſharing the puniſhment which awaits all men who ſeek to thwart its projects. Citizens of all claſſes, I ſhould betray you were I to conceal a cruel truth. In ſpite of my conſtant efforts to diſtinguiſh the maſs of the inhabitants of Calais from ſome individuals, perhaps more imprudent than culpable, I have not been able to prevent Government miſtruſting this Commune; I have not been able to prevent them from conſidering it in an unfavourable point of view, and from ſuſpecting that there are a number of individuals in it who oppoſe its meaſures,

measures, who regret the Monarchical system, and who, devoted to p
fidious England, are ready to assist the views of that power. "We
in possession," says the Directory, in its letter to me, "of the clue of t
plot, and we already know part of the truth, that the public spirit is c
rupted among you and you alone." You, Commissary, in whom we ha
placed confidence, you alone, am ng these numerous denunciations, ca
not find one guilty pe on. What are you about? We remind you
your duties and your oath." No, my fellow citizens, I profess it loudl
no, you are not given up to perfidious England. Its gold has not co
rupted you; public spirit is not extinguished among you; and if the E
glish, who threatened the walls of Dunkirk, should come to present them
selves before the memorable gates of Calais, it is then that the world wil
be convinced that, if ome among you were formerly devoted to the King
you would all have been resolved to perish, in order to preserve Liberty
and the Republic. No, both of them are for you the only objects of you
wishes and of your solicitude. You have proved this by the numerous
sacrifices which you have already made, and you may hereafter make. No,
no, you are not Englishmen, you are Frenchmen; you are even Republi-
cans. I undertake to convince Government that it has been deceived.
At this moment, when the armies approach, when the Government is
making every preparation for invasion, you must, citizens, remove all
suspicion. by breaking off all connection and communication with the
country which the Republic is about to attack, and cover with its arms:
you will avoid every correspondence which, though really innocent, might
excite the jealousy of the Government, and cause intentions to be ascribed
to you which you have not, and which you are far from entertain-
ing. This is one sacrifice more, but it is time to make it; and you
will make it readily, be ' t is indispensable—because by so doing
you will prevent new insinuations from occasioning new errors—
because it will be one proof more of your devotion and of your civism.
A patriotic loan is now opened at Paris, in order to accelerate the ap-
proaching invasion. Alr. y have the administrations and the body of
merchants of Paris subsc. ed several millions. A number of individuals
in the departments are hastening to follow this example. You will, no
doubt, imitate them. Government has left it to the merchants of Paris
to fix themselves the most speedy mode of repayment; and they will
themselves assist the operation of it, which, as far as it appears at present,
is by the produce of the post to Calais. You will join your offering to
mine of 100 franks, which I propose to add to those already made. I shall
transmit it to the Municipal Administration, who will keep an account of
the names of the lenders. The whole sum will be sent off from Calais
in ten days, and you will prove that, so far from the gold of England
being all-powerful with you, you can yourselves lay down money to hu-
miliate and reduce it. I repeat it again, second my efforts: do not re-
duce me to the cruel alternative of being obliged either to use severity in the
performance of my duty, or to betray it by a culpable indulgence. May
I always be happy enough to be able to proclaim the civism and the
virtues of my fellow-citizens, and never unhappy enough to prosecute
the guilty at the expence of my own feelings. No, Citizens of Calais,
you will still be what you always have been, the friends of the country,
of Liberty, of Equality, and of the Constitution; and you will always
gladly exclaim, *Vive la Republic!*

(Signed) "PIGAULT MAUBAILLARCQ,
"Commissary of the Executive Directory."

END OF THE APPENDIX TO VOL. I.

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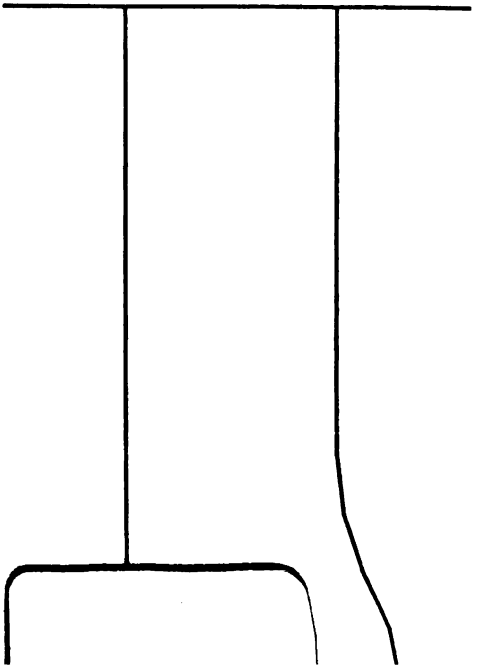
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